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LARDNER'S WORKS.

VOL. VII.

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THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

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A

LARGE COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

PREFACE.

With some farther observations upon the paragraph in the Works of Josephus concerning our blessed Saviour.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been said by me and others, for showing that the paragraph concerning our Saviour, now found in the Antiquities of Josephus, is not genuine, but an interpolation, some learned men are still tenacious of it. I therefore intend to offer here some further observations upon it.

I have as yet taken no notice of an argument which is entitled, 'A Dissertation upon the Account supposed to have 'been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus: being an attempt 'to show that this celebrated passage, some slight corrup-'tions only excepted, may reasonably be esteemed genuine.' At Oxford, in the year 1749, pp. 69, beside a short preface.

The dissertation is without a name, but is generally ascribed to Dr. N. Forster. As great regard has been shown to it by[a] some, I think it not improper for me to consider the merits of it.

Says the learned author, p. 12, 13: 'First then I consider 'the account itself as a mere simple narrative, in which there 'is not a sentence that, when properly read and understood, 'betrays the writer to have had any suspicion that Jesus 'was the Messiah, or even a teacher sent from God. On the

[a] See Dr. Sharpe's Argument, taken from the concessions of adversaries, p. 39.

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'other hand, some expressions plainly imply him to have 'been persuaded of the contrary. And the whole, taken together, seems to be the composition of a person perfectly 'satisfied that the christian scheme could not be true: 'astonished however at some amazing appearances in its 'favour, but artfully evading the force of them, avoiding to 'enter into the merits of the affair, and yet affecting to give 'a seemingly plausible account of its original.'

And at p. 49, 50: 'But a short view of the whole paragraph will best illustrate and confirm what has been observed. It may, I think, be fairly rendered in the following manner: "But about this time appears one Jesus, a 'man of great abilities, if indeed he may be properly styled 'a mere man. For he was a worker of wonders, a teacher 'of people, who embraced his new and extraordinary doctrines with eagerness. And he led away many, not only 'of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles after him. This was 'the person so well known by the name of Christ. And 'though Pilate, upon the impeachment brought by the principal persons of our nation against him, caused him to be 'crucified, they who had before entertained an affection 'for him did not desist. For he appeared to them to be 'alive again on the third day, their own preachers at least 'having reported both these and numberless other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the christians, 'who received their denomination from this person, are not 'extinct even to this day."'

In support of this interpretation, the learned writer proposeth two alterations, as emendations of the present text in Josephus. And instead of men 'who received the truth 'with pleasure,' *των ηδονη τ' αληθη δεχομενων*, he would read, *τα αηθη*, 'new, strange, unheard-of, extraordinary doctrines,' p. 27—29. And instead of *των θειων προφητων*, 'the divine 'prophets,' he is for reading *των γε ιδιων*, 'their own prophets 'or preachers,' p. 41–44.

Upon all this I must say, first, that this is indeed giving a new turn to the passage, never so understood before, so far as we know, by any ancient christian writers. But still the objections taken from 'the want of connexion' in the place where the passage stands, and from 'the silence of all christian writers before Eusebius,' and of some others after him, remain in their full force. Some things are offered by the learned author of the dissertation to diminish the force of those considerations. But they are of small moment. Nothing material can be said here. Interpret the paragraph as you please; it was worth alleging. If the things here

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mentioned are the declarations not of the ancient Jewish prophets, but of the first preachers among the christians, or the disciples of Jesus, their testimony was fit to be taken notice of. Nor could it have been omitted by the early apologists for christianity. The apologists, and other christians, of the second and third centuries, who were continually speaking of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, and his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission, would not have failed to remind their adversaries, and all men, that their doctrine was no other than the doctrine of the first disciples of Jesus, and that Josephus, a learned Jew and an unbeliever, who was contemporary with Christ's first disciples, and wrote before the end of that age, had borne witness of it in his writings to all the world.

Secondly, the alterations proposed by the learned author of the Dissertation, as emendations of the text, are destitute of authority.

The paragraph is twice quoted by Eusebius, and afterwards, in the space of a few centuries, by many others: by Jerom in his Book of Illustrious Men in Latin; by his interpreter in Greek; by Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Suidas, and others, and all in the like manner, without affording any the least countenance to either of the proposed alterations. I therefore do not see how they can be admitted or approved of by any sober and cautious critics, who are concerned for the integrity of ancient writings. I do not think it needful for me to say any thing more[b] here. I therefore proceed.

Thirdly, in this paragraph it is said of Jesus, 'he performed many wonderful works:' or, 'he was a worker of 'wonders.' Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. Which I think could be said by none but a christian.

But let us see what this learned writer says, p. 25: 'And 'what Jew almost, either ancient or modern, that has written of Jesus, does not say the same?' And in a note at the same page: 'This is not merely a periphrasis for εποιησε, 'but somewhat more express and particular. He was by 'profession and character παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. This 'was what he was chiefly remarkable for, the light in which, 'according to our author (Josephus) he is principally to be 'considered.'

[b] Indeed I cannot think it needful to enlarge here. And yet I know not how to forbear to confront the proposed τα αληθη for τ' αληθη, with a reference to a letter of Isidore of Pelusium, who, after having quoted the paragraph in Josephus, according to the present reading, reflects upon it in these words: Εγω δε λιαν θαυμαζω τ' ανδρος εν πολλοις μεν το φιλαληθες, μαλιστα δε, εν οις, ειπε, διδασκαλος ανθρωπων των ηδονη τ' αληθη δεχομενων. L. 4. ep. 225.

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I am rather of opinion, that few or none will admit miracles to have been performed by any but such as they believe to have been teachers, who acted with divine authority.

However, let us not perplex ourselves about the opinions of modern Jews. We are examining a paragraph in an ancient writing. Let us therefore observe the sentiments of the ancients.

When Nicodemus came to our Lord, he said, John iii. 2: "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him:" which I take to be a certain truth, and that no man can work miracles unless he have the special presence of God with him. I suppose this to have been the opinion of the Pharisees, and all Jews in general, in the time of our Saviour. The poor man who had been born blind, and had been healed by our Lord, was of this opinion, and openly declares it, and argues from it before the Jewish council: John ix. 30—33, "Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he has opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not sinners: but if a man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one born blind. If this man were not of God he could do nothing."

It is said, Acts iv. 13—18, that when Peter and John were brought before the council, after healing the lame man at the temple: "And beholding the man which was healed, they could say nothing against it. But when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves, saying: What shall we do to these men? for that a notable miracle has been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell at Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it." So they say privately in a consultation among themselves. The meaning is: 'It is not our business to dispute about it, or contest the truth of the miracle with the people.' Or, as Dr. Doddridge: 'Nevertheless, it is equally plain that both our credit and our interest require us to suppress the rumour of it as much as we can.' Which they did. They did not publicly declare the miracle, as Josephus is here made to do. "But that it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus."

The sentiment of the unbelieving Pharisees at that time

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may be clearly discerned in the debate between the council and the man who had been healed of blindness, John ix. 18—22: But the Jews did not believe concerning him that he had been blind, and received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received sight. And they asked them, saying: Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? How then doth he now see? His parents answered them, and said: We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but by what means he now seeth we know not or who hath opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age, ask him. These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue."

The parents did not dare to own either the miracle or the consequence. But the man who had been healed acknowledgeth both; that his cure was miraculous, and that Jesus, by whom it had been performed, was a prophet. For which he was reviled by the council, and then excommunicated.

Let us now observe the sentiment of Josephus himself in this point. Speaking of Elisha, he says: 'And[c] not long 'after the prophet also died, a man celebrated for his vir-'tue, and manifestly favoured by God. For through his 'prophecy were shown wonderful and extraordinary works, 'and such as were worthy of an honourable remembrance 'among the Hebrews.'

Josephus therefore supposed the performance of wonderful works to be a proof of divine favour, and a prophetical character.

However, still our learned author proceeds, p. 26: 'The 'fact then, which Josephus mentions, could not be dissem-'bled. But the conciseness and ambiguity with which it is 'expressed are extremely proper. Silent entirely with re-'gard to the great variety and singular nature of the mira-'cles which Jesus had done, he is satisfied with simply 'representing him as a worker *εργων παραδοξων*, a word, 'which all who are acquainted with its natural and original 'signification, and more particularly with the uses to which 'Josephus commonly applies it, (denoting any thing strange, 'extraordinary, or unaccountable, of what kind and degree 'soever it may be,) will perceive it to be one of the most 'equivocal, and consequently the best adapted to his du-

[c] *Μετ' ου πολυ δε και ὁ προφητης απεθανεν· ανηρ επι δικαιοσυνη διαβοητος, και φανερως σπεδασθεις ὑπο τυ Θευ. Θαυμαστα γαρ και παραδοξα δια της προφητειας απεδειξατο εργα, και μνημης λαμπρας παρα τοις Εβραιοις αξωθεντα.* Antiq. l. 9. c. 8. sect. 6. p. 494.

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'bious character of the person concerned, that this exten-
'sive and capacious language could have afforded him.'

I do not perceive this to be rightly said. I have not observed the use of the word παραδοξος in Josephus to be so ambiguous and equivocal. It has with him a precise and determinate meaning, and is equivalent to 'miraculous.' So it is used by him in the place before cited, where he speaks of the works of Elisha, which manifested his favour with God. It is easy to allege other places in the writings of Josephus where this word has the same sense. When Moses in the wilderness saw the burning bush all in a flame, the fruit not hurt, nor the green leaves blasted, he was astonished at the 'wonderful sight:' Exod. iii. 3. Ο δε και αυτην μεν εδεισε την οψιν την παραδοξον γενομενην. Ant. l. 2, cap. 12, p. 105. We call it, "this great sight," agreeably to the Hebrew, as do also the Seventy. Certainly it was miraculous, and a token of the divine presence, and allowed to be so by Josephus. When the water in Egypt had been turned by Moses into blood he says, 'The water 'had not only the colour of blood, but it also caused great 'pains to those who drank of it. So it was to the Egyptians, 'and to them alone: for to the Hebrews it was sweet and 'potable, and not at all altered in its nature. When the 'king saw this wonderful thing, he was much perplexed, 'being concerned for the welfare of the Egyptians; and he 'gave leave for the Hebrews to depart.' —Προς ην το παραδοξον αμηχανησας ο βασιλευς, και δεισας περι των Αιγυπτιων, συνεχωρει τοις Εβραιοις απιεναι. Ant. l. 2, c. xiv. sect. 1, p. 108. See Exod. vii. 19.—After relating the safe passage of the Israelites through the Red sea, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his army, he says: 'The Hebrews having ob-'tained this wonderful deliverance, Moses led them toward 'Mount Sinai,' Παραδοξυ δε της Εβραιοις της σωτηριας υτω γενομενης, κ. λ. Ant. l. 3. c. i. in. Comp. Exod. xiv. and xvi. In Numb. xvii. is the contention for the priesthood, which is determined in favour of Aaron and the tribe of Levi, by the budding and blossoming of the rod of Aaron, which had been laid up in the tabernacle. Josephus calls this also a wonderful thing; and says that thereupon all the people readily acquiesced in the 'divine judgment and determination.' Εκπλαγεντες δ' επι τῳ παραδοξῳ της θεας, ει και δια μισυς ην ο Μωυσης και Ααρων, αφεντες τυτο, θαυμαζειν ηρξαντο την τυ Θευ περι αυτων κρισιν· και το λοιπον, επευφημυντες τοις δεδογμενοις τῳ Θεῳ, συνεχωρυν Ααρωνι καλως εχειν την αρχιεροσυνην. Antiq. l. 4, cap. 4, sect. 2, p. 203. Going over the miracles of Elisha, and observing those recorded, 2 Kings ch. vi. and particularly

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what is mentioned, ver. 19, 20, he calls it a 'divine and 'wonderful work.' —Εν εκπληξει δε δεινη και αμηχανια των Συρων, οιον εικος, εφ' ετως θειω και παραδοξω πραγματι κειμενων· —κ. λ. l. 9, c. 4, sect. 3, p. 479.

In all these places the Greek word signifies 'miracu-'lous:' and so it must do in this paragraph. And as Josephus allows miracles to be divine works, and a proof of a prophetical character, and of the special favour and approbation of God, he could not say this of Jesus unless he was a christian. I might add that Josephus often speaks of God's confirming the mission of Moses by signs and wonders. See particularly Antiq. l. 2, cap. xii. xiv. And if Josephus owned that Jesus had performed wonderful or miraculous works, he must have received him as a divine teacher and the Messiah, and must have embraced the christian religion; and would have been quite another man than what he really was, and we now see him to be in all his works.

Indeed, it is not Josephus, but Eusebius, or some other christian about this time, who composed this paragraph. Every one must be inclined to think so who observes the connexion in his Evangelical Demonstration, where is the first quotation of it. In the third book of that work Eusebius has a chapter, or section, 'against those who do not give 'credit to the history of our Saviour's wonderful works.' Προς τους απειθουντας τη τυ σωτηρος ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. vii. p. 109. Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical history, the success of the gospel among Greeks, and Romans, and Barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity, and sufferings, of Christ's apostles, and the first christians. Then he says, 'Though[d] the tes-'timony of such men concerning our Saviour must be 'esteemed fully sufficient, it cannot be amiss for me to 'add, over and above the testimony of Josephus, a He-'brew, who, in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiqui-'ties, writing the history of affairs in the times of Pilate, 'speaks of our Saviour in these words.' Where follows the paragraph which we are considering: where our Lord is said to be a 'worker of wonderful works.' Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. Which way of speaking is so agreeable to Eusebius, and has such a similitude with his style, that I am disposed to put down below some instances from[e]

[d] Αυταρκης μεν ουν και ὁ τωνδε τυγχανει περι τυ σωτηρος ἡμων μαρτυρια· κ. λ. Dem. Evang. l. 3. p. 124. A.

[e] Και δη σκεψωμεθα, ὁσων και οἱων, συν ανθρωποις τας διατριβας πεποιη-

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him: which must be of use to satisfy us that the style of this paragraph is very christian, if it be not the composition of Eusebius himself, as Tanaquil Faber suspected.

Fourthly, once more, the learned author of the Dissertation argues, that it was very unlikely that Josephus should be silent about our Saviour, p. 51, 52, 'Now, though I entirely agree with this great writer,' the author of the Divine Legation of Moses, 'that preaching up Christ was 'an affair which Josephus would studiously decline, and 'have always deemed appearances of this kind considerable 'objections to the passage in question, as it is usually read 'and understood, yet I cannot but think, (as many persons 'have already observed,) that it is improbable that he should 'omit all account of Jesus, a person so remarkable in Judea, 'who so lately had been the cause of so great commotions 'among his countrymen, and whose fame was at this very 'time spread by his followers throughout the world. Christianity was an affair which made some noise at this very 'time.—Some account of it therefore seems to have been 'unavoidable in a person treating of the extraordinary incidents of that period. And silence, with regard to so remarkable and conspicuous an object, would have been 'only shutting his own eyes that others might not see it.'

I must own that I did not expect to see this learned author enlarge so much, and to set so high value, upon a worn-out argument, 'which,' as he says, 'many persons have already observed,' to little purpose in my opinion. I shall only say that this argument proves too much, and therefore it proves nothing. It has been observed[f] by some learned men, that Josephus has said nothing of the golden calf made by the Jewish people in the wilderness; thus[g] dropping a very remarkable and important narrative, with a variety of incidents, recorded in one of the books of Moses himself, the Jewish lawgiver, the most sacred of all their scriptures. Yet, if we please, we may argue with a great deal of seeming probability that he did and has taken notice of that transaction. 'Was it not well known in the world? Is it 'not recorded in one of the sacred books of the Old Testament? Is it not in the Hebrew original? Is it not also in 'the Greek version, made before the times of Josephus, and

μενος, παραδοξων γεγονε ποιητης εργων. Dem. Ev. l. 3. c. 4. p. 107. 6.——*Ουκ ην σεμνοτερον τε πραττεσθαι, ὁτι των τοιωνδε ποιητης εργων παραδοξων γεγονεν το γραφειν ὁτι μηδεν ὀνητον περι αυτον συνεβε—κ. λ.* Ib. p. 123. D. ——*Πως ουκ αν ειεν αξιοι και εν λοιποις, οις εμαρτυρησαν αυτῳ παραδοξα; κ. λ.* p. 124. A.

[f] See Vol. vi. ch. iv. sub. fin.

[g] Mr. Whiston's wrong, and indeed absurd, method of accounting for that

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'in the hands of many Greeks and others? Does not he say, 'at the beginning of his Antiquities, that he should write of 'the Jewish affairs as he found them recorded in the sacred 'books, without adding to them, or taking away from them? 'Therefore he could not avoid mentioning this. Is not Jo-'sephus an historian in great repute? And can it be con-'sistent with that character to omit so remarkable an event? 'Upon the whole, therefore, it may be concluded with great 'probability, if not with certainty, that this story is in his 'works, or was there formerly.'

So men may harangue very plausibly, but yet to little purpose. And therefore it may be applied to the present case. If Josephus had reasons which induced him to pass by that transaction, recorded in the ancient history of his people, he might also have reasons which induced him to be silent about some remarkable occurrences in his own time.

I have now, as I think, paid due regard to the author of the aforesaid Dissertation.

II. Since the publication of the first volume of this work, I have received a letter from a learned friend, with several objections to what has been said by me for showing this paragraph in Josephus to be an interpolation. And, if I am not mistaken, my friend is well acquainted with the above-mentioned Dissertation.

1. Says my friend: 'It is introduced with great pro-'priety, as what happened under Pilate's administration, 'and as what was one occasion of the disturbances amongst 'the Jews in his time. Give me leave to add that this pa-'ragraph, concerning Jesus, doth not seem to me so much 'to interrupt the course of the narration as is complained 'of. It is introduced under the article of Pilate, and placed 'between two circumstances which occasioned disturbances. 'And was not the putting Jesus to death, and the continu-'ance of his apostles and disciples after him, declaring his 'resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, 'which created very great disturbances? And though Jo-'sephus does not expressly say this, and, perhaps, had good 'reasons for not saying it, yet perhaps he intimates it, by 'placing it between the two causes of commotion, by giv-'ing so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that 'he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of 'the nation.'

To which I answer, that there is not in this paragraph

omission, may be seen in his second Dissertation, sect. 28. p. xlv. and a confutation of it may be seen in Dr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. 2. p. 430.

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any intimation of disturbances occasioned by Jesus or his followers. And I shall here repeat the words of Mr. Tillemont, which were quoted formerly, Vol. vi. ch. iv. 'It 'must be owned,' says he, 'that there is one thing embar-'rassing in this passage, which is, that it interrupts the 'course of the narration in Josephus. For the passage that 'immediately follows begins in these terms: "About the 'same time there happened another misfortune which dis-'turbed the Jews." For those words, "another misfor-'tune," have no connection with what was just said of Je-'sus Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. 'On the contrary, it has a very natural reference to what 'precedes in that place; which is a sedition, in which many 'Jews were killed or wounded.' Therefore the paragraph concerning Jesus was not originally there, but was inserted by some interpolator afterwards. So likewise says Vitringa: 'Take away the paragraph concerning Jesus, and the pre-'ceding and following paragraphs exactly agree and tally 'together.' Sed restat longe maxima difficultas, de cohærentiâ horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus; 'Circa eadem tempora aliud 'etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c.' Quæ tamen verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustuleris, egregie cum præcedentibus conspirabunt. Vitringa, quoted Vol. vi. ch. iv, in the notes.

'He testifies that he was 'a wise man.' Is uncertain '"whether he was not something more than a common man;" 'which is the meaning of the words, *ειγε ανδρα αυτον λεγειν* '*χρη*. Josephus, upon Jewish principles, could not but 'think him a man, though he was uncertain whether he was 'not somewhat greater and more extraordinary than any 'mere man. And your own quotation from Josephus about 'Moses, Vol. vi. ch. iv, that he was a man superior to his 'nature, accounts for the character given to Jesus.'

I alleged that place to show that the expression here used, is not altogether without example in the style of Josephus. But I did not intend to say or intimate that Josephus had as high an opinion of Jesus as he had of Moses. Nor can any think that Josephus believed Jesus to be equal to Moses, unless they suppose him to have been a christian.

'He says he was *παραδοξων εργων ποιητης*. That the Jews 'themselves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknow-'ledged:' Matt. xiii. 54; xiv. 2, &c.

This has been considered already in the remarks upon the Dissertation.

'I think, as you allow with great reason his testimony to

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'the Baptist to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for 'that he should wholly omit to say any thing of Jesus.'

So says my very learned and very ingenious friend. And another very ingenious man [h] is reported to have said, that 'Tanaquil Faber threw himself into innumerable diffi-'culties by attacking the genuineness of the passage con-'cerning Christ, and defending that where John the Baptist 'is mentioned.'

I am undoubtedly in the same case with Tanaquil Faber. I receive the passage where John the Baptist is mentioned, and reject that concerning Jesus. But I do not here feel the weight of any difficulties. I am not at all embarrassed thereby.

For, first, many Jews [i] may have respected John the Baptist as a man of an austere character who did not receive Jesus as the Christ. And Origen [k] in his books against Celsus has quoted the passage of Josephus relating to John the Baptist. But he, and all other christian writers before Eusebius, are silent about the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the Jewish Antiquities. Surely this makes a difference.

Secondly, Josephus says nothing of that which is the distinguishing character of John the Baptist—that he was the harbinger, or forerunner of the Messiah. This is the true and genuine character of John. He would not have existed, he never would have been at all, if it had not been for the sake of another, who was to come after him, and was greater than he.

Concerning Jesus, John testified: "This is he, of whom I said: After me cometh a man which is preferred before me. And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water," &c. John i. 30, 31. And see Matt. iii. 11, 12; Mark i. 6—8; Luke i. 16, 17, 76, 77; iii. 16, 17; John iii. 28, and other places. Josephus's entire silence about this true and genuine character of John the Baptist, by which he is distinguished from all the men and prophets that ever were, affords a cogent argument that Josephus is not the author of the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the same book of his Antiquities; wherein Jesus is said to have been 'more than a mere man, a worker of miracles, the Christ,' and the like.

I hope my honoured friend will accept of these answers to the principal objections which he has sent me.

[h] The Abbé de Languerue. See Langueruana, Vol. 2. p. 70. [i] See Vol. vi. ch. iv. et ultra chap. xviii. sect. 2. fin. [k] See Vol. vi. ch. iv.

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III. I now intend to recollect and sum up the argument with some additional observations.

That this paragraph, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, is not Josephus's, but an interpolation, is argued from these several following[1] considerations.

1. It is not quoted nor referred to by any christian writers before Eusebius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, and afterwards.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus, which were seen by Photius in the ninth century.

3. It interrupts the course of the narration.

4. It is unsuitable to the general character of Josephus, who is allowed not to have been a christian.

It is here said that 'Jesus was a wise man, if he may be 'called a man,' so that the writer of the paragraph was uncertain whether Jesus was not somewhat greater, and a more extraordinary person than a mere man. 'He performed 'wonderful works:' or, 'was a worker of wonders.' The original word, rendered wonders, is equivalent to miracles in Josephus and in Eusebius, who first quoted this paragraph. And if Josephus had ascribed miracles to Jesus, he must have owned him to be a teacher come from God. Afterwards it is said: 'This was the Christ.' That is the genuine and only meaning of the Greek words, Ο Χριστος αυτος ην. And every thing else said in that paragraph confirms that sense.

'And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men 'among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who be-'fore had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to 'adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them 'alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and 'many other wonderful things concerning him.' All very christian. And every thing here said is in all our copies of Josephus, and in the first quotation made by Eusebius, and in all the quotations since made by other ancient writers.

That this last clause, 'the divine prophets having fore-'told these, and many other wonderful things concerning 'him,' was always in this testimony, we are assured by Eusebius who so quotes it. And presently after quoting it, makes a remark upon the passage; which shows he so read it. For he presently adds: 'And[m] the book of the Acts of 'the Apostles assures us, that many thousand Jews believed

[1] See Vol. vi. ch. iv.

[m] Μαρτυρει δε και ἡ των Πραξεων των Αποστολων γραφη, ὁτι πολλαι μυριαδες ησαν Ιουδαιων ανδρων πεπεισμενων αυτον ειναι τον Χριστον του Θεου, τον ὑπο των προφητων κατηγγελμενον. Dem. Ev. p. 124. D.

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'him to be the Christ of God, whom the prophets had fore-'told.' See Acts xxi. 20.

How christian is all this! And said likewise to be agreeable to the predictions of the divine prophets! which is suitable to many texts of the New Testament, and even resembles them: Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 44; Acts xx. 22, 23; Rom. i. 1—4; 1 Cor. xv. 4. Throughout all the works of Josephus there is not any the least notice taken of Christ, or the christians, or their affairs. But in this short passage are inserted almost all the articles concerning Jesus Christ, which were in the ancient christian creeds, except his miraculous nativity, and his ascension to heaven: 'suffered 'under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: the 'third day he rose again from the dead.'

And, to complete this testimony, the great progress of the christian religion in the world is here asserted, and that this Jesus had 'brought over to him many Jews and many 'Gentiles.' The steadiness of his followers in their zeal for him is also plainly intimated. 'They who had conceived 'an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. And 'the sect of the christians, so called from him, still sub-'sists.' Which are the expressions of a person who lived some good while after the rise of christianity, and later than the time of Josephus: Nor is it any great wonder that his followers should be so attached to him, since they were men who received the truth with pleasure, and had at first given up themselves to him as a teacher of it. The bishop of Gloucester therefore, in considering this[n] passage, aptly calls it 'preaching up of Christ,' and assigns a reason why Josephus should studiously decline the so doing: and therefore makes no scruple to call this passage spurious.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles: whereas he is every where else silent about them.

All these considerations were mentioned formerly. But I have now made enlargements under the fourth. And I beg leave to add here a thought or two more.

6. The word Christ, or Messiah, appears not in any place in all the works of Josephus, excepting two: namely, the paragraph which we have been considering, which is now in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities; and another in the twentieth book of the same Antiquities, where is mention made[o] of 'James, the brother of Jesus who is called 'Christ.'

[n] The Divine Legation of Moses. B. v. Sect. 4. Vol. 2. p. 432, &c. [o] Καὶ

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This appears to me a good argument that these two passages are interpolations. For Josephus had many, yea, innumerable occasions for mentioning that word, and speaking of the expected Messiah. But[p] that word is not to be found any where in him, excepting these two passages where he is made to speak of Jesus Christ. He must have designedly and studiously avoided that expression. And it is incredible that he should bring it in for the sake of Jesus, our Saviour, for whom he cannot be supposed to have had any favourable regard.

7. Finally, to conclude, it appears to me to be the wisdom and the interest of christians, to adhere to and improve the genuine works of Josephus, and to maintain their integrity, instead of attempting to vindicate passages which are so justly suspected to be interpolations.

His works are valuable and useful, and highly deserving the esteem of christians upon divers[q] accounts.

First, his rehearsal, or paraphrase[r] of the books of the Old Testament, as it is called by Isidore of Pelusium, is very valuable, notwithstanding some alterations by way of omission or addition.

Secondly, his account of the state of things among the Jewish people from the conquest of Judea by Pompey to the commencement of the war, and during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles, is very valuable, indeed above all price.

Thirdly, his testimony to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish nation by Vespasian and Titus, is also invaluable, and has always been so esteemed by all christians in general.

Such a testimony to all these several things from a learned Jew, contemporary with the apostles of Jesus, zealous[s] for the law, and in some respects an enemy to us, deserves the attentive regard, and high esteem of all friends to christianity.

παραγαγων εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησυ τυ λεγομενυ Χριτυ, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτω, και τινας ετερυς. Ant. 20. c. ix. sect. 1. p. 976.

[p] I understand the learned author of the Dissertation to allow this where he says, p. 34, 35, 'Not as the adversaries of this passage on the one hand, 'or its advocates on the other, equally misled by christian notions, have ge-'nerally interpreted it: 'This was the Christ,' or 'the person said to be the 'Christ,' viz. as a Jewish appellation or title of office and dignity, concerning 'which he has carefully avoided dropping the least hint throughout his whole 'history.' [q] See the judgment of Fabricius, before alleged, Vol. vi. ch. iv. note [a]. [r] ———*Και την παλαιαν διαθηκην μετ' αληθειας παραφρασας.*——Isidor. l. 4. ep. 225. [s] *Εγενετο δε τις Ιωσηπος, Ιυδαιος ακρος, και τυ νομυ ζηλωτης· κ. λ.* Ibid.

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TESTIMONIES

OF

ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. IX.

PLINY THE YOUNGER, AND TRAJAN.

THE LETTER OF PLINY THE YOUNGER TO TRAJAN CONCERNING THE CHRISTIANS, AND TRAJAN'S RESCRIPT, WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTION IN THE TIME OF THAT EMPEROR, GENERALLY RECKONED THE THIRD HEATHEN PERSECUTION.

I. *The history of Pliny, and the time of his provincial government.* II. *Pliny's letter to Trajan, and Trajan's rescript.* III. *Eusebius's account of the persecution in the reign of Trajan.* IV. *Pliny's letter rehearsed, with notes and observations.* V. *Trajan's rescript rehearsed, with notes and observations.* VI. *Whether Trajan did by any edict put an end to the persecution.* VII. *The judgments of divers learned men upon the preceding letter and rescript.* VIII. *The characters of Pliny and Trajan represented with freedom, candour, and impartiality.* IX. *Observations, showing the uses of the two foregoing epistles.*

I. Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, or Pliny the younger,[a] son of Lucius Cæcilius and a sister of the elder Pliny, by whom he was adopted for his son, was born at Como, near Milan, in the year of Christ 61 or 62. He was prætor under Domitian, and afterwards præfect of the trea-

[a] Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap. 30. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 22. Masson de Vitâ Plin. Jun. Tillemont H. E. Trajan. art. 28.

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sury of Saturn; which trust seems to have been conferred on him jointly by[b] Nerva and Trajan. He[c] was consul in the third year of the reign of Trajan, in the year of our Lord 100; when he pronounced his celebrated panegyric upon that emperor. He was also augur, and for a while governor[d] of Pontus and Bithynia. It is very probable that he did not survive Trajan, who died[e] on the tenth of August, in the year 117. It is more reasonable to think that he died several years before him; forasmuch as there is nothing extant, either in his epistles, or elsewhere, that should induce us to think he lived long after his provincial government.

Pliny had not the title of proconsul, but was sent into the province by the emperor, as his lieutenant and proprætor, with proconsular power; as appears from some ancient inscriptions still[f] remaining.

But learned men are divided about the time of his government, and consequently of his letter to Trajan, which must be alleged presently. The great Joseph Scaliger[g] acknowledged the difficulty of this point.

Some think he[h] went into the province in the year 101, and that the persecution which the christians underwent in his time, happened in the year 103. Others suppose that[i] he got into the province in the latter part of the year 103, and left it in the summer of 105, staying there about eighteen months; which term of his government is generally agreed to. Basnage and cardinal Noris were inclined to

[b] Ut primum me, Domine, indulgentiâ VESTRA promovit ad præfecturam ærarii Saturni. Lib. x. ep. 20.

[b] Sed primum meâ, deinde patris tui valetudine, postea curis delegati a VOBIS officii, retentus, &c. Ib. ep. 24. [c] Nondum biennium complevimus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo, quum tu nobis, optime principum,—consulatum obtulisti. Paneg. cap. 91. [d] Vid. Ep. L. x. ep. 109, et 113. [e] Pagi Anno. 117. num. vi. Basnag. ann. 117. num. ii.

[f] C. PLINIUS
CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS
COS. AUGUR. LEGAT. PRO. PRÆT.
PROVINC. PONTI. CONSULARI. PO
TESTATE. IN. EAM. PROVINCIAM. AB.
IMP. CÆSARE. NERVA TRAIANO
AUG. GERMANICO. MISSUS.

Ap. Gruter. p. 454. 3. Et Conf. p. 1028.

[g] Vid. ejus Animadvertiones in Euseb. Chron. p. 207. [h] That was the opinion of James La Baune, editor of the ancient Panegyrists in usum Delphini. De Vitâ Plinii. It was likewise the opinion of Mr. Dodwell. Missus est in provinciam Bithyniam anno sequente, CI.—Ita inciderit persecutio illa Plinii in annum Domini, CIII. accuratissime. Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. § xvi. [i] So Tillemont. Persécution de l'Eglise sous Trajan. art. iv. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 2. Which was also the opinion of J. Masson, de Vitâ Plin. Jun. A. CIII. p. 129, &c.

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think that[k] Pliny went thither in the year 109, and left it in 111. Pagi's computation makes it still later; for he says that[l] Pliny did not enter into the province before the year 110. Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History of the first two centuries, follows Pagi, placing Pliny's letter concerning the christians in the year 111.

In order to form a judgment concerning this point, some things may be observed by us. In the first place it is generally allowed that[m] the emperor Trajan was at Rome all the time that Pliny was in the province; which appears to be very evident from his letters written to Trajan in that space. This does not favour the early date of Pliny's governments; for at that time Trajan must have been engaged in the Dacian wars. Secondly, another thing, which much weakens the supposition of that early date, is this: Pliny was consul in the year of our Lord 100; but he did not go into his province the year after; several years passed between his consulship and his provincial government; as has been shown by divers learned[n] men.

Nevertheless I do not see sufficient reason to defer his government so long as some have done. And I am inclined to think that Pliny was sent into the province in the year 106, and left it in 108. I see no good reason to believe that Trajan was absent from Rome in that space of time. The Dacian wars, and the two triumphs for them,[o] might be over by the end of the year 105, or the middle of 106.

We can perceive from Pliny's panegyric, pronounced in the beginning of September, in the year 100, that[p] the war against the Dacians was even then designed by Trajan, and that, probably, preparations were then making for it.

[k] Currente anno injunctam esse Plinio Bithyniæ legationem, cum eruditissimo Norisio, probabilissimum existimamus. Basn. Ann. 109. num. ii.

[l] Plinius igitur anno Christi centesimo decimo Bithyniam intravit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. num. vi. [m] Tandem supponendum, per totum illud temporis spatium, quo noster in provinciâ moratus est, Trajanum Romæ egisse. Quod certum ex lib. x. ep. 13, 14, 15, &c. Masson ubi supra. Cæterum recte Loydio observatum, totum illud tempus Trajanum Romæ egisse, quo Plinius in Bithyniâ fuit. Pagi ann. 102. num. viii. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 107. num. iii. [n] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. n. vii. viii. Basnag. ann. 109. num. ii. [o] Optime facis, quod bellum Dacium scribere paras. Nam quæ tam recens, tam copiosa, tam lata, quæ denique tam poetica materia? Dices immissa terris nova flumina, novos pontes fluminibus injectos—pulsum regiâ, pulsum etiam vitâ, regem nihil desperantem. Super hæc, actos bis triumphos; quorum alter ex invitâ gente primus, alter novissimus fuit. Plin. ad Caninium. Ep. 4. L. 8. Conf. Dion. Cass. l. 68. p. 1123—1133. ed. Reimar. [p] Quod si quis barbarus rex eo insolentiæ furorisque processerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur, næ ille, sive interfuso mari, seu fluminibus immensis, seu præcipiti monte defenditur, omnia hæc tam prona, tamque cedentia virtutibus tuis sentiet, ut subsedisse montes,

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The Dacian wars began in that[q] same year, or[r] in the following, and[s] lasted five years. They ended therefore in the year 105, or the beginning of 106.

In the year 102, Trajan obtained a signal, though difficult, victory over the Dacians, and triumphed at Rome upon that account in the year 103: of this there is full[t] proof. The first war therefore was completed[u] in two years. The second could not last much longer.

After these wars Trajan staid a long while at Rome. For, though some learned men have thought otherwise, it seems to me to have been well shown by[v] Pagi, and[w] Basnage, that Trajan did not go into the East before the year 112. During that stay at Rome he received the solemn embassies of divers eastern princes, raised many new buildings, and repaired others, built his forum, and erected the famous column, which was not finished and dedicated[x] before the year 112 or 113.

What has been already said must be sufficient to render it probable that Trajan was at Rome in the year 107, and afterwards.

Another argument for the time of Pliny's government offers itself here from the martyrdom of Ignatius, which must be supposed to have some connection with the rescript of Trajan, to be produced hereafter, and which cannot be removed[y] from the tenth of Trajan, and the hundred and seventh of our Lord, where it is placed by Eusebius in his chronicle, and by Jerom in the chapter of Ignatius, in his Book of Illustrious Men. Eusebius could not be mistaken about the time of the martyrdom of a bishop of a city so near his own.

And by the Acts of Ignatius, which we have, his martyr-

flumina exaruisse, interceptum mare, illatasque sibi non esse classes nostras, sed terras ipsas, arbitretur. Paneg. cap. 16. [q] Primum ab octobri mense. A. U. C. 853 [A. D. 100] usque ad finem anni 855 duravit, triumpho acto sequenti anno 856. Reimar. ad Dion. 1180. [r] Anno præterito Trajanus expeditionem in Dacos susceperat, in quo magna quidem cædes hostium facta, multo tamen sanguine Romanorum victoria constitit. Basnag. ann. 102. ii. Vid. et. Ann. 101. i. [s] Επραχθη δε μοι το εργον τουτο εν ενιαυτοις εισω πυ πεντε. Trajan. ap. Julian. Cæs. p. 327. D. ed. Spanheim. [t] Trajanus hoc anno e Daciâ Romam redux de Decebalo Dacorum rege triumphavit, ut certum facit nummus a Card. Norisio in Epistolâ Consulari ex Thesauro Mediceo productus. Pagi ann. 103. viii. et Basn. ann. 103. i. [u] Quare biennium in id insumtum, Reimar. ad Dion. p. 1130. [v] Ann. 105. ii. iii. et 112. iii. [w] Ann. 107. iii. et 112. ii. iii. [x] Pagi ann. 104. ii. 113. i. Basn. ann. 113. i.

[y] Ejus certum tempus habemus in Actis Ignatii, Consulatum Suræ et Senesionis, annum Domini CVII. Dodw. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 18. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 107. v.—viii. And the Credibility, &c. Vol. ii. p. 77.

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dom is placed in the time of Sura and Senecio, who were consuls in the tenth of Trajan, and the year of Christ 107.

Those Acts indeed are not sincere and incorrupt, nor, perhaps, of the highest[z] antiquity. In them it is supposed that Ignatius was condemned at Antioch by Trajan in person, and sent by him to Rome; which is inconsistent with the just mentioned consulship: at which time Trajan was not at Antioch, as was before shown. Nor does Eusebius, or Jerom after him, say any thing of Ignatius having been condemned by Trajan himself; a remarkable circumstance, which, if true, could not have been omitted by writers, who have enlarged so much in their accounts of this bishop and martyr. Moreover, if Trajan had been at Antioch, Ignatius would have suffered in that city. His being sent to Rome is an argument that Trajan was there. So now, as we shall see presently, Pliny having some christians brought before him, who were citizens, he sent them to Rome, where Trajan certainly was at that time. And that Trajan was at Rome, when Ignatius suffered there, is expressly said by a christian writer[a] of the ninth century.

Pliny, then, was sent from Rome in the summer of the year 106. He went by the way[b] of Ephesus, and arrived in Bithynia[c] on the eighteenth of September, which was the genuine, or natural birthday of Trajan. He seems also in one of his epistles[d] to speak of the same birthday in another year. Whilst he was in the province he twice[e] celebrated the day of Trajan's accession, or the anniversary of his empire. The first time may have been on the 27th of January, in the year 107; the next, or second, on the same day of January, in the year 108. It is likely that he did not leave the province before the summer of that year. Consequently

[z] Nos vero sententiæ sumus ejusmodi, post Eusebium nata esse Acta hæc Ignatii. Basnag. Ann. 107. viii. [a] Quod si audiatur Ado, Romæ adfuit Trajanus, cum excessit Ignatius, ut legitur in libello de Festivitatibus Apostolorum. Basnag. ann. 107. viii. [b] Vid. l. x. ep. 26. et 28.

[c] Rursus, quum transissem in orarias naviculas, contrariis ventis retentus, aliquanto tardius quam speraveram, id est, xv. Calend. Octobris, Bithyniam intravi. Non possum tamen de morâ queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auspicatissimum, natalem tuum in provinciâ celebrare. L. x. ep. 28.

——diem illum, triplici gaudio lætum, qui principem abstulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92. [d] Opto, Domine, et hunc natalem, et plurimos alios, quam felicissimos agas. L. x. ep. 89. Vid. et ep. 90. [e] Diem, Domine, quo servâsti imperium, dum suscipis, quantâ mereris lætitiâ celebravimus, &c. L. x. ep. 60.

Quantâ religione ac lætitiâ commilitones cum provincialibus, te præeunte, diem imperii mei celebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex literis tuis. Ep. 61. Vid. et ep. 103, et 104.

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he was there eighteen months, or longer. According to this computation, Pliny's letter to Trajan, concerning the christians, was written in 107, and the emperor's rescript, or answer to it, in the same year.

II. The letter of Pliny is in these words.

'Pliny to the emperor Trajan wisheth health and[f] happi-
'ness.

'It[g] is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in
'all matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who
'can better direct me where I hesitate, or instruct me where
'I am ignorant? I have never been present at any trials of

[f] C. Plinius Trajano Imp. S. Lib. x. ep. xcvii.

[g] Solenne est mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognationibus christianorum interfui nunquam. Ideo nescio quid et quâtenus aut puniri soleat, aut quæri. Nec mediocriter hæsitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant: deturne pœnitentiæ venia, an ei qui omnino christianus fuit, desiisse non prosit: nomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis qui ad me tamquam christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam qualecunque esset quod fatererentur, pervicaciam certe, et inflexibilem obstinationem, debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiæ; quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in Urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractu, [al. tractatu] ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negârunt se esse christianos, aut fuisse, quum præeunte me, Deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum afferri, vino ac thure sacrificarent, præterea malediceret Christo; quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera christiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt: fuisse quidem, sed desiisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem tuam, Deorumque simulacra, venerati sunt. Ii et Christo maledixerunt. Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium; quod et ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Ideoque dilatâ cognitione ad consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, utriusque sexûs etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam et agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est. Quæ videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope etiam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, et sacra solennia diu intermissa repeti; passimque vænire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quæ turba hominum emendari possit, si sit pœnitentiæ locus.

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'christians: so that I know not well what is the subject 'matter of punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness 'ought to be used in either. Nor have I been a little per-'plexed to determine whether any difference ought to be 'made upon account of age, or whether the young and ten-'der, and the full-grown and robust, ought to be treated 'all alike: whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or 'whether all who have once been christians ought to be 'punished, though they are now no longer so: whether the 'name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only 'belonging to the name ought to be punished. Concerning 'all these things I am in doubt.

'In the mean time I have taken this course with all who 'have been brought before me and have been accused as 'christians. I have put the question to them, whether they 'were christians. Upon their confessing to me that they 'were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, 'threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still 'persisted, I ordered away to be punished; for it was no 'doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opi-'nion, that contumacy, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to 'be punished. There were others of the same infatuation, 'whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down 'to be sent to the city.

'In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst 'under persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of 'people came in my way. An information was presented to 'me without mentioning the author, containing the names 'of many persons, who upon examination denied that they 'were christians, or had ever been so: who repeated after 'me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankin-'cense made supplication to your image, which for that 'purpose I have caused to be brought and set before them, 'together with the statues of the deities. Moreover, they 'reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is 'said, they who are really christians, can by any means be 'compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to 'discharge.

'Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed 'themselves christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest 'said they had been christians, but had left them; some 'three years ago, some longer, and one, or more, above 'twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the 'statues of the gods; these also reviled Christ. They af-'firmed that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, 'that they were wont to meet together on a stated day be-

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'fore it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a 'hymn to Christ, as a god, and bind themselves by an oath, 'not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be 'guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their 'word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when call-'ed upon to return it. When these things were performed, 'it was their custom to separate, and then to come together 'again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any 'disorder: but this they had forborne, since the publication 'of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I 'prohibited assemblies.

'After receiving this account I judged it the more neces-'sary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, 'which were called ministers. But I have discovered no-'thing, beside a bad and excessive superstition.

'Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have 'recourse to you for advice: for it has appeared unto me a 'matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon ac-'count of the great number of persons who are in danger 'of suffering. For many of all ages, and every rank, of 'both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor 'has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but 'the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless 'it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It 'is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, 'begin to be more frequented. And the sacred solemnities, 'after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise 'are every where bought up, whereas for some time there 'were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what 'numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were grant-'ed to those who shall repent.'

So writes Pliny. We are now to observe the emperor's rescript.

'Trajan to Pliny wisheth health and[h] happiness.'

'You[i] have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your 'proceedings with those who have been brought before you 'as christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule 'that shall hold universally. They are not to be sought

[h] Trajanus Plinio S.

[i] Lib. x. ep. 98. Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in executiendis causis eorum qui christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi sunt: ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se christianum esse, idque re ipsâ manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentiâ impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo in crimine, locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.

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'for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they 'ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being 'a christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by sup-'plicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been 'so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But 'in no case of any crime whatever, may a bill of informa-'tion be received without being signed by him who pre-'sents it: for that would be a dangerous precedent, and 'unworthy of my government.'

I have put together these two letters, that we may make our remarks upon them jointly, and without interruption.

It may be observed here, that the genuineness of these letters is unquestioned. They are found with the other letters of Pliny to Trajan, and Trajan's letters to him. And they are both particularly mentioned by[k] Tertullian, in his Apology for the christians, and by[l] Eusebius from him, not now to mention any later writers.

III. But before we enter upon any particular remarks upon these epistles, it may be of use to take Eusebius's account of the persecution of the christians in the reign of Trajan.

In the thirty-second chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, he expresseth himself to this purpose: 'After Nero and Domitian, in the time of him of 'whom we are now speaking, we have understood that in 'several places, and in divers cities, there was a persecution 'occasioned by the tumults of the people.' After which he there relates the martyrdom of Simeon, son of Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem: who at the age of an hundred and twenty years was crucified by order of Atticus, governor of Judea under Trajan.

In the next chapter he writes thus: 'And indeed so 'heavy a persecution was there against us in many places, 'that Pliny, a governor of great eminence and distinction, 'being moved at the multitude of the martyrs, could not for-'bear writing to the emperor concerning the multitude of 'those who were slain for the faith. At the same time in-'forming him that he had not discovered any wickedness 'they were guilty of, or any thing done by them contrary 'to the laws: only that rising early in the morning they 'sang together a hymn to Christ, as a god: that they con-'demned adultery, murder, and all such crimes: and that 'they acted in all things according to the laws. In answer 'to which Trajan sent an edict to this effect: "That the 'christians should not be sought for, but if any were

[k] Apol. cap. 2. [l] H. E. l. 3. cap. 33.

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'brought before him they should be punished." By which 'means the violence of the persecution against us was in 'some measure abated. Nevertheless, they who had a mind 'to disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some 'places the people, in other places the governors of pro-'vinces, laying snares for us. So that, though there was no 'open [or general] persecution, there were persecutions in 'several places and provinces, and there were many faith-'ful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

So writes Eusebius, I believe very truly, and I think judiciously, and with good temper, though not with elegance or accuracy of expression. He then proceeds to transcribe a part of Tertullian's Apology, where he speaks of Pliny and Trajan, of which I may take farther notice hereafter. At present I transcribe below[m] what we find upon this subject in Eusebius's Chronicle.

IV. I now intend to go over the two epistles above transcribed.

'It is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in 'all matters concerning which I have any doubt.'

That this was Pliny's constant custom, sufficiently appears from his many letters sent to Trajan, whilst he was in the province. He seems to have had some particular encouragement from the emperor[n] so to do. But the introduction to this letter is rather more formal than ordinary, because of the importance of the present subject of enquiry. And indeed it was a frequent practice of the governors of provinces, upon special occasions, to consult the Roman emperor, the supreme[o] magistrate.

'I have never been present at any trials of the christians.'

This manner of speaking shows that the christians were then well known in the world. Pliny does not say to the emperor that he had now unexpectedly met with a certain sort of men in his province, called christians. No. There were people well known to himself, and the emperor, who

[m] Plinius Secundus, quum quamdam provinciam regeret, et in magistratu suo plurimos christianorum interfecisset, multitudine eorum perterritus, quæsivit de Trajano, quid facto opus esset, nuntians ei, præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, et antelucanos cœtus ad canendum cuidam Christo, ut Deo, nihil apud eos reperiri: præterea ad confœderandam disciplinam vetari ab his homicidia, adulteria, latrocinia, et his similia. Ad quæ commotus Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Euseb. Chron. p. 165. [n] Summas, Domine, gratias ago, quod, inter maximas occupationes, iis, de quibus consului, me quoque regere dignatus es: quod nunc quoque facias, rogo. L. x. ep. 64. [o] Vid. C. Kortholt. Comment. in Ep. Plinii et Trajani de Christian. p. 11.

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bore the denomination of christians. When he says, 'he 'had never been present at any trials of the christians;' it seems to be implied that he knew of some such trials, though he had not been concerned in them. And[p] there may have been such trials in this province before he came into it.

'So that I know not well what is the subject matter of 'punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be 'used in either.'

Hence it may be argued, that when Pliny came into his province there[q] were no edicts in force against the christians. If there had, Pliny, who was a learned man, and well acquainted with the Roman laws, must have known them. The reason why there were then no edicts in force against the christians, I suppose to be, that the edicts of Nero and Domitian had been abrogated.

'Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether 'any difference ought to be made on account of age, or 'whether the young and tender, and the full grown and 'robust, ought to be treated all alike.'

Mr. Melmoth's translation is this: 'Whether therefore 'any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of 'the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the 'young and the adult ——.' I have allowed myself to be more diffused, and somewhat paraphrastical, because I have imagined that Pliny's question relates not only to those who were tender upon account of their age, but also upon account of their sex.

[p] Certe jam ante se cognitiones in provinciâ fuisse de Christianis habitas, initio literarum suarum noster significat. Ac eum quidem, qui proxime ante Plinium Bithyniæ præfuerat, fuisse persecutorem, inde manifestum puto, quod Plinius refert nonnullos ad se productorum dixisse, 'se jam ante triennium de-'siisse esse christianos.' Suâ autem sponte eos, non metu supplicii, id fecisse, verisimile non est. C. A. Heumanni Disput. de Persecutione Christian. Plinian. sect. iv. p. 124. Ap. Diss. Syllog. Tom. i. P. i.

[q] Fuisse aliquod Trajani de interficiendis christianis certum edictum ante Plinii relationem, non existimo. Si quod enim fuisset, Plinius non dubitâsset; aut Trajanum certe consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Fr. Balduin. Comm. ad Edict. Princ. Roman. de Christianis. p. 28. Quid Trajanus A. C. 103, seq. contra eos tentaverit, ex Plinio constat, cujus Epistola indicat, vexatos quidem esse christianos variis in locis, absque ullâ tamen hactenus Cæsarum rescripto. Unde Plinius eâ de re Trajanum consulere necessum habuit. Lampe Synops. Hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 3. num. xxxiii. p. 112. Quum Trajanus, primus imperatorum hujus seculi, reipublicæ gubernationi admoveretur, nullæ aderant in christianos leges et edicta. Quod cum aliæ res, tum Plinii notissima epistola, extra omnem dubitationem ponit, quâ imperatori significat, nescire se, quomodo cum christianis agendum esset; quod vir juris et consuetudinum Romanarum consultissimus non ignorâsset, si leges in christianos extitissent. Neronis nimirum leges Senatus, Dominitani Nerva imperator, abrogaverat. Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. Sec. 2. sect. viii. p. 231.

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Some have thought that[r] Trajan gives no answer to this question. Whether he does or not will be considered hereafter.

Le Clerc is much offended that Pliny should not know whether[s] a difference ought to be made between the young and the adult, especially in matters of religion, where children are very likely to follow the judgment of their parents. However, I apprehend that this question is proposed by Pliny with a good intention, and hoping that Trajan would determine favourably, that 'the young and the tender' should not be treated in the same manner with those of mature age and robust constitution.

Another commentator upon Pliny observes, 'that[t] in other 'cases regard was had to age by the Roman laws; but that 'this equity was not shown in the treatment of christians;' as indeed is well known from the ancient apologists, and other ancient christian writers, who often speak of the sufferings, and of the courage, resolution, and patience, of young people and women: of which a few instances shall be placed[u] below in their own words.

And perhaps Pliny himself did really hesitate here. In other cases regard was usually had to age. But the persecutions of the christians were carried with so much violence, and there was such vehemence in the complaints against them brought before him as enemies to the gods, and for neglecting the worship at the temples, and all the sacred solemnities, that he was in doubt whether they ought to partake in the common equity.

'Whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whe-

[r] Nec mediocriter hæsitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen ætatum. Huic dubitationi non respondet Trajanus. Balduin. ubi supra. [s] In aliis criminibus ratio ætatis habebatur. Neque enim pueri, rerum omnium imperiti, eodem modo atque adulti, qui scientes et prudentes deliquerant, habebantur. Mirum est, in religionis negotio, dubitare posse Plinium, an esset aliquod discrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differrent; cum liquidum sit, teneram ætatem sequi parentum judicium——Hic homo, alioqui doctus, et acutus, talpâ cœciorem se prebuit. Usque adeo verum est, pravis religionibus hebetes homines fieri. Cleric. H. E. p. 547.

[t] Ætatis magna omnino in pœnis irrogandis haberi solet ratio. Unde non tantum definiunt Icti, quæ ætas delicti sit capax; sed etiam docent, si maxime capax sit, ob ætatem tamen tenellam et florescentem, mitiorem debere pœnam infligi———Cæterum, ut hæc ita sint, de fide tamen christianâ quando res erat, omni ætatis discrimine posthabito, in ipsos etiam pueros puellasque crudeliter sæviebatur. Kortholt. ubi supr. p. 12. [u] Pueri et mulierculæ nostræ cruces et tormenta, feras, et omnes suppliciorum terriculas inspiratâ patientiâ doloris illudunt. Min. Fel. c. 37.—Nostri autem (ut de viris taceam) pueri, et mulierculæ, tortores suos taciti vincunt.—Ecce sexus infirmus, et fragilis ætas, dilacerari se toto corpore, urique perpetitur, &c. Lact. Inf. l. 5. c. 13.

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'ther all who have been once christians should be punish-
'ed, though they are no longer so.'

Upon this Le Clerc observes, that, 'if[v] christianity were 'supposed to be an error only, nothing more could be ex-'pected of him who had erred in embracing it, than re-'nouncing it upon being convicted of his error. And as the 'christians were charged with no crime that should expose 'them to punishment, it was highly reasonable that pardon 'should be granted upon repentance.'

And I am apt to think that this is what Pliny aimed at in this enquiry. We may be rather disposed to think so, because he plainly recommends it afterwards nearer the end of his letter.

'Whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, 'or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punish-'ed? Concerning all these things I am in doubt.'

This is Pliny's third question, and of great importance. If rightly determined, the christians could no longer suffer upon account of their religion. But I do not discern any hint from Pliny in favour of the right answer, nor any intimation how he wished to have it answered.

Pliny speaks in the language of those times. We find this complaint frequently in our ancient apologists, that[w] they were punished for the name only, as christians, without proof of any crimes they were guilty of.

When Pliny first formed these three questions, this last in particular, he might possibly be in doubt whether the christians were not guilty of some crimes. But, before he wrote this letter and sent it away to Trajan, he had good proof and must have been well satisfied that there were no crimes,

[v] Dubitabat idem, an dari oporteret 'pœnitentiæ veniam,' &c. At, si statuamus errorem esse christianismum, quid oportuit ab errante aliud postulari, nisi ut erroris convictus se errâsse fateretur, et, meliora edoctus, rectius de religione sentiret? &c. Cleric. H. E. Ap. cxi. n. v.

[w] Hanc itaque primam causam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen christianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

———Sed illud solum expectatur, quod odio publico necessarium est, confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis. Ib. c. 2.

Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perseverantes, et absolvimur negantes, quia nominis prœlium est. Ib. c. 2. p. 4. B.

Porro sententiæ vestræ nihil nisi christianum confessum notant. Nullum criminis nomen extat, nisi nominis crimen est. Id. ad Nation. l. i. c. 3. et alibi passim.

Ονοματος μεν εν προσωνομια, ουτε αγαθον ουτε κακον, κρινεται, ανευ των ὑποπιπτουσων τῳ ονοματι πραξεων. Justin. M. Ap. p. 54. D. Paris. 1636. Vid. et. p. 55. A. B.

Ου γαρ τα ονοματα μισεις αξια, αλλα το αδικημα δικης και τιμωριας. Athen. Ap. p. 3.—Επι μονῳ ονοματι προσπολεμουντων ἡμιν των πολλων. Ib. Par. p. 280. Bened.

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'belonging to,' or 'inherent in the name,' or the profession of christianity; as we shall see by and by: at present we go on.

'In the mean time,' says Pliny, 'I have taken this course 'with all who have been brought before me, and accused as 'christians.'

Le Clerc thinks[x] it strange that whilst Pliny had such doubts he should proceed to act as if he had been well satisfied what was fit to be done, and treat the christians very severely.

'I put the question to them whether they were christians. 'Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the 'question a second and a third time, threatening also to 'punish them with death. Such as still persisted, I order-'ed away to be punished.'

Mr. Melmoth very softly and cautiously translates in this general manner. 'If they confessed, I repeated the ques-'tion twice again, adding threats at the same time; when, 'if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately 'punished.' But to me it seems that Pliny's expressions[y] require the interpretation that I have given: which is also agreeable to Mr. Tillemont's[z] French version.

The obvious meaning of the last words, *perseverantes duci jussi*, is that of being had away to be punished with death. The phrase[a] frequently occurs in that sense in the Latin authors, and is equivalent to the[b] Greek words in Acts xii. 19,—"and commanded that they should be put to death."

However, the word is also used for being had away to[c] prison. And Tertullian, representing Pliny's conduct in the province, as from his own letter, which we are now considering, says: 'Some[d] christians he condemned to death, others he degraded.' And in like manner Eusebius[e] in his

[x] Quamvis Plinius animi, ut vidimus, penderet, ac proinde rem deferre debuisset, quasi exploratum ei fuisset, quid factu opus esset, pessime habuit christianos. Ib. n. vii. in. [y] 'Perseverantes duci jussi,'] nempe ad mortem. Sic enim, ut omnes nôrunt, loqui solent Latini scriptores. Cleric. ibid. [z] Quand ils ont avoué, je leur ai fait deux ou trois fois la mesme demande, en le menaçant mesme de la mort, s'ils ne renonçoient a cette réligion. Ceux qui ont persisté dans leur aveu, je les ai fait mener au supplice. Tillem. La Persecution sous Trajan. art. iv. H. Emp. T. 2.

[a] —a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit. Suet. Calig. c. 27. —ducique ad supplicium imperavit. Tib. c, 57.—paucis duci jussis. Tertull. ad Scap. c. ult.——innocentes duci jubentur. L. Cæc. de Mart. Persec. c. 40. ad supplicium deductæ. Ib.—innocentes occisas esse testatur. Ib.

[b] —εκελευσεν απαχθηναι. [c] —ducique in carcerem jussit. Sueton. Cæs. cap. 20. [d] Plinius enim Secundus, cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsis, ipsâ tamen multitudine perturbatus, &c. Apol. c. 2. [e] —κατακρινας Χριστιανους τινας, και της αξιας εκβαλων, κ. λ. Euseb. H. E. l. 3, c. 33, p. 105. D.

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Greek quotation of Tertullian's Apology. Possibly, therefore, Tertullian supposed that in the word *duci* were included several kinds of punishment; or else he understood *duci*, as I have translated, 'put to death:' and by 'degrading others,' he explains what Pliny says of sending some, who were citizens, to Rome. Nevertheless, in the chronicle before[f] transcribed by us, Eusebius writes that 'Pliny, 'when he presided in a certain province, and had put to 'death many christians in the time of his government, being 'concerned on account of the multitude of those who were 'in danger of suffering, he wrote to the emperor for advice 'what should be done.'

Pliny here says: 'I put the question to them whether 'they were christians. Upon their confessing to me that 'they were, I repeated the question a second and a third 'time, threatening also to punish them with death.'

Here I must say that, so far as I am able to judge, Pliny acted the part of a true and thorough persecutor: 'advising 'these persons well to consider of the matter, and to have a 'due regard to their own welfare. If they departed from 'their first confession, mercy might be shown them: but if 'they persisted in it, nothing less than death could be ex-'pected.'

But there is no real argument in such fine speeches, or such threatenings. Indeed Pliny did all that was in his power to make them recant without, and contrary to, conviction. And undoubtedly he subdued the consciences of some, and made them fall from the faith. It is implied in what he says presently afterwards: 'Such as still persisted, 'I ordered away to be punished.' Therefore all did not persevere. Some were overcome by his promises and threatenings. I must transcribe below some observations of[g] Le Clerc upon this passage of Pliny, which to me seem very just, and not at all too severe.

Nevertheless some learned men have of late apologized for Pliny, and they blame[h] Le Clerc, and propose to cor-

[f] See before, p. 26, note [m].

[g] Cur vero interrogabat, an essent christiani? Si ex animo essent, an volebat homines mentiri, et id, quod erant, se esse negare?———Qui religioni ducebant alium, præter rerum omnium Creatorem, colere, an erant vi adigendi, ut se aliter sentire falso dicerent? Attamen hoc ipsum volebat Plinius, qui 'supplicium' utique non 'minabatur,' nisi ut eos negare cogeret: quod erat improbum et impium, si revera cum christianis sentiebant, &c. Cleric. ib. n. vii. p. 549.

[h] Adjungo Jo. Clericum, qui Hist. Eccl. sect. 2, p. 546—553. suas ad totam hanc epistolam protulit meditationes; sed, ut ex hac meâ Dissertatione apparebit, justo festinantius excusas. Illud in primis errat vir doctissimus, quod

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rect him. They say that 'Pliny[i] did all this out of kind-'ness and good-will to the christians; hoping they might 'be induced to disown their first profession,' that is, I think, to deny Christ; 'and that he might not be obliged to put 'them to death.'

This appears to me exceeding strange. I think that Pliny had as much kindness for the christians as other heathen persecutors: and that this treatment of them was exactly the same with what they met with from their worst enemies in the times of the worst persecuting emperors.

The Irenarch, who apprehended Polycarp, said: 'What[k] 'harm is it to say, Lord Cæsar, and sacrifice, and save your 'life?' And afterwards the proconsul himself, endeavouring to persuade him to deny Christ, said: 'Reverence[l] 'thine age,' and other things common upon like occasions; 'Swear by Cæsar's fortune. Repent. Swear, and reproach 'Christ, and I will dismiss thee.' To all which Polycarp made a resolute and proper answer.

Eusebius, giving an account of the martyrdoms of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, and Philoromus, receiver-general at Alexandria, who suffered under the persecuting emperor Maximin, says: 'When many[m] of their kindred, 'and other honourable friends, and some of the magistrates, 'and even the judge himself, advised them to take pity upon 'themselves, and to consider their wives and children, they 'would not by all their entreaties be induced, out of a re-'gard to their own lives, to transgress the divine laws con-'cerning denying and confessing our Saviour; and, having 'withstood all the threatenings and abuses of the judge, 'they were beheaded.'

Lactantius[n] is far from reckoning them merciful governors,

longe aliter in christianos putat affectum fuisse Plinium, quam revera fuit. Heuman. Disput. de Persecutione Christianor. Plinian. n. i. ubi supr. p. 120, not. [c].

[i] Interrogavit igitur eos, an essent christiani, non ideo, ut se christianos fatterentur, sed ut negando effugerent supplicium. Quapropter non semel eos interrogavit, sed 'iterum,' sed 'tertio,' et, quasi cum ignaris periculi ageret, 'additâ' tandem 'comminatione mortis.' Quam cum essent, qui fortiter contemnerent, invictæ fidei christiani, hos necessitate magis, quam irâ, cogente, 'duci,' hoc est, supplicio affici jussit. Non enim putabat iniquum, contemtores tantæ suæ humanitatis, et mortem pro vitâ libenter eligentes, at ne precantes quidem humiliter, ut sibi parcatur, mori. Heuman. ib. sect. vi. p. 127, 128. De Plinii benigno in Christianos animo mihi non est dubium, quin huc spectârint ipsius interrogationes, ut eos in vitâ potius servaret negantes christianismum. Rittershusius in loc. et ap. Heuman. l. c. p. 127. not. [z].

[k] Euseb. H. E. l. 4, c. 15, p. 131. B. [l] Ibid. p. 131. D.

[m] H. E. l. 8, c. x. p. 301. And see the Credibility, Vol. iii. ch. lx.

[n] Illud vero pessimum (Præsidum) genus est, cui clementiæ species falso blanditur. Ille gravior, ille sævior est carnifex, qui neminem statuit occidere.

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who took great care to save the lives of christians by inducing them to deny their first confession, and who sometimes mightily pleased themselves, when they left their provinces, that their government had been unbloody. And he speaks with great disdain of a governor of Bithynia, and therefore a successor of our Pliny, 'who exulted as if he 'had gained a victory over a whole nation of barbarians, 'when one christian at last seemed to give way, who with 'signal fortitude had for two years withstood all his cruel 'attacks.'

But it would be endless to rehearse all the ancient instances of this[o] kind.

The true and only kindness of any in such cases, whether they be magistrates or others, can be none but this only: they who have power ought to discharge men brought before them and accused, if, upon enquiry, they appear to be innocent and free from such crimes as deserve punishment: and real friends should exhort them to persevere in the profession of the truth, and not to do or say any thing contrary to conviction, through fear of suffering.

'For it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the 'nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible ob-'stinacy ought to be punished.'

'Whatever might be the nature of their opinion,' 'that 'is,' says[p] an author, favourable enough to Pliny, 'whe-'ther their religion tended to make them wicked or good 'men.'

The observation of Le Clerc is to this purpose: 'But[q] 'the constancy of these men, who were convicted of no

Itaque dici non potest, hujusmodi judices quanta, et quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint, ut ad affectum propositi sui pervenirent. Hæc autem non tantum ideo faciunt, ut gloriari possint, nullum se innocentium peremisse, (nam et ipse audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta,) sed invidiæ causâ, ne aut ipsi vincantur, aut illi virtutis suæ gloriam consequantur. Itaque in excogitandis pœnarum generibus, nihil aliud, quam victoriam excogitant—Vidi ego, in Bithyniâ, præsidem, gaudio mirabiliter elatum, tamquam Barbarorum gentem aliquam subegisset, quod unus, qui per biennium magnâ virtute restiterat, postremo cedere visus est. Instit. l. 5. c. xi.

[o] They who desire to see more instances, may consult Kortholt, as before, p. 37, &c.

[p] —'Qualecumque esset quod faterenter:' hoc est, sive improbos redderet ipsos religio sua, sive bonos. Heuman. ubi supr. n. vi. p. 128.

[q] Atqui 'pertinacia' et 'obstinatio' dici nullo jure potuit eorum constantia, qui nihil flagitiosum (quod mox de christianis agnoscit noster) fatebantur. Perseverantia in re bonâ non potest non laudari, nedum ut jure pœnas dare debeat. Præterea quibus legibus pertinaciæ mors erat imposita, nisi res per se mala esset, quæ pertinacius fieret? Itaque debuisset Secundus, antequam 'duci' christianos juberet, in eorum religionem inquirere, non, 'qualecumque 'esset quod faterentur,' eos damnare. Cler. ib. n. viii. p. 549.

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'crimes or wicked principles, as our president will acknow-
'ledge by and by, ought not to be called "contumacy," and
'obstinacy. Perseverance in what is good deserves com-
'mendation; so far is it from exposing men to punishment.
'By what law was death ever appointed for obstinacy, with-
'out any other fault? Pliny, therefore, before he ordered any
'christians away to be punished, should have inquired into
'the principles of their religion, and not have resolved to
'condemn and punish them whatever their opinions were.'
So says that rational and judicious writer.

The learned lawyer, Fr.[r] Balduinus does not speak more favourably of this determination of Pliny than Le Clerc.

Indeed these are hard words, very improperly applied to men who were open to conviction, and willing to satisfy others if they might have leave to speak. But they would not be persuaded by fair promises, and severe menaces, to deny what they thought to be truth. And, as Kortholt says: 'Who[s] can forbear to admire such magnanimity?'

'There were others of the same infatuation, whom, be-
'cause they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be
'sent to the city.'

Upon this part of Pliny's epistle we may farther remark, as follows:

First, I believe we may hence reasonably conclude that the christians underwent many hardships in several places from governors of provinces, when there was no general persecution.

Secondly, it appears to me that Pliny acted very arbitrarily and unrighteously in his treatment of the christians in his province. Some perhaps, yea probably many,[t] he put to death; and others, who were Roman citizens, he sent from their native country, or the place of their usual abode, to Rome. What they suffered we cannot say: but he sent them away to be dealt with as christians. But what right had Pliny to act in this manner? By what law, or laws,

[r] Mira vero profani hominis, et causam, de quâ pronuntiat, non intelligentis, confidentia, cum de religione, hoc est, de re maximâ, quærebatur. Causa capitis agebatur. Audit, reos quidem factum fateri; sed constanter defendere, se jure facere, atque adeo pie et religiose. Quid illud tandem sit, neque intelligit, neque inquirit. Et tamen non dubitat damnare. Certe religionem non abjicere, improbæ obstinationis non est, sed optimæ constantiæ. Balduin. ubi supr. p. 40.

[s] Et quis eorum non suspiceret *αριστειαν*, quos nec exilium, nec carcer—nec gladius, nec crux, ad abnegandam fidem adigere potuit? Kort. ib. p. 59.

[t] So says Eusebius in his Chronicle, cited above at p. 26, note [m]. Plinius Secundus, quum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magistratu suo plurimos Christianorum interfecisset, multitudine eorum perterritus, quæsivit de Trajano, quid facto opus esset, &c.

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did he punish those with death, who, upon examination before him, persisted in the profession of christianity? There was not at that time any imperial edict in force against the christians, as was observed some while ago.

There had been such laws in the time of Nero and Domitian: but they were abrogated. Nor were any like edicts since published. And upon other occasions Pliny expresseth great dislike of those two emperors, as enemies to liberty and mankind.

The old Romans protected people of all sects and religions; as was largely shown by us[u] formerly. Nor were any of their priests or worshippers molested, or their rites prohibited, unless they were guilty of some misdemeanor, contrary to good manners, and inconsistent with the welfare of society. Nothing of that kind had been proved to Pliny against the christians. I do not therefore perceive how they could be punished by virtue of any laws of the emperors, or any ancient laws of the senate and people of Rome. I think that there were not, and could not be, any laws against them as christians. When St. Paul pleaded before Festus and Agrippa, and that numerous and august assembly at Cæsarea by the seaside, the residence of the Roman governor, he gave a large and distinct account of himself, and his doctrine, and his conduct; what he had preached to Jews and Gentiles, and with what zeal he had acted in recommending this doctrine to all men. And when he had finished his discourse they all agreed in their verdict, "saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then said Agrippa to Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar:" Acts xxvii. 31, 32.

Therefore there were no Roman laws against the christian religion, or its professors or teachers. Consequently Pliny, in putting christians to death as such, acted without law and authority.

That they suffered without law appears from himself. He punished them for 'inflexible obstinacy.' But who can allege any law of the Roman empire which condemned men to death for 'contumacy and obstinacy, whatever might be 'the nature of their opinion?' We proceed.

'In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst 'under prosecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of 'people came in my way. An information was presented to 'me, without mentioning the author, containing the names 'of many persons, who, upon examination, denied that they

[u] See Vol. i. ch. viii.

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'were christians, or had ever been so: who repeated after 'me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankin-'cense made supplication to your image, which for that 'purpose I had caused to be brought and set before them, 'together with the statues of the deities. Moreover they 'reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is 'said, they who are really christians, can by any means be 'compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to dis-'charge.'

This is a remarkable paragraph. We hence learn that[v] Trajan was worshipped as a god in his lifetime. And here we see many people brought before Pliny and accused as christians, who were not so, and, as it seems, never were. But they were mentioned by name in an information which was not subscribed. It appears to have been a malicious accusation. Le Clerc says, 'We[w] hence perceive how dan-'gerous a thing persecution is: when also innocent persons 'are involved in it, or are without reason suspected; which, 'in the affair of religion, may be of bad consequence.'

Though these persons were not now christians, and never had openly professed christianity, they may have been men of a mild and moderate disposition. Possibly, they had sometimes spoken favourably of the christians, and intimated that they thought they were treated too rigorously, and were not so bad people as some insinuated. These we may consider as low-church Gentiles, though they were not christians.

All these persons Pliny, our prætor, discharged: but not without strict examination, and good assurance that they were not christians. First, he puts the question to them: and they deny that they were christians, or had ever been so. And, as he says, they afterwards invoked the gods in a form prescribed by himself: *me præeunte.* It is implied, and to be understood, that they did every thing else, hereafter mentioned, in the like manner: that is, in a form prescribed by him, they 'made supplication to Trajan's image, 'and reviled the name of Christ.'

A learned man, who not long since wrote a commentary upon this letter of Pliny, and, with a design to correct the mistakes of former commentators, says, that 'Pliny[x] seems

[v] Vel hinc apparet, quid habendum de assertione Eutropii, l. ix. et Cassiodori, et Eusebii in Chronicis, quod inter imperatores primus ut Deum adorari se jusserit Diocletianus. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Trajan. Ep. p. 81.

[w] Vel hinc quam periculosa sit persecutio, intelligere est, cum etiam innocentes eâ involvantur, aut certe immerito suspecti fiant. Quod est, in religionis negotio, periculosissimum. Ib. num. ix. p. 550.

[x] Christum quidem pro altero Socrate videtur habuisse, qui, cum piâ vitâ,

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'to have considered Christ as another Socrates, who both, by 'a pious life, and a pious doctrine, excited his disciples to 'the love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice.' I think we may do well to take our notion of Pliny's character and sentiments from himself, rather than from our own imagination. How he treated the name or person of Christ, and how he required others to treat it, we have just seen. What he thought of the christian religion, we before saw, when he called it 'infatuation,' or madness, *amentia.* Moreover he inflicted death upon several of the faithful followers and steady disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

'Others were named by an informer, who at first con-'fessed themselves christians, and afterwards denied it. 'The rest said they had been christians, but had ceased to 'be so, some three years, some longer, and one, or more, 'above twenty years,' [or, as Mr Melmoth, 'a few above 'twenty years ago.'] 'They all worshipped your image, 'and the statues of the gods. They also reviled Christ.'

These were presented to Pliny in a libel, or information; and, as we may reasonably think, properly subscribed with the name of the accuser. Nevertheless his accusations seem to have been malicious; for they were not all true. Some whom he accused as christians were not so at that time.

The persons first mentioned are described by Pliny after this manner: 'they confessed themselves to be christians;' that is, when brought before Pliny, and interrogated by him, they said they were christians, 'and afterwards denied it.'

Here we are to recollect what Pliny assured Trajan was his constant method of proceeding. 'I have taken this 'course,' says he, 'with all who have been brought before 'me, and accused as christians; I put the question to them 'whether they were christians: Upon their confessing to me 'that they were, I repeated the question a second and a 'third time, threatening also to put them to death.' So he had acted toward those of whom he is now speaking. Upon his first putting the question to them whether they were christians, they confessed they were. But when he repeated the question the second or the third time, adding menaces, they denied that they were[y] christians; that is, they gave

tum piâ doctrinâ, discipulos suos excitavit ad studium virtutum, fugamque vitiorum. Heuman. ib. n. v. p. 126.

[y] Quamquam admiranda erat, et plane inusitata, christianorum plerorumque, si persecutiones æstuarent, constantia, παῤῥησια, et αρετεια; multi tamen tormentorum metu, multi etiam ex merâ animi levitate, vel seculi vanitate fascinati, a fide defecerunt. Kortholt. in loc. ubi supr. p. 95.

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way and their courage failed them, being terrified by the governor's threatenings. Here we see more persons overcome by the artifices and menaces of our proprætor, who was an ingenious man, and soon became an expert persecutor.

After them he mentions others, 'who said they had been 'christians, but had ceased to be so some three years, some 'longer, and one at least above twenty years.'

What were the occasions of their leaving the christians we cannot say particularly, but probably it was not willingly, and of their own choice, but rather through fear of suffering for the profession of the christian religion. However, the change of some may have been owing to the fickleness and inconstancy of their own temper, or to some worldly considerations, less moving than open persecution. All these are deserters and apostates, some made so by Pliny himself, others by other governors, and some possibly through their own unsteady temper. All these Pliny examines, and reports their testimony; which we are next to observe.

'They affirmed, that the whole of their fault, or error, lay 'in this,—that they were wont to meet together on a stated 'day before it was light, and sing among themselves alter-'nately a hymn to Christ as a god, and to bind themselves 'by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but 'not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never 'to falsify their word, not to deny a pledge committed to 'them, when called upon to return it. When these things 'were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then 'to come together again to a meal, which they ate in com-'mon, without any disorder. But this they had forborne, 'since the publication of my edict, by which, according to 'your commands, I prohibited assemblies.'

Here, perhaps, some may wish, that Pliny had expressed himself more distinctly. For they who had deserted the christians several years ago, could not of their own knowledge inform him about what had been done by them since he came into the province. However, we before observed, that the persons first mentioned professed themselves christians when they were brought before him. They therefore could inform him of their late conduct. And concerning other times all here present could bear witness.

'They affirmed,' they solemnly attested, 'that the whole 'of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to 'meet together on a stated day:' doubtless, meaning the Lord's day, or Sunday; on which, as Justin relates parti-

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cularly in his first Apology, all[a] the christians in general, in any city, and in the neighbouring country, came together for divine worship.

——'Before it was light.'

Justin Martyr, in his large and particular account of the christian worship, says nothing of this[a] circumstance. It is likely, therefore, that[b] this was not chosen, but only out of necessity, when they were disturbed by enemies, either the common people or magistrates.

'And sang among themselves alternately a hymn to 'Christ, as a god.' Mr. Melmoth thus: 'And addressed 'themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god.' What Pliny means by 'secum invicem,' which I have rendered 'among themselves alternately,' I cannot say distinctly. Justin says, 'they[c] stood up and offered up pray-'ers and thanksgivings together, and when the president 'had concluded, all the people said, Amen.' Perhaps this is what Pliny means. The prayers were common, the people joined therein with the president, and signified their assent by a loud Amen at the[d] conclusion.

Tertullian, representing Pliny's account, says: 'He[e] dis-'covered nothing beside their meeting together before it 'was light, and singing to Christ and God;' or, as some would read, 'to Christ as a god.' And Eusebius, speaking of the same matter from Tertullian, says, 'they[f] sang a 'hymn to Christ, as to a god.' Such are their expressions,

[a] *Και τη τε ἡλιε λεγομενη ἡμερα παντων κατα πολεις η αγρους μενοντων επι τα αυτα συνελευσις γινεται.* Ap. i. p. 98. D. Par. 83. D. Bened. *Την δε τε ἡλιε ἡμεραν κοινη παντες την συνελευσιν ποιεμεθα.* p. 99. B. al. 84. A.

[a] Vid. Ap. i. sub. fin.

[b] Stato die ergo, hoc est, Dominico, convenire solebant, idque ante lucem, ne persecutioni, quæ in ipsos sæviebat, se obnoxios redderent. Bevereg. Cod. Can. cap. 3. n. vii. Non fugiebant certe lucem, non quærebant tenebras christiani. Sed quid facerent? Interdictum iis erat locis publicis, et ipsâ prope luce solis, ut igni et aquâ. Certe, ubi licuit, in apertâ et publicâ luce convenerunt. Fr. Balduin. in loc. Ap. Edict. Prin. Roman. p. 46. Vid. et Kortholt, ubi supr. p. 105.

[c] —*Ου συντελεσαντος τας ευχας και ευχαριτιαν, πας ὁ παρων λαος επευφημει, λεγων· Αμην.* Ap. i. p. 97. D. al. 82. E.——*επειτα ανιταμεθα κοινη παντες, και ευχας πεμπομεν—και ὁ προεστως ευχας ὁμοιως και ευχαριτιας, ὁση δυναμις αυτῳ, αναπεμπει, και ὁ λαος επευφημει, λεγων το Αμην.* p. 98. D. E. al. p. 83. D. E.

[d] —At confiteor tamen, nihil obsistere arbitremur, Plinium exprimere hoc uno vocabulo voluisse, quod Christiani pluribus ipsi verbis narraverant, presbyterorum unum, seu episcopum, formulam precum dictare, populum vero eam repetere, atque voculâ Amen claudere solere. Moshem. de Reb. ante C. M. p. 148.

[e] —Nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam cœtus antelucanos ad canendum Christo et Deo. Ap. cap. 2. p. 3.

[f] —*Και τον Χριτον θεῳ δικην ὑμνειν.* H. E. l. 3. c. 33.

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though 'carmen,' the word used by Pliny, does[g] not always signify a composition in metre, but may denote a prayer in any form.

'And sing together a hymn to Christ, as to a god.' This is a heathen way of speaking; and it has been questioned whether[h] Pliny speaks here in his own words, or those of the christians who were brought before him, heathen people being willing to deify eminent men. Jesus Christ was such an one, especially in the esteem of christians. All knew he had died, and that the christians said he was risen again from the dead, and was ascended to heaven. Heathen people therefore might naturally enough say, they worshipped Christ as a god.

Justin Martyr nevertheless says: 'In[i] all our oblations 'we praise the Creator of all through his Son Jesus Christ, 'and the Holy Spirit.' And, 'The[k] president gives praise 'and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son, and 'of the Holy Spirit.' And, says Tertullian, 'The[l] God, 'whom we worship, is the God who made this whole uni-'verse and every thing therein, by his powerful word.' Again, 'We[m] worship God through Christ. Call him a 'man, if you think fit. It is by him, and through him, that 'we have been brought to the knowledge and the worship 'of God. And the Jews themselves were taught how to 'worship God by the man Moses.'

Mr. Melmoth, as before seen, translates those words in this manner: 'And addressed themselves in a form of prayer to

[g] Alias carmen Romanis vocatur quidquid conceptis verbis dicitur: sic ut quamcumque prescriptis verbis conceptam precationem Pliniana innuere possit narratio. Kortholt. ut supra, p. 109.

Plinius carmen vocat, Romano more, quod conceptis verbis dicitur. Justinus scribit, præeunte ministro conceptas fuisse publicas Christianorum preces, totumque populum assentientem respondisse, Amen. Nullius autem cantûs meminit. Et sane carmen quoque Latine dicitur, precatio, præscriptis verbis concepta. Sed Tertullianus hic intelligit, quod canebatur. Balduin. ib. p. 46.

[h] Vocabula, 'quasi Deo,' quâ vi prædita hic sint, determinare, haud audeo. Incertum enim est, suis hic verbis Plinius loquatur, an Christianorum. Moshem. ut sup. p. 148.

[i] *Επι πασι τε οις προσφερομεθα, ευλογουμεν τον ποιητην των παντων δια του υιου αυτου* Ιησου Χριστου, *και δια πνευματος του αγιου.* Ap. i. p. 98. C. al. 83. C.

[k] *Και αυτος λαβων, αινον και δοξον τω πατρι των ολων δια του ονοματος του υιου, και του πνευματος αγιου, αναπεμπει.* p. 97. C. al. 82. D.

[l] Quod colimus, Deus unus est, qui totam molem istam, cum omni instrumento elementorum—verbo quo jussit—de nihilo expressit in ornamentum majestatis suæ. Ap. cap. 17. p. 18.

[m] Dicimus, et palam dicimus—Deum colimus per Christum. Illum hominem putate. Per eum, et in eo se cognosci vult Deus, et coli. Ut Judæis respondeamus. Et ipsi Deum per hominem Moysen colere didicerunt. Id. cap. 21. p. 23.

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'Christ, as to some god.' And I must acknowledge that his translation appears to me as proper as my own. For *carmen*, or ὑμνος, (as before hinted,) does not always denote a metrical composition. Julian concludes his oration upon The Mother of the Gods, with what[n] he calls A Hymn to her Honour, which is a prayer in prose: and, unquestionably, Julian speaks properly. Therefore Pliny's Carmen Christo quasi Deo, may have been a prayer to God in the name of Christ: a prayer upon christian principles, in which God was praised for all the blessings of the christian revelation. I may here observe likewise, that Marinus, in his life of Proclus, says, some[o] hymns to the gods are in metre, others in prose.

——'And to bind themselves by an oath not to the com-
'mission of any wickedness, but to forbear adultery, theft,
'and all vice in general.'

About the interpretation of these first words learned men have differed. It is plain that Pliny does not here send Trajan an account of the several parts of the christian worship, reading and explaining the scriptures, and delivering explications and exhortations from them, nor of the eucharist. To me therefore, it seems, that in these words Pliny aimed to represent the general design of their worship in their religious assemblies; which was to engage themselves to the practice of all virtue, and to avoid all vice. This seems to be the meaning of Tertullian's expressions, though perhaps somewhat obscure. Who says, Pliny tells Trajan, 'that,[p]
'excepting an obstinate refusal to sacrifice, he had detected
'nothing in their mysteries, beside their assembling toge-
'ther early in the morning, before daylight, to enforce the
'observation of their discipline; forbidding murder, adul-
'tery, fraud, cheating, and all manner of wickedness.' Eusebius, representing the same thing, speaks exactly to the[q] like purpose. In short, Pliny tells Trajan, that the design of their religious assemblies, so far as he could discover, was to establish themselves, and each other, in the firm belief of the principles of their institution, and to engage themselves, not to the practice of any wickedness, but to avoid

[n] Αλλα τι περας εσται μοι των λογων, η δηλον ὡς ὁ της μεγαλης ὑμνος Θεῳ; Orat. v. p. 179. Spanh. [o] Και δη και τους ὑμνους κομψοτερον εργαζονται τους μεν εν μετροις τους δε και ανευ μετρων. Martin. de Vitâ Procl. cap. i.

[p] —Allegans, præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam cœtus antelucanos ad canendum Christo et (vel ut) Deo, et ad confœderandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cætera scelera prohibentes. Tert. Ap. c. 2. p. 3.

[q] —Και προς το την επιστημην αυτων διαφυλασσειν. κ. λ. Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 33, p. 106. A.

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all wickedness of every kind. This Pliny calls 'binding 'themselves by an oath.'

So Justin Martyr, in his account of the christian worship, says: 'the[r] memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the 'prophets, are read: when the reader has finished, the pre-'sident makes a discourse, recommending and exhorting to 'the imitation of the good examples that have been record-'ed.' To the like purpose[s] Tertullian.

Mr. Mosheim[t] explains Pliny after the same manner that I have now done.

'Which things being performed, it was their custom to 'separate, and after some time to come together again to a 'meal, which they ate in common. But this they had for-'borne since the publication of my edict, by which, accord-'ing to your commands, I had prohibited assemblies.'

There can be no doubt but that Pliny, by this meal or supper, means what was called by the christians αγαπη, or a love-feast: of which mention is made by[u] Tertullian, and other ancient writers. Of which likewise, as is generally supposed, St. Peter speaks, 2 ep. ii. 13, and St. Jude, ver. 12. It is plain, from what Pliny says, that this meal was not eaten in the morning at the time of their solemn worship, but some while afterwards; and probably in the evening.

Some have thought that this feast generally accompanied the eucharist. But Mr. Hallett in his discourse on the Agapæ, or Love-Feasts, of the ancient christians, having considered the testimonies of ancient writers, says, 'it[v] was 'a supper, and that the eucharist did not attend it, either 'before or after.' Again: 'the agapæ, or love-feasts, being 'suppers, were not concomitants, or appendages of the eu-

[r] Ap. i. p. 98. D. al. 83. D.

[s] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem—Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Ap. c. 39.

[t] Ego quidem Christianos dixisse opinor, se, quoties congregarentur, supremo numini sancte vitam puram, et omnis criminis expertem promittere. Id Plinius, religiosum promissum, et jusjurandum parum discernens, formulâ Romanâ, 'sacramento obstringere,' quo fortius mentem Trajani moveret, exprimebat. Moshem. ubi supra. p. 150. in notis.

[u] Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Id vocatur, quod dilectio penes Græcos. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum: siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto juvamus—nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiæ admittit. Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur quantum esurientes cupiunt: bibitur quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint, etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse. Ap. c. 39.

[v] See his notes and discourses on several texts of scripture. Vol. 3. p. 235, &c.

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'charist. They were entirely distinct and independent 'things.' 'This may be farther confirmed by observing that 'Justin Martyr, in his account of the public worship of the 'church, and particularly of the eucharist, does not say one 'word of the agapæ, or love-feasts, as tacked to it, either 'before or after.'

Others represent this in a different manner: 'As[w] the 'worship of the christians in Bithynia was for some reasons 'performed early in the morning, they were obliged to have 'their love-feast separate; though, at other seasons, when 'they had more liberty, this and their solemn worship were 'joined together, both by them and by other christians. 'The morning was not a time for a meal. This therefore 'they deferred till noon, or after.' So Mr. Mosheim.

The accounts which Pliny had received of this meal, represented it as harmless, and free from disorder. And it may be reasonably supposed[x] to have been very frugal, and without delicacies, as Tertullian says, and Pliny[y] seems to intimate.

However, this meal or feast, as Pliny was assured, the christians in Bithynia had forborne and discontinued, since he published the emperor's order, forbidding fellowships or assemblies. Mr. Dodwell thought that[z] Trajan's order did not include a prohibition of their meetings for religious worship. But Tillemont[a] does not assent to this. Whether that opinion be right or not, the christians continued to meet early in the morning for religious worship, to enforce and secure the great design of their institution, but omitted the other assembly.

And, as seems to me, we have here a remarkable instance of that sincere regard which the primitive christians had for

[w] Hoc igitur [stato] die binos conventus agebant Bithynienses Christiani; alterum ante lucem, Dei colendi, firmandæque pietatis causâ: alterum sole lucente, meridiano sine dubio tempore, communis cibi capiendi causâ. Non divellebant hac ratione officia, quæ Deo debebantur, reliqui Christiani; verum uno omnia conventu, quæ cultûs publici lex imperabat, nullo intervallo, peragebant. Bithyniensibus vero cur in duo tempore divisos actûs cultum divinum distribuerent, hæc erat magni momenti ratio. Propter hostium insidias in die ad cultum publicum congregari non poterant, sed ante lucem convenire debebant. Id vero antelucanum tempus cibo capiendo haud commodum erat. Quare differandum erat convivium amoris in illud diei tempus, quo corpora reliqui cives reficere solebant. Mosh. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M. p. 147.

[x] See before note [u], p. 42. [y] Promiscuus cibus opponitur hic, ut arbitrer, exquisito et delicato. Moshem. ib. p. 151.

[z] Sed et illud Agapas duntaxat spectavit, non item synaxes ecclesiasticas, quæ quidem Eucharistiæ percipiendæ gratiâ celebrarentur, &c. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 25.

[a] Persecution de l'Eglise sous Trajan. art. v.

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the commands of civil magistrates in all things, within the compass of their authority. These love-feasts were of early original, and had been long in use. Nevertheless, they were not considered as a divine command, or an institution of the[b] gospel. When therefore Pliny published his edict, forbidding assemblies, they omitted them, whilst they continued their other meeting; forasmuch as the great design of these, the providing for the poor and destitute, might be secured some other way, by private contributions and benefactions.

We may form an idea of the assemblies prohibited in Pliny's edict, by observing another letter of his to Trajan. There[c] had been a dreadful fire in Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, whilst Pliny was absent in some distant part of the province. By that fire had been consumed many private houses and two public buildings. Of this Pliny informs the emperor, and makes a proposal to this effect: 'You[d] will consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable 'to institute a college of smiths,' or a company of firemen, 'consisting only of one hundred and fifty.' And he tells Trajan that 'as this college will consist of so small a num-'ber, it will be easy enough to keep them under a proper 'regulation.'

Nevertheless the emperor did not approve of that proposal; and says, in his answer to Pliny: 'Whatever name[e] 'we give them, and for whatever purposes they may be 'founded, they will not fail to form themselves into assem-'blies, however short their meetings may be.' This is sufficient to show how jealous Trajan was of such societies. I shall refer to two other[f] letters which have some affinity with these.

By Philo[g] we are assured that 'Flaccus, president of 'Egypt, near the end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited 'their εταιριας, fellowships, or assemblies at Alexandria; 'which they held under a pretence of religion indeed, but 'made use of for drunkenness and other excesses.' How-

[b] Says Mr. Hallett, as before, p. 255. 'I cannot find that the christians 'looked upon their love-feasts as religious or divine institutions, like the 'Lord's supper. If they had, their councils would no more have banished 'them out of the churches, than the Lord's supper itself.'

[c] Quum diversam partem provinciæ circumirem, Nicomediæ vastissimum incendium, multas privatorum domos, et duo publica opera—absumsit. l. x. ep. 42. [d] Tu, Domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum, duntaxat hominum CL——Non erit difficile custodire tam paucos. Ibid. [e] Quodcumque nomen, ex quâcumque causâ dederimus iis qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetæriæ quamvis breves fient. Ep. 43.

[f] L. x. ep. 117, 118. [g] Phil. in Flac. p. 965.

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ever, such were not the love-feasts of the christians, as we are well assured, but sober and harmless meals.

'After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, 'which were called ministers. But I have discovered 'nothing beside a bad and excessive superstition.'

We may be apt to think that Pliny might have been satisfied with the accounts received from deserters or apostates, who were several in number, who had ceased to be christians, some many years ago, others more lately, at different times; who had all given a clear and an agreeing testimony to the innocence of the Christian worship, and the sobriety of their manners. Nevertheless he is still dissatisfied, and now proceeds to an examination by torture. Surely this governor's moderation is not here very conspicuous! However he gets into his hands two of the weaker sex, hoping, I presume, that if the christians had among them any secrets still concealed from him, he should now find them out. One or other of these women must needs give way, and open all, when put to the question.

'Two maid-servants.' Some think that these were chosen because they were slaves. But I suppose, that others, beside slaves, might be legally put to the torture, though Roman citizens might not. I cannot easily believe that deaconesses in christian churches were slaves. Nor do I think it very likely that[h] they should be domestic or hired servants. We now all know what is meant by a deaconess in christian writings. But I suspect that Pliny was misled by the ambiguity of the Greek word διακονος, which[i] is sometimes used for slaves, or such as performed the lowest services, usually appropriated to slaves. I say, I am apt to think that Pliny was not sufficiently aware of the different meanings of the word, διακονος, 'deacon,' in common use, and in the ecclesiastical sense. Rom. xvi. 1, "I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a servant of the church which is in Cenchrea." Ουσαν διακονον της εκκλησιας της εν Κεγχρεαις. She was a servant of that church: but it does not follow that she was either a slave or a hired servant, to any one member of it.

A thought offers itself here which will aggravate the se-

[h] Ancillas vocat Plinius. Sed vix crediderim Diaconissas servili conditione fuisse, in tanto apud Bithynos Christianorum numero. Cleric. H. E. p. 551. not. 15.

[i] —Και διακονοι ὡραιοι,—την εσθητα, και τραπεζας, και εκπωματα, και διακονας, κ. λ. Lucian. Gall. p. 168. Tom. 2, ed. Græv. Et sic passim apud Græcos auctores.

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verity of this torture; for very probably these women were in years; such only being qualified for the office of deaconess; see 1 Tim. v. 9. However, Pliny made no scruple to try the torture upon them. For their office and their age would lead him to think that they were thoroughly acquainted with what passed among the christians, in their assemblies, and in their own houses. Lord Orrery, in his Notes upon Pliny's Epistles, Vol. 2. p. 430, says: 'Age 'might have pleaded in defence of these unhappy *ancillæ*. 'But no circumstance was sufficiently strong to stem the 'torrent of religion.'

Well. Pliny put to the question, and examined these two women, deaconesses among the christians in Bithynia. But all he could discover was no more than 'a bad and 'excessive superstition.' By 'bad, *pravam*,' meaning, I think, absurd, wrong, different from the commonly received religion. And he calls it 'excessive, *immodicam*,' because they who embraced it were fond and tenacious of it, and would rather die than deny and forsake it. And many of them were active in propagating it and recommending it to others.

By 'bad,' he could mean nothing more than wrong and absurd, and contrary to the prevailing religion. If Pliny in these examinations had discovered any thing vicious, any lewdness, any cruelty, practised in their worship; any seditious principles, any attempts or designs to subvert the government of the province, or the state of the Roman empire; he must have given hints of it—he must have mentioned it distinctly. His regard for the welfare of Roman people, his respect for the emperor, which is well known to have been very great, would have prevented all concealment, and would have obliged and induced him to be very explicit and particular. We may hence therefore absolutely conclude, that the christians held no principles, and were guilty of no practices, that could justly expose them to punishment from civil magistrates. Their only offence was their religion, and that was innocent in all respects; though different from the idolatrous worship of the nations.

'Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have 'recourse to you for advice. For it has appeared to me a 'matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon 'account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering: for many of all ages, of every rank, of 'both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. 'Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities 'only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country.'

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Thus does[k] Pliny bear witness to the great number of converts to christianity in Pontus and Bithynia, over which he presided. The words of Tertullian, who wrote some while afterwards, representing[l] the great increase of christianity and the multitude of its professors of all ranks and orders of men, are very strong and emphatical. And yet Pliny does in a manner confirm the whole of what he says.

'Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained 'and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were 'almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented; and the 'sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. 'Victims likewise are every where bought up, whereas for 'some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy 'to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed if 'pardon were granted to those who shall repent.'

From what Pliny says of the desolation of the temples, and the neglect of the sacred solemnities, and the few purchasers of victims, which there had been for some while, it has been argued, that 'this[m] persecution was begun and 'fomented by the priests and their adherents, and such 'others as had a dependence on the sacred solemnities.' Which may be true in this as well as some other persecutions.

And I am willing to allow that Pliny here adopts the language of those people who brought these complaints, and who magnified the danger of the downfall of their religion. However, we are hereby assured that the progress, which the christian religion had made in Pontus and Bithynia, was very considerable.

Learned men, I say, observe that this persecution was begun and fomented by the priests; to whom, as I sup-

[k] Hinc liquet, in Bithyniâ ingentem Christianorum jam iis temporibus numerum fuisse; ac proinde per Asiam longe lateque religionem christianam, invitis Ethnicis et Judæis, solâ suâ præstantiâ, propagatam fuisse. Cleric. A. cxi. p. xii.

[l] Obsessam vociferantur civitatem. In agris, in castellis, in insulis, christianos. Omnem sexum, ætatem, conditionem, et jam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento mœrent. Ap. cap. i.

Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia complevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia—Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Ib. c. 37. Conf. c. v. et ad Nat. l. i. c. 1. et alibi.

[m] Hos vero delatores christianorum sacerdotes fuisse, manifestum esse reor ex his Plinii verbis—Causam hic moti ergo christianos belli clarissime proconsul indicat: 'Templa in Bithyniâ desolata erant, sacra solemnia intermissa,' victimæ raro offerebantur. Hæc vero cuncta nullos tangebant, nisi sacerdotes, sacrorumque antistites, quorum interreat unice, ut templa frequentarentur, et victimæ cæderentur. Questi ergo hi sine dubio apud Plinium erant, religiones deorum in summo discrimine versari; atque populum fortasis etiam incitaverant, ut clamoribus supplicia christianorum posceret. Moshem. ut supr. p. 232, notis.

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pose, many[n] others would join themselves who had a zeal for the prevailing religion. But learned men seem to forget that Pliny himself, our proprætor, was a priest, and that the emperor, to whom he writes, was high-priest, pontifex maximus. We need not, we ought not, to impute to Pliny any thing mean and sordid. He was above such things, which must have been far from his temper. But I think we may reasonably suppose that he was sincerely concerned for the honour of the gods and the priesthood; that he was desirous the sacred solemnities should be upheld in all their splendour, and that the priests should continue to enjoy their usual emoluments and perquisites without diminution. I should think, therefore, that it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that Pliny himself was not a little moved at the above mentioned complaints, when made to him.

Some learned men have of late said that[o] what Pliny did against the christians was done by him unwillingly, and not without some sort of compulsion. But I cannot discern any the least reason for this persuasion in his letter.

I am unwilling to advance any thing without ground and reason; and therefore I forbear to say that, very probably, the arrival of this proprætor, who was augur in the province, a man well known for his exactness in all the solemnities of the ancient religion, raised great expectations in the minds of many in the province, zealous for the established rites; and encouraged accusations and persecutions against the christians. However, I must say that this severe persecution under Pliny is a strange phenomenon; and would appear still stranger, and almost unaccountable, if it had no encouragement from him.

Though great numbers of men had embraced the christian religion, or, as Pliny's expressions are, 'though the contagion of this superstition had seized many;' he was of opinion that it might be 'restrained and corrected.' For this end he proposeth that 'pardon should be granted to those who repent.' And says, 'it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might' then 'be gained.'

Every one should judge for himself: but to me it seems

[n] Cum his sociabat sese innumerabilis varii generis turba, cui superstitiones publicæ quæstui erant, mercatores, qui thura, bestias, aliaque vendebant Deorum cultoribus necessaria, architecti, caupones, aurifices, Act. xix. 25. fabri lignarii, statuarii, sculptores, tibicines, citharœdi, et alii, quibus omnibus dii, eorumque ministri, templa, ceremoniæ, dies festi magnas afferebant ad vitam beate ducendam opportunitates. Moshem. ut supr. p. 103.

[o] Certum est ex hac epistolâ, Plinium ipsum christianos non aggressum fuisse, sed invitum a delatoribus et accusatoribus coactum, ut eos in jus vocaret, et puniret. Moshem. ib. p. 232.

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that in all this there is no indication of favour to the christian religion, or good will to the professors of it. I think that Pliny proposes these measures to the emperor, as the most likely to secure the interests of the old religion. He really thought this method the most likely and most effectual to abolish what he calls an 'absurd superstition,' and to reduce, and gradually extirpate, the professors of it. And I suppose that from our remarks upon his epistle it may appear that Pliny himself had found the benefit of this scheme, and he had too much success in drawing men off from the open profession of the christian doctrine. The earl of Orrery, p. 431, has already said the same that I now do. For he allows that Pliny expresses a detestation of christianity, calling it *amentia, superstitio prava et immodica.* 'And the proposal,' he says, 'which Pliny made to the emperor, to give room for repentance, seems rather an act of policy than of good nature.'

Having now gone over this letter, I beg leave to say, it seems to me that there is a remarkable omission. Pliny fails not to tell Trajan that the christians worshipped Christ, 'as a God,' and that they refused to worship his image. He should also have told Trajan, 'they assured him, however, that they offered supplications to the God of the universe, for the health and long life of the emperor, and for the peace and prosperity of the empire, and that God would grant him wise counsellors, and faithful servants and officers: and that they were obliged by the rules of their religion so to do.' These things do so often occur in the[p] ancient apologists, and other christian writers, that it may be reckoned certain, and taken for granted, that some of the christians who pleaded before Pliny, whether Roman citizens or others, did sufficiently assure him of their dutiful respect for the emperor, and other magistrates, and of their love toward all mankind, even enemies as well as others. This one omission alone, so far as I am able to judge, is enough to persuade us there was some defect of equity and candour in Pliny's treatment of the christians.

It has been said, that 'Pliny's[q] letter throughout is an

[p] Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis. Tertull. ap. c. 39. Conf. c. 31.

Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum; et, quicquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem. Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, purâ prece. Non enim eget Deus, conditor universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicujus. Ad Scap. c. 2. Vid. et Athenag. Leg. sub fin. et Origen. contr. Cels. l. 8. et passim.

[q] Apologia enim christianorum est, quod facile patet, totâ Plinii epistolâ,

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'apology for the christians.' If so, is it not also his own condemnation? He had received many testimonies to the christian innocence. These he reports to the emperor. Nor could he do less. In this report the christian principles, worship, and manners, appear in a good light. But then, is not Pliny blameable who inflicted death, and other penalties, upon such men, and that without any express law?

I am willing to make allowances for prejudices. And I believe that the Supreme Judge, when he shall take the final cognizance of human affairs, will pass an equitable sentence upon all, according to the advantages and disadvantages of their condition in their state of trial. The farther vindication of Pliny I leave to those who are pleased to undertake it. And I am very willing that my readers should observe and consider what is said by such advocates as are favourable to him.

Having done this, I must applaud the steadiness of those Roman citizens, and others in Pontus and Bithynia; who, when interrogated by the proprætor a second and a third time, persevered in their first confession of the name of Christ, unmoved by his fair promises and cruel threatenings. Who can forbear to think that those christians were mindful of what St. Peter had written to them? 1 Ep. iv. ver. 12, to the end.

To them, and other such men, I humbly conceive it is owing that there is now any such thing as virtue in the world. To them, and others like them, it is owing that many great men so apprehensive of inquisitiveness in things of religion, have been at length awakened, and induced to examine, and consider, and also to embrace, the christian doctrine, and then to adorn it by the practice of all the virtues becoming their reasonable nature, and their high stations.

V. We now come to Trajan's Rescript, which[r] is short

quâ calumnias, quibus illi premebantur, convellere studet, et mentem Trajani ad lenitatem et clementiam erga homines, quos ille a Romanorum quidem religione alienos, verum sceleris puros cognoverat, inclinare. Mosheim. ut supr. p. 147.

[r] The earl of Orrery, in his Preface to the tenth book of Pliny's Epistles, Vol. 2. p. 323, expresseth himself in this manner: 'Such a correspondence 'between a sovereign and a subject is no less curious than extraordinary. But, 'if we are to pass an impartial judgment upon the two correspondents, the 'emperor's epistles will certainly outshine those of Pliny, to which they are 'answers. The conciseness and sagacity which run through Trajan's style 'and manner of writing, show him an artist, if I may use the expression, in 'the epistolary science.'

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and concise, written in the style best becoming lawgivers: and which is now to be rehearsed by us, with notes and observations.

'You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your 'proceedings with those who have been brought before you 'as christians.'

Pliny's proceedings, as I suppose, had been in some respects extraordinary, and unsupported by express law: and [s] yet Trajan declares his approbation of them. And hereby he also ratifies and confirms the proceedings of other governors of provinces, if any of them had acted in a like manner, without express law: as very probably several had.

'For it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally.'

This, as seems to me, relates more especially to Pliny's first question: 'whether the young and tender, and the 'full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike.' And Trajan seems to leave this very much to the discretion of governors, to do as they thought best. Accordingly, as we well know, many, in succeeding times, both young people and women, did suffer as christians.

With regard to Pliny's second question, whether 'pardon 'should be granted to those who repent,' he allows of it, if good proof be given of repentance.

As to the third question, Trajan peremptorily decides that [t] the name is punishable without any crime annexed. But he says 'they should not be sought for.'

I shall now recite the very words of this part of the rescript.

'They are not to be sought for. If any are brought be-'fore you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished.

[s] 'Actum, quem debuisti,' &c. Actum vocat extraordinariam Plinii quæstionem. Extraordinarium hoc crimen, de quo agebatur, erat. Nulla enim de eo lex certa erat. Trajanus esse etiam debere hoc judicium extraordinarium, hoc est, magistratuum cognitioni et imperio relinquendum esse putat. Balduin. ut supr. p. 63.

[t] Cum Trajanus simpliciter rescribit, christianos esse puniendos, neque aliam causam pœnæ requirit, satis significat, nomen ipsum puniri. Et Tertullianus in Apolog. ostendit, nihil fuisse, quod in christianis puniretur, præter nomen. Fr. Balduin, ut supr. p. 36. Quæsiverat Plinius, nomen ipsum christianorum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini punienda sint? Trajanus dum rescribit simpliciter, si deferantur christiani, et arguantur, id est, ejus esse sectæ convincantur, puniendos esse, nec aliam pœnæ causam requirit; quod nomen ipsum debeat puniri, satis indicat. Atque sic confirmat nominis illud prœlium, quod præter jus omne et fas sustinuisse fideles, ex queribundo tot veterum ore supra, ad Plinii consultationem, audivimus. Kortholt. ut supr. p. 194.

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'However, he that denies his being a christian, and makes 'it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our gods, 'though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him 'be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any 'crime whatever, may a bill of information be received 'without being signed by him who presents it.' And what follows. This last clause is very reasonable, as will be allowed by all. The rest we must consider.

As I said just now, Trajan allows pardon to be granted, if good proof be given of repentance; 'If he makes it evi-'dent in fact, by supplicating to our gods.' It has been said by some commentators, that here is a sign of Trajan's modesty, in that he does not add, 'and by sacrificing to our 'image;' and that here is a proof of his moderation, in not adding, 'and by reviling the name of Christ.' But I cannot persuade myself to think that such observations are at all material. Trajan[u] knew very well that the governors of provinces would not fail to supply those articles, though omitted by him. Trajan approves of Pliny's method, and what had been his, would be the method of other governors, and actually was so, as is well known.

Tertullian has ridiculed this decree of Trajan as inconsistent and contradictory. 'He[v] forbids the christians to 'be sought for, supposing them to be innocent; and he 'orders them to be punished as guilty. If they are crimi-'nal, why should they not be sought for? If they are not 'to be sought for, why should they not be absolved?'

However, for certain, here is fresh proof of the christians'[w] innocence. If they had been criminal; if Trajan had not known, and been well satisfied, that they were guilty of no great crimes, he would not have forbid inquiring after them. And since they were guilty of no offences contrary to the peace of society, they should have been protected; and Trajan's rescript should have been very different from what it is. It should have been to this effect: 'You have well 'done, my Pliny, to inquire into the principles and conduct 'of the christians. As you have detected no crimes com-'mitted by them, and you recommend pardon upon repent-

[u] Satis interim sciebat provinciarum præsides hac parte non defore suo officio. Voss. Comment.

[v] Tunc Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes. Parcit, et sævit. Dissimulat, et animadvertit. Quid temetipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Ap. cap. 2.

[w] Ex his iterum liquet, nullius criminis reos factos fuisse christianos, nisi deorum minime cultorum. Cleric. ib. n. xiv.

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'ance, and forsaking their error; I readily grant it, if it be 'needful. And I hereby declare that no christians ought 'to suffer without proof of some crime; for to inflict penal-'ties upon innocent men would be a disparagement of my 'government. And it has been a maxim with me, from the 'beginning of my empire, not to let any good men suffer[x] 'death.'

So, I think, Trajan might and should have said: and so he would have said, were it not that people were not then disposed to treat christians as they did other men. But the time was not yet come that christians should be exempted from suffering as such, and on account of their Lord and Master, who had died for them, and was risen again.

This rescript of Trajan, which we are now considering, was designed not for the direction of Pliny only, but of all governors of provinces in general: as is observed by[y] that judicious lawyer, Fr. Balduinus. And, as Tillemont[z] says, 'this unreasonable edict subsisted for almost an age, and 'was the rule of action to the Romans till the persecution 'of Severus.'

VI. Before we proceed any further, it may be fit we should consider a question, whether Trajan ever put an end to the persecution by an order from himself.

Suidas[a] says that 'Trajan relaxed the persecution against 'the christians. For Tiberian, who was governor of what 'was called the first part of Palestine, wrote to him that he 'was weary of killing the christians, because they offered 'themselves to punishment. Wherefore Trajan gave orders 'to all his subjects that they should no more punish the 'christians.'

This is supposed to be taken by Suidas from[b] John of Antioch, or John Malala, a writer near the end of the sixth century, and of little credit.

To this purpose then writes Malala: 'While[c] the em-'peror Trajan was at Antioch of Syria, consulting about the 'affairs of war, he received a letter from Tiberian, governor

[x] Ὡς δε αυτοκρατωρ εγενετο, επεστειλε τῃ βωλῃ αυτοχειρια αλλα τε, και ὡς ωδενα ανδρα αγαθον αποσφαξοι, η ατιμασοι. Dion. L. 68. p. 1122.

[y] Tandem Trajanus, quid opus esse facto putet, rescribit; ut non solum in causâ Ponticorum aut Bithynorum christianorum id sequatur Plinius, sed et alii Præsides in suis provinciis observent. Atque hoc quidem primum rescripto lex Romana de christianis certaque constitutio aliqua edita fuisse videtur. Fr. Bald. ut supr. p. 26.

[z] Cependant cette ordonnance si déraisonable subsiste près d'un siècle, et fut la règle des Romains jusques à la persécution de Sévère, &c. Tillem. Persec. de l'Egl. sous Trajan. art. v.

[a] Suid. V. Τραιανος.

[b] Vid. Vales. Excerpta ex Johanne Antiochenâ. p. 818.

[c] J. Malalæ Chronogr. p. 356. Oxon. 1691.

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'of the first Palestine, to this effect. "To the invincible 'emperor, Cæsar, the most divine Trajan. I have to the 'utmost of my power performed your order for killing the 'Galileans, who go under the denomination of christians. 'But they cease not to discover themselves, and offer them-'selves to be put to death. I have discountenanced this by 'my advices, and even by threatenings, telling them that 'they should not come to me to accuse themselves of hold-'ing that opinion: but all to no purpose. I must therefore 'entreat you to determine in this point as shall seem meet 'to your invincible majesty." And the emperor sent an 'order to him, and to all the præfects every where, that 'they should no longer put to death any that were called 'christians. After which the christians had a short breath-'ing time from the afflictions which they had endured.'

So writes Malala. But Mr. Dodwell[d] has examined this letter of Tiberian, and has argued that it is a downright forgery. He says that if there had been such a letter written to Trajan by a governor of Palestine, Eusebius could not have been ignorant of it. He also says that the province of Palestine was not divided into two parts till long after the reign of Trajan. He likewise observes that the titles here given to Trajan by Tiberian, are not suited to that age. For these, and other considerations, he rejects that letter as a forgery. And his argument has been approved of by all learned critics[e] in general.

As Trajan directed that the christians should not be sought for, it is not unlikely that toward the latter part of his reign the persecution was moderated in some places. The account which Sulpicius Severus gives of this persecution is to this purpose: 'Not[f] long after Domitian, the 'third persecution was raised by Trajan, who, when after 'strict inquiries made by racks and tortures, no discovery 'was made of any thing done by them worthy of death, or 'other punishment, he forbade their being any longer per-'secuted.' The expression is strong; yet, perhaps, no more is intended than this emperor's prohibition to seek for them, which is in his rescript to Pliny.

[d] Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. sect. xxiii. xxiv.

[e] Vide Pagi ann. 116. num. ii. Basnag. ann. 117. n. iii. Cleric. H. E. ann. 113. Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 2. p. 82, 83. Where that learned writer having alleged such reasons as show the Letter of Tiberian not to be genuine, concludes: 'So I hope we shall no more hear of it henceforward, 'either for or against the behaviour of the martyrs.'

[f] Non multo deinde intervallo, tertia persecutio per Trajanum fuit; qui cum tormentis et quæstionibus nihil in Christianis morte aut pœnâ dignum reperisset, sæviri in eos ultra vetuit. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. c. 31. p. 244. edit. Cleric.

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VII. The observations of commentators and ecclesiastical historians upon the foregoing letter and rescript are so numerous, that I am induced to mention some more general remarks, beside those which have already appeared under the several paragraphs of each of them.

It is certainly a just observation that[g] some writers have aggravated the severity of Trajan, and that we ought to exercise moderation in our reflections upon the proceedings of former times, and even of those who have been unfriendly to us. Paul Orosius, a christian writer not far from the beginning of the fifth century, speaks 'as if the persecution 'had been begun by Trajan's order, and that Pliny and 'other presidents were sent by him into the provinces for 'this very purpose, to carry on the persecution of chris-'tians:' which is evidently contrary to Pliny's letter, which we have largely considered. He carried not with him any edict against the christians, nor any particular directions concerning the method of treating them: but they were brought before him after his arrival in the province; and he had occasion to refer himself to the emperor for advice in several things relating to them.

Moreover Eusebius, as before quoted, acknowledgeth that the persecution in the time of Trajan was first occasioned by the clamours and tumults of the people.

It seems to me likewise that in the martyrdom of Ignatius,[h] in all the editions of it, whether Greek or Latin, Trajan's earnest concern to extirpate the christian religion by a general persecution is aggravated: which, together with other things, may be reckoned an argument that it was not composed, as is generally said, by such as were contemporaries of the emperor and the martyr.

On the other hand, I think the mildness of Trajan has been beyond measure extolled, and the benefits of his edict

[g] Apparet hinc, cum grano salis accipiendum quod ait Orosius, lib. 7. cap. xii. 'In persequendis sane Christianis errore deceptus, tertius a Nerone, cum 'passim repertos cogi ad sacrificandum idolis, ac detractantes interfici præ-'cepisset, plurimique interficerentur, Plinii Secundi, qui inter cæteros judices 'persecutor datus fuerat, relatu admonitus, eos homines, præter confessionem 'Christi, honestaque conventicula, nihil contrarium Romanis legibus facere, 'fiduciâ sane innocentis confessionis nemini mortem gravem ac formidolosam 'videri, rescriptis illico lenioribus temperavit edictum.' Nam, ut recte hic monet Franc. Balduinus, si quod fuisset Trajani de interficiendis christianis edictum certum ante Plinii relationem, non dubitâsset iste, aut sane, Trajanum consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Neque Plinius judex datus est, ut christianos persequeretur, sed aliis de causis in Pontum et Bithyniam missus, (Vid. Ep. l. x. 29, 41, 118.) non nisi casu quodam, in eorumdem cognitionem incurrit, quibus tunc provinciæ illæ redundabant. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Traj. Ep. p. 11.

[h] Vid. Patr. Apost. T. 2.

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too much magnified by some[i] of late times: as if, after the publication of the above-mentioned rescript, christians might meet together and worship God securely in their own way, provided they observed only the common rules of prudence.

I think that Tertullian's censure of this edict above taken notice of, in which he shows the inconsistence of it, is very just. And in another paragraph he acknowledges all the benefit of it, saying that 'Trajan[k] had in some measure de-'feated, restrained, or moderated, the decrees of Nero and 'Domitian against the christians, by forbidding inquiry to 'be made after them.'

What that amounts to I should think might be easily computed. It implies no more than this—that the presidents of provinces or other magistrates should not, or need not, send out their irenarchs, their serjeants, or other peace-officers, to search for and apprehend the christians, as was usual to be done for apprehending heinous criminals. But it does not hence follow that the presidents of provinces always observed this rule. And as to other people, they are left at liberty to do as they saw good. Among them certainly the christians had many enemies. And if they were brought before the governors, and accused as christians, the governors are required to punish them, unless they denied their christianity, and gave proof of it by sacrificing to the gods: all which was frequently done. This must be the truth of the case, as it is agreeable to what Eusebius says, who could not but know very well what was the state of affairs after the publication of this edict. 'Nevertheless,' says he, in the place before cited, 'they who had a mind to 'disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some 'places the people, in other places the governors of pro-'vinces, laying snares for us: so that, though there was no 'general persecution, there were persecutions in several 'places and provinces; and there were many faithful men 'who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

Le Clerc therefore justly says that[l] in this rescript there

[i] Peccavit quidem in eo non leviter, quod christianos desertæ majorum religionis convictos, et cedere nolentes, capitali pœnâ jussit affici——Sed valde tamen profuit christianis, quod inquisitionem et investigationem eorum vetuit. Hac enim sublatâ, secure christiani secretos conventûs suos celebrare, atque hostium suorum invidiam, modo prudentiæ obedirent, effugere poterant, &c. Moshem. de Reb. Chr. ante C. M. Sec. 2. sect. i. p. 233, 234.

[k] Quales ergo leges istæ, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri christianos. Ap. cap. 5.

[l] Re vera species tantum erat moderationis in Trajani rescripto. Nam,

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is little more than an appearance of moderation, without any real kindness. And the learned writer, whom I have already quoted several times, and who, I think, sometimes too much magnifies the kindness and the benefits of this rescript, acknowledges that 'it[m] being placed among the laws 'of the empire, and being long in force, occasioned the 'death of many excellent men under divers succeeding em-'perors of good character; and that, by virtue of this very 'edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Anti-'och, were put to death.' And yet the same learned writer, in the very next words says, that, 'however[n] severe this 'law may appear, the christians of a warm temper were dis-'pleased at it, because it deprived them of the honour of 'suffering a glorious death for Christ.' But if the christians disliked this edict as too mild, how came it that so warm a man as Tertullian complained of it as unjust and severe? And why were there so many apologies written afterwards by Justin, Athenagoras, and others, complaining of the severities with which they were treated, and offering every argument that could be thought of by innocent and good men, for moderating and averting the sufferings which they underwent, or were liable to? However, for proof of this assertion is alleged a story told by Tertullian, who says, 'When[o] Arrius Antoninus in Asia grievously persecuted 'the christians, all the christians of the city in which he 'was came together in a body to his tribunal, offering that 'he might do with them as he saw good. He, ordering 'away a few of them to be put to death, said to the rest:

quamvis magistratus in christianos publice quæstiones non haberent, inimicis tamen suis tradebantur christiani, quos satis erat deferri ad magistratus, ut plecterentur, nisi religioni christianæ numtium remittere vellent. Nunquam autem iis defuisse inimicos apud Ethnicos, facile est intellectu. Cleric. A. cxi. n. xv.

[m] Hæc Trajani lex inter publicas Romani imperii sanctiones relata, efficiebat, ut deinceps etiam sub imperatoribus optimis et justissimis, multi christiani perirent. Hac igitur lege jubente, Simeon, Cleopæ filius, antistes Hierosolymitanus, centum et viginti annorum, senex in crucem agi debebat. Ex ejusdem legis præscripto, ipse imperator eodem anno magnum illum Ignatium, Antiochenum episcopum, a sacerdotibus delatum, et ipsius imperatoris minas spernentem, Romam abduci et bestiis objici jubebat. Moshem. ib. sect. x. p. 234.

[n] Quod vero valde mireris, dura satis hæc et inhumana lex fervidioris animi christianis displicebat, quod viam eis ad gloriosam pro Christo mortem obeundam, magistratu non inquirente, et accusatore sæpe deficiente, occluderet. Hinc multi passim ipsi nomina sua deferebant apud judices. Ibid. p. 235.

[o] Arrius Antoninus in Asiâ, cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu factâ obtulerunt. Cum ille, paucis duci jussis, reliquis ait: Ω δειλοι, ει θελετε αποθνησκειν, κρημνες η βροχες εχετε. Ad Scap. cap. ult.

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'O miserable people, if you have a mind to die, you may 'find precipices and halters enough.'

As this passage has been alleged by Mr. Dodwell also, I shall now immediately put down his argument upon[p] it. Only premising, that whereas the learned man before mentioned placeth this affair in the reign of Adrian, and as consequent upon Trajan's rescript, Mr. Dodwell supposeth it to have happened in the reign of Trajan, at the same time that Pliny was persecuting the christians in Bithynia. He argues that many did not suffer in that persecution; because, when the christians of that place offered themselves at the governor's tribunal, it is said he 'ordered away a few 'of them to be put to death.' But does not this learned writer forget the word *instanter*, in the former part of the sentence? Antoninus had persecuted some while. And that word implies somewhat very grievous, either for the manner, or the length and duration of the persecution, carried on by that president in Asia. So that it may be reckoned not improbable that many christians had suffered death by his order.

Which also overthrows Mr. Mosheim's observation. Those christians did not offer themselves because of the mildness of Trajan's rescript, and[q] accuse themselves because there were none to accuse them: but it was the governor's severe treatment which occasioned their acting in that manner. Which interpretation is manifestly the sense of the paragraph itself, and is confirmed by the coherence in[r] Tertullian. The persecution of Arrius was so violent, and so long continued, that the christians in Asia were reduced to great distress. Under this affliction they came in a body to the governor, and told him 'he 'might even take them all, if nothing else would satisfy

[p] Eodem ni fallor tempore, quo persecutus est in Bithyniâ Plinius, persecutus etiam est in Asiâ Proconsulari Arrius Antoninus, avus maternus Antonini Pii, ad quem scripsit etiam nonnullas epistolas ipse Plinius. De hujus persecutione ita Tertullianus. Arrius Antoninus in Asiâ. Et hic sese offerentium multitudine, ut Plinius multitudine periclitantium, impeditus est, quo minus pro libitu suo sæviret.—Cæterum multos fuisse probabile non est, quos ita paucos tam frigide censuit esse animadvertendos. Diss. Cyp. xi. sect. xxvii.

[q] '———Omnes illius civitatis christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu factâ 'obtulerunt:' moleste nimirum ferentes, nullum sibi accusatorem obt gisse, et proconsulem inquirere nolle, quod imperator vetuerat, ipsi accusatorum sibi partes sumebant. Mosh. ibid. p. 235, notis.

[r] Crudelitas vestra est gloria nostra. Vide tantum ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos hæc non timere, sed ultro vocare. Arrius, &c. Tertull. eod. cap. ad Scap. p. 88. A.

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him; for they were not afraid to die.' This resolution of mind in those generous christians astonished him. And putting a good countenance upon his proceedings, he shut up that disagreeable scene, and concluded the persecution in the manner before related.

If this account be right, these christians were[s] not so contemptible as has been insinuated: and Mr. Mosheim might have spared a reflection unworthy of himself, which so generous minds do not deserve.

Before we quite dismiss this affair, it may be worth the while to consider who this Antoninus was, and the time of his persecution.

There were three of this name, proconsuls of Asia, in the space of a century, or less. The first[t] I take to be Arrius Antoninus, of whom Tertullian here speaks; the second Antoninus, afterwards emperor, and surnamed Pius; the third, named Arrius Antoninus, was proconsul of Asia afterwards, in the time of Commodus. Casaubon supposeth this to be the person intended by Tertullian. Several[u] other learned men have been of opinion that the person intended by Tertullian was the emperor Antoninus, grandfather by the mother's side, and the same to whom some of Pliny's letters are sent. Which opinion, as already hinted, appears to me very probable. Hereby we may be led to the time of this event. By Mosheim, as before observed, it is placed in the reign of Adrian, and also[v] by Mr. Lampe; but by Mr. Dodwell, as already mentioned, in the time of Trajan, and whilst Pliny was in Bithynia. But, if he be the same to whom Pliny wrote, it must have been sooner. For Pliny, in one[w]

[s] Itaque paucis, ut terreret cæteros, condemnatis, reliquam multitudinem cum indignatione ac contemptu dimittebat. Moshem. ut supr. p. 235. notis.

[t] Proconsulatum Asiæ sic egit, ut solus avum vinceret. Jul. Capitol. Antonini Pii. cap. 3. Here I put down part of Casaubon's note upon the above place. Avus hic, quem intelligit, est Pii avus maternus, Arrius Antoninus. Ambo Proconsules Asiæ fuerunt, et Pius, et avus. De Pii proconsulatu loquitur Marcianus libro secundo de judiciis publicis.———De avo illius, proconsule Asiæ, et immortali laude, quam inde reportavit, Plinius in epistolâ ad ipsum Arrium Antoninum. Quod semel. Invenio et tertium Arrium Antoninum, Asiæ itidem proconsulem, virum longe clarissimum, qui principe Commodo occisus scelere Cleandri, tantam imperatori invidiam apud vulgus et omnes bonos concitavit, ut eam ferre Commodus cum non posset, Cleandrum plebi ad pœnam donaverit. Historiam habes apud Lampridium. [Vit. Commodi, cap. 7.] Hic videtur esse, de quo Tertullianus ad Scapulam. Casaub.

[u] See Casaubon in the preceding note.

[v] Neque sub Hadriano Imperatore res christianorum in Oriente satis pacatæ erant; sub quo Asiam administravit Arrius Antoninus, qui christianos male habuit. Lampe Synops. H. E. p. 113.

[w] Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti, similis antiquis; quod proconsul Asiæ, qualis ante te, qualis post te vix unus et alter (non sinit enim me vere-

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of his letters to him, speaks of his having been twice consul, and then proconsul of Asia some time before: consequently he had been proconsul of Asia before Pliny went into Bithynia. For I cannot discern that any of Pliny's letters, now extant, were written after his provincial government. Indeed, Arrius Antoninus was an old man at the time of Pliny's writing to him. And if this be the person intended by Tertullian, here is another consideration that overthrows Mr. Mosheim's reasonings.

When Arrius Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, I cannot say exactly; whether in the time of Domitian, or some while afterwards: but plainly before Pliny was sent into Bithynia.

This Antoninus was a learned and ingenious man, and has a good character in[x] Pliny, and other[y] writers. Nor do I think he was a bad man. I only say he acted badly for some while toward the christians, whom the great men of those times did not suppose entitled to the common equity vouchsafed to all other people. However, he also, like our Pliny, was at length overcome by their resolution and stedfastness in the cause of what they were persuaded was the truth, and important truth.

I have taken notice of the sentiments of some learned men of late times, who have been very ready to magnify the moderation of Trajan, and his proprætor Pliny. I shall now take notice of some other things. For Grotius, who[z] thought Trajan to be pointed at by St. John, [Rev. xiii. 18.] says that[a] Trajan shed as much christian blood as Nero and Domitian. Which may be true: for the cruel edicts of Nero and Domitian were soon abrogated: but Trajan being generally reckoned by the Romans a good emperor, his rescript subsisted long in force, and by virtue of it many suffered in every part of the empire for a long time; as Pliny says in a letter to Trajan, in which he proposeth his making

tundia tua dicere, qualis nemo;) quod sanctitate, quod auctoritate, ætate quoque princeps civitatis, est quidem venerabile et pulchrum. Ego tamen te vel magis in remissionibus miror, &c. lib. 4. ep. 3. vid. et ep. 18. et l. 5. ep. 10.

[x] See before, note [w]. [y] Vid. Jul. Capitolin. Antonin. cap. i. et Victoris Epit. c. xii. [z] Vid. Annot. ad Apoc. cap. xiii. ver. 18. et Comment. ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichristo agunt, p. 470. Opp. Tom. 3.

[a] Multum vero errant, qui sub Trajano, quamvis cætera non malo principe, minus sanguinis effusum putant quam sub Nerone et Domitiano. Horum enim sævitia ferme circa Romam stetit, illius per omnes provincias pervagata est. Nec quisquam est, qui hujus persecutionis oblitus sit, veterum christianorum, qui persecutionum nobis numerum recensent, ut Eusebius, Augustinus, Orosius, alii. In Epistolâ ad Plinium inquiri quidem eos vetat; sed puniri vult, si accusentur. Accusatores autem nusquam deerant. Grot. respons. ad St. Curcell. in calc. Annot. ad N. T.

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an ordinance for settling some affairs relating to Pontus and Bithynia: 'For[b] it well becomes you, whose every word 'and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall be 'for ever permanent.'

I shall now also subjoin some other observations of Grotius, in which he declares it to be his opinion that[c] the persecutions ordered by Trajan began in the tenth year of his reign, and that, by virtue of his edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom.

VIII. As I have enlarged in my remarks upon the foregoing letter and rescript, and have passed very free censures upon the writers of them, it may be of some use to observe their several characters more distinctly; whereby, possibly, we may be able to discern how it came to pass that so renowned men as Pliny and Trajan treated the christians so hardly.

Pliny, as I suppose, was a dutiful child, and he was very respectful to the memory of his uncle, by whom he was adopted for his son. He evidently was a loving husband, a good master, a faithful friend, and a kind and generous benefactor to many. He was also a friend to civil liberty, and an enemy to tyrants. Withal he was a good writer. To that he owes the immortal fame of which he[d] was desirous. To that we likewise are indebted for the advantages which we may receive from his Panegyric and Epistles, still remaining. If to a friendly temper for particular persons he had added a love of mankind in general, his conduct might have been more unexceptionable than it was. His virtue and his wisdom had a trial when he met with christians in the province which he was sent to govern. And, when they were brought before him, he failed, as seems to me, in a proper regard to the rules of justice and equity.

But before I proceed to any such things, as may be

[b] Nam quod in perpetuum mansurum est, a te constitui debet, cujus factis dictisque debetur æternitas. L. x. ep. 113.

[c] Sub Domitiano, ut omnes sciunt, acerbissima fuerat christianorum vexatio. Nerva uno edicto omnia Domitiani edicta sustulit, inter quæ et alia contra christianos, quorum plurimi ab exiliis reversi, ut Eusebius in Chronico et Historiâ notat. Resuscitavit sævitiam novo edicto Trajanus anno principatûs sui decimo, ut idem Eusebius notat, Historiæ iii. 27.———Quibus addi potest notissima Plinii epistola de pœnis christianorum, et Tertullianus Apologetico. Ex eo edicto crucifixus Simon, filius Cleopæ, Hierosolymorum Episcopus; Ignatius Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Romæ feris objectus; notante utrumque Eusebio. Grot. ut supr. T. 3. p. 471.

[d] Me autem nihil æque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido solicitat; res nomine dignissima, præsertim qui nullius sibi conscius culpæ, posteritatis memoriam non reformidet. L. v. ep. 3.

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imagined to have been in part the sources of some wrong conduct, I must expatiate farther in the detail of his amiable qualifications, which may be easily collected from his letters, and are such as may deserve the imitation, and excite the ardour, of christians themselves.

Several of his letters are written to his friend Tacitus, all of them very agreeable. One[e] of them, particularly, is a mirror of intimate, sincere, and delightful friendship.

Many of his letters express compassion and tenderness for the distressed and afflicted. His letter to Marcellinus, where[f] he laments the death of Junius Avitus, is very affecting. Catanæus[g] admires and commends it as superior to all the rest.

In another letter he well represents the benefit of sickness. 'Then,' says[h] he, 'we recollect that there are gods, and we know ourselves to be but men.' And he thinks it may be laid down as a short rule, more valuable than many volumes of philosophical speculations, 'that we should endeavour to be in health, what we promised to be when sick.'

He has an excellent letter, written in a fine turn of expression, in behalf of forgiving injuries, or at least covering and hiding any offences which we have received. I must transcribe[i] below a large part of this letter, though I do not translate it. However he recommends it as a good rule 'to be inexorable to our own failings, whilst we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves.'

After reading these, and other letters, written in a moving and affectionate manner, we may be disposed to wish that Pliny had never met with those people called christians, whose only fault was, that they differed from him, and most others, in things of religion; and whose great unhappiness it was, that they were generally despised, and their princi-

[e] Lib. 7. ep. 20. [f] Lib. 8. ep. 23.

[g] Impar igitur tanto dolori, (concepto ex Junii Aviti morte) Marcellino rem totam per hanc epistolam exponit, inter pulchriores pulcherrimam, inter tristiores tristissimam, inter amantiores amantissimam. Catan.

[h] Tunc Deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit.—Possum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, plurimis voluminibus philosophi docere conantur, ipse breviter tibi mihique præcipere, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuri profitemur infirmi. L. 7. ep. 26.

[i] Atque ego optimum et emendatissimum existimo, qui cæteris ita ignoscit, tanquam ipse quotidie peccet; ita peccatis abstinet, tanquam nemini ignoscat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitæ genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qui dare veniam nisi sibi nesciunt. Fortasse quæris, quo commotus hæc scribam? Quidam nuper. Sed melius coram. Quamquam ne tunc quidem, &c. L. 8. ep. 22.

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ples unknown, and supposed[k] to be unworthy to be inquired into and considered.

When old Simeon saw the child Jesus presented by Joseph and Mary at the temple, he said, under the influence of the prophetic spirit: "Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against—that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed:" Luke ii. 34, 35. Which prophecy was afterwards fulfilled among the people of Israel, in the times of our Saviour and his apostles: and has been oftentimes verified since in other people and other countries. By the proposal of the gospel, men have been tried; and it has been discovered whether they were lovers of truth, and open to conviction, or not. I therefore proceed.

It has been said that[l] Pliny was indifferent about things of religion. On the other hand, I think, he was credulous and superstitious. His credulity is sufficiently manifest from his long letter, in[m] which he gravely relates divers silly stories in support of the reality of apparitions. I might also refer to [n] his long letter concerning the dolphin at Hippo, that carried boys upon its back: though that letter is written with more pleasantry. And perhaps we may hereafter observe more proofs of this weakness of our author.

His veneration for the gods is apparent, and shows itself upon every[o] occasion.

Pliny begins[p] and ends[q] his panegyric upon Trajan in

[k] Unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur—nolentes audire, quod auditum damnare non possint. Hanc itaque primam causam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen christianorum,—ignorantia scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam si res meretur odium? Tunc enim meretur, cum cognoscitur an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitiâ, unde odii justitia defenditur? Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

[l] Quare nec oderat eos, licet deorum contemtores, quos quippe et ipsemet, homo philosophus contemnebat, ac secum animo suaviter ridebat. Exemplo scilicet avunculi sui, qui Hist. Nat. 2. vii. patriæ suæ deos ridet, et socordiam esse judicat, credere deos innumeros. Heuman. De Persec. Plinian. sect. v.

[m] L. 7. ep. 27. [n] L. 9. ep. 33.

[o] I cannot but wonder that this should have been overlooked by any learned men. It is acknowledged again and again by Colonia, tom. 2. p. 49, 50. Il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux, &c. See him quoted more at large by and by.

[p] Bene ac sapienter, Patres C. majores instituerant, ut rerum agendarum, ita dicendi initium a precationibus capere: quod nihil rite, nihilque providenter homines sine deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore, auspicarentur—Quo magus aptum, piumque est, te, Jupiter optime maxime, antea conditorem, nunc conservatorem imperii nostri, precari, ut mihi digna Consule, digna Senatu, digna Principe contingat oratio. Paneg. cap. i.

[q] In fine orationis præsides custodesque imperii deos ego Consul pro rebus

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very devout addresses and thanksgivings to Jupiter, and the other deities, founders and guardians of the Roman empire. I before referred to some of his letters to Trajan from the province, showing how[r] devoutly he and the people there celebrated the anniversary of his empire.

Upon occasion of private, as well as public concerns, he always adores the gods. His wife, having had an abortion, he writes to her grandfather, that[s] he should however give thanks to the gods for her safety, and that there were still hopes of her having children.

In a letter to one of his friends, he tells him he 'had lately purchased, with a legacy that was left him, a statue of Corinthian brass, which appeared to him to be antique, and was so highly finished as to deserve the attention of the curious.' Well, how is this masterpiece to be disposed of? He goes on: 'I bought it[t] not with any intent of placing it in my own house, (for I have nothing of that kind there,) but with a design of fixing it in some conspicuous place, in my native country, and in the temple of Jupiter; for it is a present worthy of a temple and a god.'

He built several temples at his own expense. His letter relating to the temple of Ceres deserves to be read throughout. It begins with these words: 'In[u] compliance with the advice of the Aruspices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of Ceres, which stands upon my estate.'

Concerning another temple of his building he writes in a letter to Fabatus, his wife's grandfather. He and his wife were going to make him a visit; but Pliny makes excuses for a short delay, because he would first go and consecrate that temple. 'We[v] shall stop only once, and that for a short time; intending to turn a little out of the way in order to go to Tuscany.——There is a town near my estate, called Tifernum, upon the Tiber, which put itself under my patronage when I was yet a youth——that I may return their good offices, I have built a temple in this place at my own expense. As it is finished, it would be a sort

humanis, at te præcipue, Capitoline Jupiter, precor, ut beneficiis tuis faveas, tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem. Cap. 94.

[r] Lib. x. ep. 44, 45, 60, 61, 101—104. Vid. et ep. 9.

[s] Igitur—sic debes egêre diis gratias, quod ita in præsentia pronepotes negaverint, ut servârint neptem, &c. L. 8. ep. 10. Conf. l. 8. ep. 1.

[t] Emi autem, non ut haberem domi, (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo,) verum ut in patriâ nostrâ celebri loco ponerem, ac potissimum in Jovis templo. Videtur enim dignum templo, dignum deo donum. L. 3. ep. 6.

[u] Aruspicum monitu reficienda est mihi ædes Cereris in prædiis in melius et in majus. L. 9. ep. 39.

[v] L. 4. ep. 1.

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of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer: "differre longius irreligiosum est." We design therefore to be there on the day that the ceremony is to be performed. And I have resolved to celebrate it with a grand feast.'

He speaks of erecting another temple, which was entirely new, in a place where had been none before; where[w] he intended to place all the statues of the Roman emperors which he had in his possession. And he asks leave of Trajan that he might set up his statue there also.

In a letter to Maximus, who was going into Achaia, he writes to this purpose: 'You[x] will consider yourself as sent to that noble province of Achaia, the real and genuine Greece.—Revere the gods their founders, those venerable deities. Respect the ancient glory of this people.—Pay a regard to their antiquity, to their noble exploits, and even to their fictions.'

This letter of advice is written with uncommon earnestness, that Maximus might act worthy of himself, and not lose in Greece any part of that reputation which he had gained by his quæstorship in Bithynia, and the discharge of other offices in which he had been employed. And can we think that Pliny neglected such rules himself when he was governor in Bithynia?

Pliny, as before said, was augur. It was an office which he much valued, and which he asked of Trajan in this manner: 'I[y] beg you would be graciously pleased to add either the office of augur, or septemvir, (both of which are now vacant,) to the dignity which I already enjoy by your indulgence, that I may have the satisfaction of offering up those vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the gods in private from the affection of my heart.'

Pliny was greatly delighted with his being appointed augur: 'My[z] advancement,' says he to Arrian, 'is indeed an honour that justly merits the congratulation which you give me.—It is also an ancient and sacred institution, which has this high and peculiar privilege annexed to it—that it is for life. Other sacerdotal honours, though they may not be much inferior in dignity, yet as they are given, so they may be taken away; upon this, fortune has no power but to be-

[w] ———Ego statim decurionibus scripseram, ut adsignarent solum, in quo templum pecuniâ meâ extruerem. L. x. ep. 24.

[x] Cogita, te missum in provinciam Achaiam, illam veram meram Græciam. —Reverere conditores deos, numina deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem—Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. L. 8. ep. 24. [y] L. x. ep. 8. al. 13. [z] L. 4. ep. 8.

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stow it. What recommends this dignity to me still more is, that I have the honour to succeed so illustrious a person as Julius Frontinus; who for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper persons to be taken into the sacred college, constantly proposed me, as if he had a view to my being his successor.'

This last-mentioned particular certainly deserves some notice. Pliny's usual character was such as to show him to be a very fit person for this honourable priesthood.

In another letter also he relates how[a] that eminent man Virginius Rufus often recommended him as a person well qualified for the priesthood.

The business of the augurs, as is said, was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, and to foretell whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole commonwealth. And it appears, from our Pliny's letters[b] to his friends, that he thought he had a happy talent for interpreting dreams, and could give a shrewd conjecture, at least, how far they were to be depended upon, and whether they foreboded success or disappointment in any undertaking.

None can contest his credulity and superstition, who observe what he says describing the river Clitumnus. 'Near it,' says[c] he, 'stands an ancient and venerable temple, wherein is placed [the river god] Clitumnus, clothed in a splendid robe; whose immediate presence the prophetic oracles, there delivered, sufficiently testify.'

I am not singular in my judgment concerning Pliny's respect for the heathen deities, and his zeal for upholding their worship. Colonia expresseth himself very clearly to the like purpose.[d]

[a] —Sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare quos dignissimos sacerdotio judicant, me semper nominabat. L. 2. ep. 1.

[b] Vid. l. i. ep. 18. Conf. l. 5. ep. 5.

[c] Adjacet templum, priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque prætextâ. Præsens numen, atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. L. 8. ep. 8.

[d] Mais il eut encore une attention plus particulière à faire fleurir par tout la culte des Deux. Car il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux, comme il paroît, entre autres choses, par les grands mouvements qu'il se donna pour faire transporter dans un lieu plus décent le vieux temple de la Grande Mère des dieux, c'est-à-dire de Cybèle, qui étoit à Nicomédie, [l. x. ep. 58.] et par le soin qu'il eut de faire bâtir à ses propres frais un temple dans une de ses terres, assez près de Tifernum.

Cet entêtement singulier de Plinie pour les dieux, et pour les erreurs de Paganisme, doit paroitre certainement quelque chose d' assez bizarre dans un aussi bel esprit que lui, qui devoit, ce semble, par mille raisons, s' être mis fort au dessus des frivoles préjugés du vulgaire. Colonnia La Religion Chrêtienne autorisée, &c. T. 2. p. 49, 50.

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I think I ought not to omit that Pliny did not condemn combats of gladiators, or other things usually accompanying those cruel entertainments. He seems to have approved of them upon some occasions. This appears from a letter to his friend Maximus. 'You[e] were extremely in the right,' says he, 'to promise a combat of gladiators to our good friends the citizens of Verona; not only as they have long distinguished you with their peculiar esteem and veneration, but as it was thence also you received the amiable object of your affection, your late excellent wife. And[f] since you owed some monument, or public show, to her memory, what other spectacle could you exhibit more proper to the occasion?—The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is much to your honour.—I am sorry that the African panthers, which you had largely provided for that purpose, did not arrive time enough. But though they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited.'

The emperor Trajan has been admired and applauded by many. And it must be owned that he was an eminent person, and had many good qualities. Crevier begins his history of this emperor in this manner: 'Trajan is justly es-'teemed the best and greatest prince the Romans ever had.' His distinguished title was that of Optimus, given[g] him by the senate, and all the people in general. 'But,' as a learned man says, 'that[h] title among the Romans does not de-'note a man of excellent morals, as if he were another So-'crates, but only kind, courteous, obliging, agreeable; im-'plying that[i] he behaved respectfully toward the senate,

[e] Recte fecisti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronensibus nostris promisisti. L. 6. ep. 34.

[f] ———Cujus memoriæ aut opus aliquod, aut spectaculum, atque hoc potissimum, quod maxime funeri, debeatur. Ib. id.

[g] Jam, quid tam civile, tam senatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen? Plin. Pan. cap. 2. Justisne de causis Senatus Populusque Romanus Optimi tibi cognomen adjecit? Ib. cap. 88.

Conf. Dion. l. 68. p. 1138. Vid. ibid. Reimar. not. sect. 44. Tillem. note vi. sur Trajan. et Pagi ann. 103. n. ix. et ann. cxi.

[h] Cum Trajanus nominatus fuit a Romanis Optimus, hoc vocabulum non significat hominem virtutem moralium, et alterum quasi Socratem. Romani enim tales homines non magni faciebant—Quid ergo sibi volebat ille Romanorum titulus? scilicet significabant eos Trajanum habere mores, qui ipsis placerent maxime. Faciebat enim quidquid gratum esse Senatui intelligebat, quidquid populo. Hujus voluptatibus, illius ambitioni indulgendi nullam dimittebat occasionem. En imperatorem judicio populi optimum. Heuman. De Persecutione christian. Plinian. p. 146.

[i] *Και τωτε δημω μετ' επιεικιας συνεγενετο, και τη γηρυσιω σεμνοπρεπως ωμιλει· αγαπητος μεν πασι, φοβερος δε μηδενι, πλην πολεμιοις, ων.* Dion. p. 1124.

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'and was gracious and condescending toward the people, 'conversing familiarly with them, indulging them in their 'pleasures, gratifying their humour, and affording them 'magnificent spectacles.'

And it may be not unfitly observed by us, that we have not Pliny's panegyric upon Trajan, as it was pronounced by him in the senate. For, as we know from himself, he[k] afterwards enlarged and improved it, not only for more fully doing justice to the emperor himself, but also that it might be the model of an excellent prince, for the imitation of others in time to come.

Trajan's piety to the gods is acknowledged. The emperor's and his panegyrist's piety go hand in hand. In that justly admired performance Pliny celebrates his master as[l] a humble worshipper of the gods. And he says, that 'Trajan[m] placed his predecessor, Nerva, among the gods, not to please the people, nor out of any disrespect to the deities, nor with a view of honour to himself upon that account, but because he really believed him to be a god.' And, in a letter formerly referred to, representing his own vows, and the vows of the province in which he was, he says: 'We[n] implored the gods to preserve you and the republic in safety and prosperity, with that peculiar mark of their beneficence, which not only your other many and great virtues, but particularly your distinguished piety and reverence of them, deserve.'

Though Trajan has been much applauded by men of former and later times, as[o] excelling in the arts of peace and war, temperate, mild, equitable; such was the impartiality

[k] Officium consulatûs injunxit mihi, ut Reipublicæ nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu quum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more fecissem bono civi convenientissimum credidi eadem illa spatiosius et uberius volumine amplecti; primum ut Imperatori nostro virtutes suæ veris laudibus commendarentur; deinde, ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo præmonerentur, quâ potissimum viâ possent ad eamdem gloriam niti. Plin. l. 3. ep. 18. Conf. ep. 13. Vid. et l. 6. ep. 27.

[l] Tu delubra non nisi adoraturus intras. Tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis, postibusque prætexi. Paneg. cap. 52.

[m] Quem tu lacrymis primum, ita ut filium decuit, mox templis honestâsti: non imitatus illos, qui hoc idem, sed aliâ mente fecisti.—Tu sideribus patrem intulisti, non ad mentem civium, non in contumeliam numinum, non in honorem tuum, sed quia Deum credis. Paneg. cap. xi.

[n] Precati Deos, ut te remque publicam florentem et incolumem eâ benignitate servarent, quam super magnas plurimasque virtutes præcipuâ sanctitate consequi Deorum honore meruisti. L. 10. ep. 101. Conf. ep. 9.

[o] Hoc ægre clarior domi, suæ militiæ reperietur—Æquus, clemens, patientissimus, atque in amicos perfidelis. Sextus Aur. Vict. de Cæsaribus, cap. 13. Conf. Victor. Epit. c. 13. in Eutrop. l. 8. Dion. Cass. l. 68. p. 1122, &c. Julian Cæs. p. 327, 328. ed Spanhem.

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of divers of the ancient historians, that they have not scrupled to record some very great faults which he was guilty of.

He is said to[p] have indulged himself at some seasons in excess of eating and drinking: and he is charged[q] with a vice not fit to be named. Some[r] would set aside this charge, as if the testimony of Dion Cassius was liable to suspicion; but there is no reason for it: Dion was as likely to be well informed as any man. His only fault is that he does not condemn the vice with the severity which it deserves: and[s] Trajan's guilt is attested also by other witnesses, altogether unexceptionable.

Trajan was fond of the combats of gladiators. Dion says that, 'after[t] he had triumphed for his first victory over the 'Dacians, he exhibited in the amphitheatre shows of gladia-'tors, of whom he was very fond; and introduced dancers 'into the theatre, being enamoured with one of them.' And after the second victory over the Dacians, the same historian, or Xiphilinus from him, says, there[u] were shows continued for an hundred and three-and-twenty days, in which were slain eleven thousand beasts, wild and tame: and there were combats of ten thousand gladiators.

[p] Trajanum familiarius prosecutus est: quandoquidem et indulsisse vino se dicit, Trajani moribus obsequentem; atque ob hoc se a Trajano locupletissime muneratum. Spartian. de Adrian. cap. 3.

Quin etiam vinolentiam, qui vitio, uti Nerva, agebatur, prudentiâ molliverat, curari vetans jussa post longiores epulas, Victor. de Cæsaribus, cap. 13.—Nisi quia cibo vinoque paululum deditus erat. Victor. Epit. cap. 13. de Trajano.

Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam, et cupiditatem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit, sed invenerit; prohibueritque lege ministeria lasciva, psaltriasque commissationibus adhibere, &c. Id. cap. 48. De Theodosio. *Ου γαρ ην εξω τυ δυνασθαι ρητορευειν, ὑπο δε της φιλοποσιας, αμβλυτερος εαυτυ πολλακις ην.* Julian. Cæs. p. 327. C. Spanh. et Conf. ib. p. 318. C.

[q] *Ουδ' εστιν ὁ τι ουκ αριστον ειχε. Και οιδα μεν ὁτι και περι μειρακια, και περι οινον εσπυδακει· αλλ' ει μεν τι εκ τυτων η αισχρον η κακον η εδεδρακει, η επεπονθει, επηγοριαν αν ειχε· νυν δε τυ τε οινυ διακορως επινε, και νηφων ην, εν τε τοις παιδικοις ὑδενα ἐλυπησεν.* Dion. l. 68. p. 1124.

[r] A Dione, fortasse ex odio in Romanorum Imperatorum Græcis insito, ebrietatis et præposteræ libidinis notatus. J. de la Baune De Vitâ Traj. sub fin.

[s] Fuitque in amore Trajani, nec tamen ei per pædagogos puerorum, quos Trajanus impensius diligebat, Gallo favente, defuit. Spartian. Adrian. cap. 2. Corrupisse eum Trajani libertos, curâsse delicatos, eosdemque sepelisse per ea tempora, quibus in aulâ familiarior fuit, opinio multa firmavit. Id. ib. cap. 4.

Ιδων δε αυτον ὁ Σειληνος εφη—ὡρα νυν τῳ δεσποτῃ Δι σκοπειν, ὁπως ὁ Γανυμηδης αυτῳ φρυρησεται. Julian. ib. p. 311. C.

[t] *Τραιανος δε τατε νικητηρια ηγαγε—εν τε τῳ θεατρῳ μονομαχυς συνεβαλε· και γαρ εχαιρεν αυτοις· και τυς ορχηστας ες το θεατρον επανεγαγε, και γαρ ενος αυτων, τυ Πυλαδυ, ηρα.* Dion. l. 68. p. 1127. al. 774. B.

[u] Dion. ib. l. 68. p. 1131. al. p. 777.

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The emperor's great fondness for gladiators has been supposed by some to be one reason why Pliny speaks so honourably of those shows in his[v] Panegyric.

Trajan's introducing Pantomimes into the theatre is the more remarkable, because they had been prohibited or restrained by Domitian.[w] Nerva[x] disliked them, though[y] to please the people he allowed them at Rome. Pliny has more than once plainly condemned them in his letters,[z] which is much to his honour. And indeed I take him to be a much better man than his admired master.

It seems to make no small abatement in Trajan's reputation for wisdom, and his regard for the prosperity of the empire, that he so long deferred to nominate his successor. Pliny[a] extols Nerva for appointing Trajan to succeed him. And it is always reckoned a point of wisdom in princes to make early provision against their own mortality. But Trajan, though he reigned almost twenty years, did not adopt Adrian his successor till he was dying, if he did[b] then. And whenever this was done, whether before or after his death, it is[c] represented to be owing to the good conduct of the empress Plotina, who was favourable to Adrian, and has a great character for virtue and discretion.[d]

They who will consider all these things, may, perhaps, see cause not to be much surprised at the hard treatment which christians met with from the great men of those times.

[v] Satisfactum, quâ civium, quâ sociorum utilitatibus. Visum est spectaculum inde non enerve, nec fluxum, nec quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemtumque mortis accenderet; quum in servorum etiam, noxiorumque, corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriæ cerneretur. Paneg. cap. 33.

[w] Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concesso. Sueton. Domit. cap. 7. Vid. et Nero. c. 16.

[x] Dio. l. 68. p. 1119. al. 770. B. [y] Plin. Pan. cap. 46. Conf. Reimar. not. 82. ad Dion. p. 1127.

[z] Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses, ex cujusdam testamento, celebrabatur. Hunc Trebonianus Rufus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu suo tollendum abolendumque curavit.———Placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic omnium. Nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos resident, nostra late vagantur. Utque in corporibus, sic in imperio, gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur. L. 4. ep. 22. Vid. et l. 7. ep. 24.

[a] Tibi terras, te terris reliquit; eo ipso carus omnibus, ac desiderandus, quod prospexerat, desideretur. Paneg. cap. x.

[b] At Trajanum non prius Hadrianum adoptâsse, si tamen adoptavit, quam in morbum inciderit—certo deducitur. Pagi, ann. 117. n. v. And see Crevier's History of Trajan, near the end.

[c] Vid. Dion. l. 69. in. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 6. Victor. de Cæsarib. cap. 13 Spartian. in Adrian. cap. 4.

[d] Plin. Paneg. cap. 83. Dion. l. 68. p. 1123. in al. p. 771. D. Victor. Epit. in. Constantio. cap. 42. sub fin.

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It ought not to be thought by any that I take pleasure in detracting from the merit of those who have been distinguished by their high stations, or their eminent abilities, or their useful services to mankind of any sort. For indeed the disadvantageous part of this detail has been made, and carried on, not without great reluctance, much diffidence, and tenderness; whilst commendable things have been cheerfully acknowledged. And if we now think, and judge, and act, better than many in former times, it is owing to our superior advantages: such especially as we have received from the christian revelation, by which our minds have been enlightened and enlarged; for which we ought to be ever thankful, still thinking modestly of ourselves, and giving God the glory of all.

IX. There still remain some general remarks upon the foregoing epistles to be mentioned here, though divers of them may have been in part hinted before.

1. These epistles are justly esteemed by learned men as very valuable. They are the only authentic accounts of the persecution in Pontus and Bithynia which we have. Indeed those epistles have been referred to by Tertullian, and Eusebius, and other later writers: but* we have no history of it by any christian writer who lived at that time. Whence this has come to pass cannot be certainly said. We may regret it, but we cannot help it, and should acquiesce, and improve what we have as well as we can.

2. We see here one ground of offence against christians —they drew men off from the worship of the heathen deities. Their temples were not so much frequented as formerly. The priests, and all who had a dependence upon the temples, the sacrificers, the statuaries, the painters, the engravers, and others, were deprived of their wonted gain. This must have made the christians many fierce enemies in all parts. An early instance of this kind is recorded by St. Luke, Acts xix. 23—41.

3. Here is a remarkable evidence of the great progress of the christian religion in a short space. There never was any such thing as christianity heard of in the world before the reign of Tiberius. It was not fourscore years since the crucifixion of Jesus when Pliny wrote this letter, nor seventy

* Verum hisce temporibus, et hoc quidem anno, cœpit tertia, quæ vocatur, persequutio, ut liquet ex Epistolâ Plinii, qui Bithyniæ Proconsul erat,—quam integram recitabimus, quod sit unicum persequutionis illius tertiæ monumentum, tempori æquale. Tanta fuit christianorum eo ævo, in scribendâ religionis suæ historiâ, negligentia, aut scriptorum illius ætatis jactura. Cleric. H E. Ann. cxi. n. i.

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years since the disciples of Jesus began to make any mention of him to Gentiles. And yet there were at this time great numbers of men, whom Pliny once and again plainly calls christians, in that part of Asia where he presided, at a great distance from Judea. Christians there were every where, throughout the whole extent of his province, in cities, in villages, and in the open country. There were persons of all ages, of every rank and condition, and of each sex, and some Roman citizens, who had embraced this principle. They abounded so much in those parts, that there was a visible desertion of the temples. Beasts, brought to market for victims, had few purchasers; the annual sacred solemnities were much neglected. So many were accused, and were in danger of suffering upon account of the prevalence of this opinion, as gave the president no small concern.

Moreover, there were not only many at this time who bore that name, but there had been such people there a good while; some several years before; and one, or more, brought before Pliny, had professed christianity, and forsaken it, twenty years before. By which we are assured that there were christians here before the year of our Lord 90, and within sixty years after the crucifixion of Jesus. And indeed the great number of christians found in this country by Pliny, affords good reason to believe that christianity had been planted there many years before his arrival. Such an increase must have been the work of time.

I do not say, nor think, that the christians were the majority of the people in Pontus and Bithynia; but I suppose we may conclude, from what Pliny writes, that there were then many christians in every part of those[f] countries.

[f] Says Mr. Mosheim: Tota igitur provincia, non quædam ejus pars, christianis repleta erat. Postremo non obscure significat, Deorum causam magno in discrimine paullo ante versatam esse, pluresque Christo, quam Diis serviisse. Hoc ex eo manifestum est, quod templa deserta fuisse, sacra solennia diu intermissa, sacrificia perpauca Diis oblata memorat. 'Certe satis constat, prope 'jam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, &c.' Aut fabulam hero suo narrare Plinium statue—aut certum puta, provinciam Ponticam plures ejus tempore christianos habuisse, quam Deorum superstitioni deditos, saltem maximam incolarum partem ad deserendam avitam religionem inclinâsse. Mosh. De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 218, 219.

But it seems to me that, in a preceding note, the same learned man speaks more judiciously in a remark upon Tertullian. Oracula fundere Tertullianus plurimis videtur in Apologetico. cap. 37, 'Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia im-'plevimus—Palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa.' Ego ivrum, ad exaggerandum naturâ factum, declamare, modumque excedere, arbitror. Tolle distributionem illam rhetoricam, fallacem certe et insidiosam, et hanc habebis sententiam: Plurimi sunt in orbe Romano christiani, et nullus fere ordo est, qui prorsus illis careat. Id. ib. p. 217.

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4. They who were called christians were very resolute and steady in this profession, which must have been owing to some cause or other. Jesus had been crucified as a malefactor; and yet there were great numbers of men who had a great respect for him, and could not by any means be compelled, as Pliny was assured, to speak ill of him. And this governor found those informations, which had been given him, to be true. For there were men brought before him, who, when he interrogated them whether they were christians, confessed they were. And, though threatened by him with death, they persevered in that confession, and therefore were by him ordered away for execution.

It is reasonable to think that this was owing to some authentic information which they had received concerning Jesus, and his exemplary life and excellent doctrine, confirmed by miraculous works, and a full persuasion of the truth of them, as also of his resurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to power and dominion after his crucifixion.

It could not well be owing to any thing, but such evidences of these things as are contained in the books of the New Testament. What else could have induced so many men to take upon them the name of Christ, and profess themselves to be his followers, though all men knew he had suffered an ignominious death? They lived near enough to the time of Jesus to know whether there had been any extraordinary appearances in his favour, during his abode on this earth, at his death, and after it. Without credible information of some such things, it is unaccountable that any number of men should take upon them this profession, and persevere in it, notwithstanding the many difficulties to which they were exposed.

If it should be said they were not all constant; there were some who abandoned this profession; it is allowed—some such there were: but they seem to have been but few in comparison of those who persevered. For Pliny saw that great numbers of all sorts of people were exposed to danger. Besides, the constancy of a few, in such a case as this, is of more weight than the inconstancy of many. There were many temptations to renounce this profession, even contrary to conviction: but there were no worldly inducements of any kind to persist in it. Unsteadiness might be owing to worldly considerations; perseverance could be owing to nothing but a firm persuasion of the truth.

5. We are here assured of divers important things concerning the religious belief and worship of the first chris-

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tians, in which they agree with the principles and precepts delivered in the New Testament.

(1.) They disowned all the gods of the heathens: they would not worship the images of the emperors, or of their gods. The people, who embraced this religion, forsook the heathen temples and altars, and offered there no sacrifices.

(2.) They met together on a stated day, undoubtedly meaning Sunday, or the Lord's-day, on which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. And we are assured by Justin Martyr, in his Apology, written not very many years after this time, that this was the practice of all christians in general.

(3.) When they were assembled, as Pliny says, 'they sung a hymn to Christ, as a God: and also engaged themselves, as by an oath, not to commit theft, robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, or betray any trust committed to them.'

Which account is much to the honour of these christians. Their religion did not lie in abstruse speculations, or numerous rites and ceremonies, but in the worship of the one God, through Jesus Christ, and the practice of moral virtue.

(4.) The christians in Pontus and Bithynia had love-feasts, or agapæ, as they are also sometimes called. Many other christians had the like, as we learn from[8] Tertullian. Those of the christians in Bithynia were not held at the same time with their more solemn worship, but afterwards; and for avoiding offence they had omitted them.

(5.) They also had church officers. Pliny expressly mentions two women, who were ministers, or deaconesses, whom he also calls maid-servants. But, as before hinted, he might be mistaken about their condition.

Whence it came to pass that he has mentioned no other officers among the christians, such as bishops, or presidents, or elders, or deacons, cannot be said. But it may be allowed that the persons pitched upon by him, to be examined by torture, were as likely as any to answer his purpose, of obtaining a knowledge of their secret practices, if the christians had any such among them.

(6.) We are here assured of the innocence and virtue of the first christians. Both these epistles, that of Pliny, and that of Trajan, bear testimony to their innocence, in their solemn worship, in their meal, some time afterwards, and in their

[8] Ap. cap. 39.

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whole lives. There was not any crime, beside that of their religion, proved against any of those who were brought before Pliny. Even their accusers and prosecutors appeared not to have alleged any thing against them, but that they were christians. He examined deserters. He put to the torture two women who were ministers, or deaconesses. And yet he discovered nothing but what was quite harmless. The only charge against them is, an absurd superstition and obstinacy therein.

Trajan's rescript affords as strong proof of the innocence of these men. He knew not of any offence they were guilty of, excepting only their not supplicating to the gods. He[h] forbids inquiries to be made after them; and he allows pardon to those who would give proof of their renouncing christianity, by a public act of worship paid to the gods, then generally received.

The honesty and innocence of these men, oblige us to pay a great regard to their belief and profession of the christian religion. If they were sober and discreet before they embraced it, we may hence argue, that there were then such evidences of its truth as approved themselves to serious persons. If they are supposed to have been in fore time vicious and irregular, here is a strong proof of the truth and goodness of christianity, in that it had so great an influence on men's minds at a time when they might easily know whether it was well grounded or not. Either way, it is an honour to these principles, that they who embraced them maintained such innocence in their lives, that their enemies, by the strictest inquiries, could discover nothing criminal in them.

7. At the same time that these christians appear resolute in the adherence to Christ and his doctrine, and will by no means be compelled to give religious worship to the emperors, or the heathen deities, they pay due obedience to the orders of the civil magistrate. Their evening meeting, for partaking together in a common meal, was not a sacred ordinance of the christian institution. When therefore Pliny published an edict forbidding assemblies, which was often done by the Roman governors of provinces, because of the licentious practices which usually attended them, these christians forbore those meetings, though they had not been used to commit any disorders in them.

[h] Conquirendi non sunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se christianum esse, idque re ipsâ manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentiâ impetret. Trajanus.

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8. I would now take occasion to observe the expedience and usefulness, the value and importance, of inquisitiveness in things of religion.

Improvements in any science depend upon inquisitiveness, carried on and continued with diligence. These are the only methods of obtaining a knowledge of the principles of any science, and the grounds, reasons, and evidences of them: for the want of which there is so much ignorance in the world. Nor is there any such thing less cultivated than the knowledge of religion. How easily might some great men, and many others, have avoided the faults which they fell into, and have acted more for their own honour, and the benefit of mankind, than they did, if they could but have been persuaded to attend to the principles of the christian religion, and the evidences of their truth and certainty, apparent in their intrinsic excellence and reasonableness, and in the extraordinary works accompanying the original revelation of them, which showed that they were promulgated with divine authority?

That christianity had appeared in the world a good while ago, and that there were many christians at Rome, and elsewhere, in the reign of Nero and Domitian; and that these christians had suffered much, and still persisted in the faith of Christ, were things well known to Tacitus and Suetonius, friends of our Pliny, and indeed to all the world, at the time when the eminent men, just mentioned, lived and wrote. But how little regard did they show to this? Did they consider the evidences which those christians alleged, as the ground and reason of their firm and disinterested belief and profession? Did those persons admit any doubts about the grounds of the ancient worship, or make any serious inquiries about religious truth? It does not appear they did.

We have a collection of Pliny's letters in ten books. The tenth and last contains the correspondence between him and the emperor Trajan. In the other nine books are more than two hundred and forty letters, many of them written to Tacitus and Suetonius, and other men of great distinction for their learning and ingenuity, and high station, and the offices which they had borne in the Roman empire. Is there any thing in these letters relating to the christian religion, or the christians, its honest professors? Not one word: there is total silence upon that subject throughout! Do any of them ask Pliny whether he could inform them concerning the christian philosophy, which had made such progress in the world in a short time? Or does Pliny ask any of them whether they had examined the pretensions of those people,

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and considered whether there was not somewhat extraordinary in this new sect? No, there are no inquiries of this sort sent by Pliny to any of his learned and honourable friends: nor to him by any of them, so far as appears! They are all well satisfied in the ancient way. They hesitated not to proceed in the observation of all the idolatrous rites and ceremonies practised by their ancestors. If they would not inquire, how should they know? And if they did not know, how should they act wisely, as the circumstances of things might require?

And in all ages ignorance will be culpable, if men neglect the means of knowledge, and will not inquire. And they must bear the consequences of their own neglects.

I beg leave to transcribe here the pathetic address of Justin Martyr to Antoninus the Pious, and the senate and people of Rome, at the end of his first apology, to induce them to attend to, and examine the evidences of the christian religion, and to give such treatment to the professors of it as in all equity they had a right to expect. And I the rather transcribe it here, because I am persuaded the like things were said to Pliny, and repeated to him more than once, by those christians who were accused before him and examined by him. And possibly, yea, very probably, they came also to the ears of the emperor Trajan himself.

'On[i] the day called Sunday we all meet together——On 'which day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. 'On the day before Saturday he was crucified. And on 'the day after Saturday, which is Sunday, he appeared to 'his apostles and disciples, and taught them those things 'which we have set before you, and refer to your consider-'ation. If these things appear agreeable to reason and 'truth, pay a regard to them. If they appear trifling, re-'ject them as such. But do not treat as enemies, nor 'appoint capital punishment to those who have done no 'harm: for we foretell unto you, that you will not escape 'the future judgment of God if you persist in unrighteous-'ness. And we shall say: The[k] will of the Lord be done.'

[i] Justin. p. 99. Paris. 1636. p. 84. Rened.

[k] Ὁ φιλον τῳ Θεῳ, τυτο γενεσθω.

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CHAP. X.

EPICTETUS THE STOIC PHILOSOPHER.

I. *His life and time.* II. *A story representing his great patience.* III. *That he was learned.* IV. *A general account of the stoic principles.* V. *Of Arrian, who drew up the Enchiridion, and Discourses of Epictetus.* VI. *Passages in Epictetus relating to the Christians, with remarks and observations.*

I. EPICTETUS[a] was a celebrated stoic[b] philosopher. But there are not many particulars of his life that are known with certainty. He is in Suidas: and I shall take the historical part of his article for my text.

'Epictetus,' says that[c] author, 'born at Hierapolis in 'Phrygia, a philosopher, was slave of Epaphroditus, one of 'the emperor Nero's body guards. He was lame in one 'leg, occasioned by a defluxion. He dwelt at Nicopolis, a 'city of New Epirus; and reached to the time of Marcus 'Antoninus. He wrote many things.'

'Epictetus, born at Hierapolis in Phrygia:' which I do not think to be certain. And I have observed that[d] divers learned men speak doubtfully of this particular, as not entirely relying upon the authority of Suidas.

The names and quality of his parents are no where mentioned.

'He was a slave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body 'guards, and[e] was lame in one leg, occasioned by a de-'fluxion.'

That Epictetus was for some while a slave, and always poor, and likewise lame, are things attested by many ancient writers, and need not to be disputed. They are mentioned by[f] Aulus Gellius, who was contemporary with our philo-

[a] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Or. l. 4. c. 7. Tom. 3. p. 257, &c. Tillemont Adrien. art. xx. [b] Epictetus Stoicorum vel maximus. Ap. A. Gell. l. 1. c. 2. Maximus Philosophorum. Ib. l. 17. cap. xix. [c] V. Επικτητος.

[d] Natum Hierapoli Phrygiæ tradunt. Lips. citat. in notis ad A. G. l. 1. c. 2. On le fait natif de Hiéraple en Phrygie. Tillem. ut supr.

[e] Πηρωθεις δε το σκελος ὑπο ῥευματος. Suid.

[f] De Epicteto autem, philosopho nobili, quod is quoque servus fuit, recentior est memoria, quam ut scribi quasi obliteratum debuerit. Ejus Epicteti etiam de se scripti duo versus feruntur———

Δουλος Επικτητος γενομην, και σωματι πηρος,
Και πενιην Ιρος, και φιλος αθανατοις.

A. G. l. 2. c. 18. Et Macrob. l. 1. c. xi. sub fin.

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sopher, but survived him: who mentions a short Greek epigram, which he also ascribes to Epictetus himself, to this purpose:

'A slave, in body maim'd, as Irus poor:
'Yet to the gods was Epictetus dear.'

Simplicius, whose authority is very good, says that 'Epictetus[g] was a slave, of an infirm constitution, and lame 'from early age; and so well satisfied with extreme po-'verty, that his small house at Rome needed no securities, 'having nothing in it but his couch and mattress, upon 'which he lay.'

Hence I think it may be collected that, while Epictetus lived at Rome, he was, for some time at least, a freeman, and had a house of his own. And it may be supposed that there were some who were willing to support him, and furnish him with such things as were necessary. This may be argued also from some preceding words of Simplicius, where, having represented a like case, he says: 'Who[h] would not be wil-'ling to maintain such a one, at the same time thinking that 'he rather receives than confers a benefit?'

In another place of the same work Simplicius says: 'The[i] 'admirable Epictetus for the greatest part of his life dwelt 'alone: but afterwards [or in his advanced age] he was at-'tended by a woman, whom he took to nurse a child, which 'he intended to bring up, and which otherwise a friend of 'his, who was very poor, would have exposed.'

Though Simplicius mentions no other furniture of this philosopher's house beside a couch and mattress, undoubtedly there was also a lamp; which, as we learn from[k] Lucian, was sold after his death for three thousand drachms, or a hundred pounds of our money: which high price, however, was not owing to the value of the materials, for it was earthen; but the reputation of the proprietor.

Epictetus himself refers to his lameness[l] several times. And Origen[m] supposeth him to have been a slave.

Suidas says that 'Epaphroditus[n] was one of Nero's body-

[g] Ὅτε αυτος ὁ ταυτα λεγων Επικτητος και δουλος ην, και το σωμα ασθενης, και χωλος εκ νεας ἡλικιας, και πενιαν ακροτατην επετηδευσεν, ὡς το εν Ῥωμῃ οικημα αυτῳ μηδεποτε κλειθρα δεηθηναι, ὁτι μηδεν ενδον εχον, ει μη την τριβαδα και την ψιαθον, εφ' ὡν εκαθευδε. Simpl. in Epictet. Ench. cap. 13. p. 102.

[h] Τις γαρ εκ αγαπῃ τρεφειν τον τοιουτον, λαμβανειν χαριν μαλλον ηπερ διδοναι νομιζων. Ib. p. 102.

[i] Ibid. cap. 46. p. 272.

[k] Adv. Indoct. p. 336. T. 2. Græv.

[l] Ap. Arrian. l. 1. c. 8. sub fin. et c. 16. sub fin. Cantabr. 1655.

[m] Contr. Cels. l. 3. p. 144. al. sect. 54.

[n] ——Των σωματοφυλακων του βασιλεως Νερωνος.

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'guards:' by which[o] some have understood chamberlain: and others, from this place of Suidas, as I apprehend, have been led to think he was[p] captain of the guard, or præfectus prætorio: which must be a mistake. Suetonius[q] calls him master of the requests. For certain he was[r] Nero's freed-man, and one of his favourites, He is generally supposed to be the same to whom Josephus inscribed his Jewish Antiquities, and of whom he speaks honourably.

But I think it doubtful whether Epictetus ever was his slave. 'It is certain,' says[s] Tillemont, 'that he was a slave. 'Suidas says he was slave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's 'body-guards.' Of this last particular therefore he speaks doubtfully.

Epictetus has thrice[t] mentioned Epaphroditus in his Discourses, recorded by Arrian. In one of those places he calls Epaphroditus Nero's freed-man; and tells a story very disadvantageous to his character, exposing him to contempt and ridicule. And it is manifestly fictitious; in part at least. But would Epictetus treat Epaphroditus in that manner if he had been his master and had made him free? Moreover, if Epictetus's master had been so great, and so well known a person as Epaphroditus, he would have been sometimes called his freed-man, as Epaphroditus is called Nero's, and Phlegon[u] Adrian's: and Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word Bithynion, says 'it[v] was the native place 'of Pinytus, who taught grammar at Rome; who was the 'freed-man of Epaphroditus, as he was Nero's:' not now to add any more like instances.

'He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus.'

We know, from[w] Suetonius and other authors, that in the reign of Domitian, about the year of Christ 94, the philosophers were ordered by a decree of the senate to depart from Rome and Italy. Among them was Epictetus, who then went to Nicopolis, and taught philosophy there.

[o] Epaphroditi, qui libertus et cubicularius Neronis. Fabr. B. Gr. T. 3. p. 257. [p] Capitaine des gardes de Neron. Morery.

[q] —A libellis. Sueton. Neron. c. 49. Domitian. c. 14. [r] Tacit. Ann. l. 15. cap. 55. [s] Il est certain, qu'il a été esclave. Suidas dit, qu'il le fut d'Epaphrodite, garde du corps de Neron. Ibid.

[t] Ap. Arrian. l. 1. c. 1. et 19. et 26. Cantabr. 1655. [u] Vid. Spartian. Adrian. c. 16. et Phot. cod. 97. [v] Αφ' ȣ Πινυτος εγενετο, Ῥωμης γραμματικος, Επαφροδιτȣ τȣ Νερωνος ων εξελευθερος. Steph. Byz.

[w] —Philosophos omnes Urbe Italiâque submovit. Sueton. Domit. 10. Neque illis solum temporibus, nimis rudibus, necdum Græcâ doctrinâ expolitis, Philosophi ex urbe Româ expulsi sunt. Verum etiam, Domitiano imperante, senatûsconsulto ejecti, atque Urbe et Italiâ interdicti sunt. Quâ tempestate Epictetus quoque Philosophus propter senatûsconsultum Nicopolin Româ decessit. A. Gell. l. 15. cap. xi.

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Epictetus may refer to this banishment of the philosophers, when some of them, as may be supposed, to conceal their character and avoid the public resentment, took[x] off their beards.

That Nicopolis was the place of his abode, is expressly said[y] by himself, once at least, in his Discourses, preserved by Arrian; and it is implied in what he says in[z] several other places.

'He reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus.'

And to the like purpose[a] Themistius. Nevertheless, there are divers learned[b] men who do not assent to this: and what they said is of no small weight: for they observe that he is not mentioned by[c] Marcus himself, nor by[d] others, among those philosophers by whose instructions he had been benefited, and who were cherished and favoured by him. And that emperor himself acknowledgeth his obligations to Junius Rusticus[e] for procuring him a sight of Epictetus's Discourses.

Epictetus is mentioned[f] by Spartan among those philosophers to whom Adrian showed great regard. If that be true, Epictetus must have lived to his time. And some have hence argued that he returned to Rome. But I rather think he never left Nicopolis after he had settled[g] there. And he might receive marks of esteem from Adrian without going to Rome.

His own discourses, as seems to me, afford the best help for settling his time. In the second book he says there[h] was then war between the Romans and the Getes, or Dacians. According to a computation formerly[i] made, Trajan's wars with the Dacians lasted five years, beginning in the year 100 or 101, and ending in 105 or 106. In the[k] third book he speaks of there being then peace all over the Roman empire; which may be that time of profound and general tranquillity which succeeded the victories and triumphs over that people. In[l] the fourth book Trajan is men-

[x] Αγε ην, Επικτητε, διαξυρησαι· κ. λ. Arrian. l. i. c. 2. p. 89.

[y] —Ος οικω εν Νικοπολει. L. 2. c. 6. p. 184. [z] L. i. c. 10. et 19. fin. et c. 25. p. 147. l. 4. c. 1. p. 376. [a] Or. 5. p. 93.

[b] Salmus. Animadv. in Epictet. et Simp. p. 1—4. Gataker. ad M. Antonin. l. 8. cap. 31. Kuster. Ann. in Suid. V. Επικτητος. Fabr. et Tillem. ut supra.

[c] De Rebus suis, cap. 2, 3. [d] Vid. J. Capitolin. M. Anton Phil. cap. 3. [e] Και το εντυχειν τοις Επικτητιοις ὑπομνημασιν, ὡν οικοθεν μετεδωκε. De Reb. suis. l. 1. sect. 7. [f] In summâ familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum—habuit. Spart. Adrian. cap. 16.

[g] Nec post id tempus Romam illum puto rediisse, sed ibi mortem obiisse. Salmas. ib. p. 4. [h] Και νυν Ῥωμαιοι προς Γετας. L. 2. c. 22. p. 244. Cantab. [i] See before, p. 19. [k] L. 3. c. 13. p. 292. [l] Τινα εχει τον χαρακτηρα τουτο το τετρασσαρον; Τραιανου. L. 4. c. 5. p. 390. Cant. p. 602. Upt.

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tioned by name; and it may be supposed that he was then living: which may induce us to think that all the philosophical discourses of Epictetus, recorded by Arrian, were spoken before the end of that emperor's reign.

It is allowed that Epictetus lived to old age. He is called an old man[m] in A. Gellius and[n] Lucian. He speaks of himself as[o] an old man in the first book of his Discourses.

It is generally allowed by learned men that[p] Arrian did not publish the Discourses of Epictetus till after his decease. It is manifest that Epictetus was dead when[q] A. Gellius published his Noctes Atticæ. And[r] Arrian's Collection was abroad in the world when A. Gellius studied at Athens: which, probably, was in the time of Adrian. Consequently Epictetus did not survive Trajan, or, however, not long. Lucian, who flourished in the time of M. Antoninus, speaking of the person who bought Epictetus's lamp after his death, says, 'he was[s] one of our time, 'and might be still living:' which implies that the purchase had been made some good while before. All the discourses of Epictetus, which we have, were delivered at Nicopolis, as is[t] manifest. And from his settlement in that city to the death of Trajan, in the year 117, or thereabout, must be reckoned the time when he chiefly flourished.

Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of Epictetus at the year of Christ 104: which is not at all amiss, as must appear from what has been just said. But, as my observations may relate to the whole collection of his discourses, some of which might be spoken later, I have chosen to place him at the twelfth of Trajan, and the one hundred and ninth year of our Lord.

'He wrote many things;' which will be considered by and by.

II. Having now gone over what is said by Suidas, we

[m] L. i. c. 2. [n] —Τῳ θαυματῳ εκεινῳ γεροντι. Adv. Indoct. T. 2. p. 386. [o] —Γερων χωλος. L. 1. c. 16. fin.

[p] Atqui non eos videtur composuisse, nisi post mortem Epicteti. Salmas. in Epict. et Simp. p. 4.—Illas dissertationes habuit, quas in literas deinde ipso defuncto retulit Arrianus. Fabr. ut Supr. p. 259. Et notabis, jam Epictetum tum decessisse, cum Enchiridion hoc Messalino inscriberet Arrianus. Salmas. ib. p. 5. [q] A. G. l. 2. c. 18.

[r] —Jussitque (Herodes Atticus) proferri Dissertationem Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano, secundum librum, in quo venerandus ille senex. A. G. l. i. c. 2. Atque ibi coram ex sarcinulâ suâ librum protulit Epicteti philosophi, quintum Διαλεξεων, quas ab Arriano digestas congruere scriptis Zenonis et Chrysippi non dubium est. Id. l. 19. cap. 1. [s] 'Οπυ καθ' ἡμας αυτυς εγενετο·τις, και ετι εστιν, οιμαι. T. 2. p. 386. [t] Et profecto omnes ejus sermones ac dissertationes, quas scripto mandavit Arrianus, quæque hodie exstant, Nicopoli habitæ sunt. Salmas. ut supr. p. 4.

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will observe a story told of Epictetus by Celsus, in his books against the christian religion: that, 'when[u] his mas-'ter tortured his leg, he, smiling, and not at all discom-'posed, said, "You will break it:" and when it was broke, 'he said, "Did I not tell you that you would break it?"' This Celsus magnifies, as exceeding every thing recorded of our Saviour's patience.

Here again[v] Tillemont hesitates. And indeed we might have been pleased to find this account in Aulus Gellius, or some other ancient author, not writing in controversy. However, there certainly is some foundation for it: though[w] the story is not always told in the same way. Epictetus is several times brought in as an example of heathen patience in[x] Gregory Nazianzen, and[y] the Dialogues ascribed to his brother Cæsarius.

Possibly some may think that Epictetus himself refers to this occurrence of his past life, when in the first book of his Discourses, speaking of death, exile, imprisonment, and other pains, which men ought to endure patiently and cheerfully, he says: 'I must[z] die—And must I die groaning too? Be fettered—Must it be lamenting too? Exiled—And what hinders me then but that I may go smiling, and cheerful, and serene? Betray a secret—I will not betray it: for this is in my power. Then I will fetter you—What[a] do you say, man? Fetter me? You will fetter my leg; But not Jupiter himself can get the better of my choice——These things ought philosophers to study,——and in these to exercise themselves.'

However, though there may be some foundation for this story, we can perceive that the lameness of Epictetus was not owing to a violent fraction or dislocation: for we are in-

[u] Ωκεν Επικτητον; ος τυ δεσποτυ τρεβλεντος αυτυ το σκελος, υπομειδιων, ανεπληκτως ελεγε, Κατασσεις· και καταξαντος, Ουκ ελεγον, εφη, οτι κατασσεις. Orig. Cont. Cels. l. 7. p. 268. al. sect. 53.

[v] On trouve quelque chose de cela dans les Dialogues de Cæsareus, et dans Grégoire de Nazianze; mais non pas dans un endroit d' Aulu-Gelle, dont on le cite, et dont le témoignage rendroit cette histoire plus assurée. Tillem. as before.

[w] Sed ne crus quidem Epicteti silentio præterierim; quod cum ipsi a tyranno quodam vinctum fuisset, ac diuturno post tempore ille ex ipso quæsivisset, an solvi vellet, inquit, An vinctus sum? &c. Eliæ Cretens. Comm. in Greg. Naz. Or. 3. p. 326.

[x] Και το Επικτητυ σκελος. Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 77. Vid. et ep. 64. al. 58. p. 822.

[y] Epicteti vero crure, a moroso domino convulso, multis Philosophis silentii, et in periculis occasio doctrinæ fuit. Cæsar. Dialog. 4. p. 804. B. ap. Bib. PP. T. V.

[z] Here I take Mrs. Carter's translation, p. 5.

[a] Αλλα δησω σε. Ανθρωπε, τι λεγεις; εμε; το σκελος μυ δησεις· την προαιρεσιν δε, ωδε ο Ζευς νικησαι δυναται. L. i. c. 1. p. 85.

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formed by Suidas that his lameness was owing to a defluxion, and by Simplicius that he was lame from early age.

We likewise perceive, from the writers above alleged, that Epictetus was not always a slave. In the latter part, and perhaps the longer part of his life, he was a freed-man. He was a philosopher, living at ease in his own house, attended by a woman, with the child of a friend whom he intended to bring up. All which particulars lead us to think that Epictetus had a sufficiency, or competence, though not superfluities. Nor can it be at all doubted that his friends and disciples would, and did, furnish him with all things necessary during his abode at Rome, and afterwards at Nicopolis; where we suppose him to have ended his life, and where he seems to have had many hearers and disciples, and some of good condition, who would not fail to allow him handsome gratuities for his instructions, which they highly valued.

III. We have seen what ancient writers say of the furniture of this philosopher's house. It consisted, they say, of 'a couch and mattress upon which he lay, and a lamp.' I have sometimes thought they should have added, 'and a 'library,' the books of which he carefully read and studied; for Epictetus was learned. I cannot say that I have seen this observation in any writers of his life: and yet it is very obvious. Nor is it reasonable to think that the only use of the lamp was to enlighten his room in the dark night, or to dress his victuals by the light of it: very probably he read and studied by it.

Epictetus's learning is conspicuous in his Discourses. He knows very well the history of Greece and Rome, and[b] the customs of all nations, Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Romans. He is intimately acquainted with the principles, the history, the sayings, the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers: the[c] Iliad and Odyssey are familiar to him. He[d] also quotes Hesiod. He[e] had read the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, and the[f] comedies of Menander, and[g] the orations of Lysias and Isocrates. In a word, he was no stranger to any part of polite literature. And Mrs. Carter says; 'He[h] often quotes, with great applause, the 'sentences of many writers not of his own sect.' But how could that be done without having read?

We have no distinct account of his education: but his

[b] L. 1. c. xi. p. 114. Vid. et l. 2. c. ix. p. 192. [c] L. 1. c. 28. p. 155. et passim. [d] L. 2. c. 12. p. 201. Vid. Hesiod. Theog. ver. 87. [e] L. 1. c. 24. p. 145. et c. 28. p. 157. [f] L. 3. c. 26. p. 351. [g] L. 3. c. 23. p. 325. [h] Introduction, sect. 40. p. 31.

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own discourses are a proof that he had read, and studied, as well as thought.

IV. I am not obliged to give a distinct account of his philosophical principles. I shall put down here only a few general observations from Mrs. Carter's introduction, sect. 33: 'Stoicism is indeed inferior to the doctrine of Socrates, 'which did not teach that all externals were indifferent; 'which did teach a future state of recompence; and, agree-'able to that, forbade suicide.' And, in another section of her introduction, the same philosophical lady says: 'There 'is, I think, very little evidence to be found that they be-'lieved future rewards and punishments, compared with 'that which appears to the contrary; at least the reader will 'observe that Epictetus never asserts either.' Sect. 20, p. xiii.

V. I must now give some account of[l] Arrian, to whom we are indebted for what we have of Epictetus.

In Photius[k] are several articles concerning his works. One of the last of which was a history of his own country, Bithynia: wherein Arrian says 'he[l] was born and bred, and 'educated, in Nicomedia: and that he was priest of Ceres 'and her daughter, to whom that city was dedicated.'

In another article Photius, having given an account of several of his works, says: 'This[m] Arrian was by profession 'a philosopher, and one of Epictetus's friends. He flou-'rished in the times of Adrian, Antoninus the Pious, and 'Marcus Antoninus. He was called the young Xenophon. 'On account of his uncommon abilities he was intrusted 'with divers civil employments, and attained to the dignity 'of the consulship. Beside[n] those already mentioned, he 'wrote other works, as Dissertations of his master Epictetus, 'in eight books, so far as we know; and Homilies [or Dis-'courses] of the same Epictetus, in twelve books; and it 'must be owned that his style much resembles that of 'Xenophon.'

Suidas[o] mightily agrees with Photius, saying: 'Arrian, 'of Nicomedia, an admirer of Epictetus's philosophy, and 'called the young Xenophon, lived at Rome in the times of 'the emperors Adrian, Marcus, and Antoninus; and, upon 'account of his distinguished abilities, attained the dignity

[l] Vid. Suidam Voss. de Historicis. Gr. Fabr. Bib. Gr. L. 4. c. 8. T. 3. p. 269, &c. Biographia Classica. Vol. 2. p. 67, &c. Lond. 1740. Tillemont Adrien. art xx. Dictionnaire de Morery. [k] Cod. 58. p. 51. Cod. 91, 92, et 93. [l] Cod. 93. p. 233. [m] Cod. 58. p. 52, &c.

[n] Εγραψε δε βιβλια και ἑτερα, των μεν διατριβων Επικτητυ τυ διδασκαλυ, ὁσα ισμεν, βιβλια οκτω· των δε ὁμιλιων τυ αυτυ Επικτητυ βιβλια· δωδεκα. Ib. p. 53. [o] V. Αρριανος.

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'of the consulship, as Heliconius says. He wrote very many 'books.'

Lucian[p] says: 'Arrian, a disciple of Epictetus, was a 'man of the first rank among the Romans, who employed 'his whole life in the study of literature.'

I have no concern at present with any works of Arrian, excepting those relating to Epictetus. I therefore now proceed to Simplicius, who has been already cited more than once; who in the sixth century wrote a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus. His preface to that work begins with these words: 'Arrian,[q] who compiled the Dis-'sertations [or Discourses] of Epictetus in several prolix 'books, wrote concerning the life and death of Epictetus. 'From him may be learned what a sort of man he was. 'The same Arrian composed this book which is called the 'Enchiridion of Epictetus, selecting out of the several parts 'of his discourses [λογων] such things as are most important, 'and most necessary in philosophy, and most likely to 'affect men's minds. As the same Arrian says in his 'epistle to Mesgalenus, [or Messalinus,] his own friend, and 'especially a great admirer of Epictetus.'

Hence it may be concluded that Epictetus published nothing himself. Suidas therefore is mistaken when he says that 'Epictetus wrote many things,' unless he may be understood to mean by his disciples.

Learned men are now generally of opinion that Arrian published three or four books, one concerning the Life and Death of Epictetus, another called his Dissertations, and a third his Discourses, beside the Enchiridion. I rather think that besides the Enchiridion, he composed but one, called his Dissertations or Discourses, 'whence may be known what 'sort of man he was, how he lived, and how he died.' I understand Simplicius to speak of but one work only, which I suppose to be that which we now have in four books; though possibly something at the end may be wanting; as we have also lost Arrian's epistle to his friend Messalinus, which he prefixed to the Enchiridion.

Photius speaks of Arrian's composing two works, the Dissertations, and the Discourses of Epictetus. But he speaks doubtfully of the number of books of which the Dissertations consisted. And I am apt to think he had read none of them. He multiplies the works, being led into a

[p] Pseudom. p. 747. Tom. i. Græv.

[q] *Περι μεν τε βιε τε Επικτητε, και της αυτε τελευτης, Αρριανος εγραψεν, ὁ τας Επικτητε διατριβας εν πολυστιχοις συνταξας βιβλιοις· και απ' εκεινε μαθειν εστιν, οποιος γεγονεν τον βιον ο ανηρ. κ. λ.* Simp. p. 1.

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mistake by the different titles of one and the same work, sometimes called Dissertations, at other times Discourses.

I do not perceive Marcus Antoninus to speak of more than one work, called by him[r] Memoirs of Epictetus. Which title well suits the discourses now in our hands. Aulus Gellius quotes a[s] long passage of the second book of his Dissertations, which we have: another of[t] the fifth book of the Dissertations, which we do not find. Simplicius, in his preface, useth both these words indifferently, Dissertations and Discourses. Arrian himself, in his epistle to L. Gellius, prefixed to the work which we have, useth the expressions of Discourses and Memoirs: λογοι υπομνηματα.

Thus I had written long before I had met with Mr. Upton's edition of Epictetus: and it was not without some surprise as well as pleasure that I have observed how nearly we agree in sentiment upon this point. For he likewise supposeth that[u] Arrian published nothing of Epictetus beside the Enchiridion, and his Discourses, some books of which are now lost,

I must now transcribe a part of what Arrian says in his preface or dedication to Lucius Gellius. 'I[v] neither composed the discourses of Epictetus in such a manner as 'things of this nature are commonly composed, nor did I 'myself produce them to public view any more than I composed them. But whatever sentiments I heard from his 'own mouth, the very same I endeavoured to set down in 'the very same words, as far as possible, and preserve as 'memorials, for my own use, of his manner of thinking, and 'freedom of speech.

'These discourses are such as one person would naturally 'deliver from his own thoughts extempore to another, not

[r] ———Τοις Επικτητιοις ὑπομνημασιν. L. 1. sect. 7.

[s] Jussitque proferri dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ad Arriano secundum librum. L. 1. c. 2.

[t] ———Librum protulit Epicteti Philosophi quintum Διαλεξιων, quas ab Arriano digestas, &c. L. 19. c. i. Vid. et l. 17. c. xix. in.

[u] Ex hisce locis credas primâ facie, plurimos olim exstitisse libros, quos de Epicteto composuit Arrianus: I. Περι των Επικτητου διατριβων. βιβ. η. II. Περι των Επικτητου ὁμιλιων. βιβ. ιβ. III. Περι του βιου Επικτητου και της τουτου τελευτης. IV. Επικτητου λογοι. V. Επικτητου εγχειριδιον. VI. Επικτητου ὑπομνηματα. VII. Περι των Επικτητου διαλεξιων. De hisce libris quid sentiam, palam profiteri nullus dubito, licet in aliam a doctis viris iverim sententiam: nempe esse a manu Arriani duo tantum inter tot memorata volumina, viz. Περι των Επικτητου διατριβων, cujus operis nonnulli interciderunt libri; et Επικτητου εγχειριδιον, cujus quoque ad Messalinum præfatio seu dedicatio interiit, &c. Upt. Not. in Epictet. p. 4, 5.

[v] Here I use Mrs. Carter's translation, p. xli.

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'such as he would prepare to be read by numbers after-
'wards.'

Here therefore it should be observed, that what I am about to transcribe from this work ought not to be considered as said by Arrian, but by Epictetus himself, whose sentiments Arrian has recorded in his own words, as near as could be done.

For this reason I have been careful to settle the time of Epictetus. About the time of Arrian I have not been so solicitous: but I am inclined to believe that he published these discourses of his master soon after his death, about the year of our Lord 120, and the fourth of the emperor Adrian.

VI. In these discourses there are two passages which have been supposed by many learned men to relate to the christians.

1. In the[w] first, Epictetus blames those who assume the profession of philosophy, or any other character, without 'acting up to it. 'Why,' says he, 'do you call yourself a 'stoic? Why do you deceive the multitude? Why should 'you pretend to be a Greek, when you are a Jew? Do you 'not perceive upon what terms a man is called a Jew, a 'Syrian, an Egyptian? When we see a man inconstant to 'his principles, we say he is not a Jew, but only pretends to 'be so: but[x] when he has the temper of a man dipped,[y] 'and professed, then he is indeed, and is called, a Jew. 'Even so we are counterfeits, Jews in name, but in reality 'something else.'

It appears to me doubtful whether christians are here intended, or only Jews, and proselytes to Judaism: who sometimes lived like Jews, and sometimes like Greeks. It is reasonable to think that many did so in the time of Epictetus, when Jews were hardly treated by Domitian.

2. In the other place Epictetus is speaking of intrepidity, or fearlessness, and particularly with regard to a tyrant, surrounded by his guards and officers, and says: 'Is[z] it 'possible that a man may arrive at this temper, and be-'come indifferent to those things from madness, or from

[w] L. 2. c. 9. p. 192—214. Upton.

[x] *Οταν δ' αναλαβῃ το παθος, το τῃ βεβαμμενῃ και ηρημενῃ, τοτε και εστι τῳ οντι, και καλειται Ιεδαιος. Ουτω και ημεις παραβαπτιται· λογῳ μεν Ιεδαιοι, εργῳ δ' αλλο τι.* Ib.

[y] Instead of *ηρημενῃ*, Mr. Upton and Petavius would read *περιτρημενῃ*, 'circumcised.' But it is a mere conjecture, without the authority of any manuscript, or ancient printed edition. See Upton's notes, p. 124.

[z] *Ειτα ὑπο μανιας μεν δυναται τις ουτω διατιθηναι προς ταυτα και ὑπο εθους, ὡς οἱ Γαλιλαιοι.* L. 4. c. 7. p. 400. Cantabr. p. 621. Upton.

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'habit, as the Galileans, and yet that no one should be able 'to know by reason and demonstration that God made all 'things in the world—— ?'

Some have thought that by the Galileans are here meant the followers of Judas of Galilee. I should rather think that christians are intended; of whose sufferings there are such accounts in Tacitus and Suetonius, as may assure us that Epictetus and Arrian could not be unacquainted with them. The followers of Judas of Galilee were extinct before this time. Our Lord had dwelt in Galilee the greatest part of his life here on earth. He was called "the prophet of Galilee."[a] Most of his wonderful works were wrought in that country, or near it; and his disciples were called Galileans.[b] Such things often occur in our gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. So that it is not at all unlikely that in early days, as well as afterwards, the christians might be opprobriously called by some Galileans.

Suidas says, that, 'in[c] the time of the emperor Claudius, 'they who before had been called Nazarenes and Galileans, 'received a new name at Antioch, and were called christians.' Mani, in the third century, sometimes called the catholics, Galileans, as appears from[d] one of his epistles still extant. I think there can be no question made but that the christians, in general, were sometimes called Galileans before the time of the emperor Julian.

It is however very observable, that this stoic is much displeased with some people who had exceeded his own sect in fortitude and patience. A like reflection we shall meet with hereafter in a passage of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, likewise a stoic philosopher, by whom the christians are expressly named.

Mrs. Carter, who by her translation of the discourses of Epictetus has done honour to herself and to her sex, has a note upon this place, which deserves to be transcribed here. 'Epictetus,' says she, 'probably means not any remaining 'disciples of Judas of Galilee, but the christians, whom 'Julian afterwards affected to call Galileans. It helps to 'confirm this opinion that M. Antoninus [l. 2. sect. 3.] 'mentions them by their proper name of Christians, as suf-

[a] Matt. xxi. 11. [b] Acts i. 11; ii. 7.

[c] Ισεον δε, οτι επι Κλαυδιυ βασιλεως Ῥωμης—εν Αντιοχειᾳ μετωνομασθησαν οἱ παλαι λεγομενοι Ναζαραιοι και Γαλιλαιοι, Χριστιανοι. Suid. V. Ναζηραιος. Vid. et V. Γαλιλαια, et Χριστιανοι.

[d] Των Γαλιλαιων, δυο φυσεις ονομαζοντων εχειν τον Χριστον, πλατυν καταχεομεν γελωτα, κ. λ. Mani. ap. Fab. B. Gr. Tom. v. p. 285.

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'fering death out of mere obstinacy. It would have been 'more reasonable, and more worthy the character of these 'great men, to have inquired into the principles on which 'the christians refused to worship heathen deities, and by 'which they were enabled to support their sufferings with 'such amazing constancy, than rashly to pronounce their be-'haviour the effect of obstinacy and habit. Epictetus and 'Antoninus were too exact judges of human nature, not to 'know that ignominy, tortures, and death, are not merely on 'their own account objects of choice. Nor could the re-'cords of any time or nation furnish them with an example 'of multitudes of persons of both sexes, of all ages, ranks, 'and natural dispositions, in distant countries, and succes-'sive periods, resigning whatever is most valuable and dear 'to the heart of man from a principle of obstinacy, or the 'mere force of habit; not to say that habit could have no 'influence on the first sufferers.'

I shall just add, it was the opinion of Tanaquil Faber, that* by Galileans the christians are here intended.

3. Some may think I might conclude here; but I must proceed. Epictetus's discourses, as was observed above, abound with quotations of Greek authors, and references to ancient history. Nevertheless, we observe not any mention made of Moses, or David, or Solomon, or any of the Jewish prophets, nor yet of Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John, or Paul, or Peter. The disciples of Jesus wrote in Greek; and the books of Moses and the Jewish prophets had been before his time translated into the Greek language. I do not say he had read them; but he could not be altogether ignorant of them. Nor were any of them undeserving the regard of a moral philosopher. But they were Unitarians. Nor could they be alleged or taken notice of without hurting, if not overthrowing, the polytheistic scheme.

4. In the sixteenth chapter of the first book of his Discourses, Epictetus has such expressions as these. 'What else can I, a lame old man, do, but sing hymns to God? Since I am a reasonable creature, it is my duty to praise God. And I exhort you to join in the same song.' No christian can read this passage without thinking of David's psalms, and perhaps some other parts of scripture. Justly therefore does Mrs. Carter observe, in a note upon that pas-

* Ἑκοντες ἑαυτες δεδοασιν.] Martyres nostros designat, quos Epictetus, vel Arrianus, aiebat id facere ὑπο μανιας η ὑπο εθες. Quos enim ibi Galilæos vocat, nullus dubito, quin sint christiani. Lib. 4. cap. vii. T. Fab. annot. ad. Lucian. de Morte Peregrini. T. 2. p. 567. Græv.

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sage, 'Beautiful and affecting examples of such praise and 'exhortation may be seen in Psalms xxxiv. civ. cxlv.—— 'and other parts of the sacred writings.'

5. In the time of Epictetus, and his disciple Arrian, christians were numerous and well known at Rome, and most parts of the Roman empire, as we are assured by what Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius have written concerning them: not now to insist upon any Christian writers, however celebrated or however credible they may be.

Nor was Epictetus unattentive to things that passed in the world about him in his own time, as all must be sensible who read his discourses. Nevertheless, the christians are not mentioned at all, or very seldom, It is hard to believe that this silence was not affected. Epictetus, I apprehend, was high-minded, and the christians were contemptible. He had his share of the common philosophic pride. He did not think it worth the while to inquire into their principles: nor was it proper to mention them often in his discourses, lest the curiosity of his hearers should be excited, and they should be induced to make more particular inquiries after them.

6. However, let him have due praise for all the good he has said or done. Origen, that great christian philosopher, whose mind was contracted by no narrow sentiments, who read all sorts of writings himself, and advised others[f] to do the same who had leisure and abilities, assures us[g] that Epictetus was more acceptable to people of lower rank than Plato, who was more polite.

7. The whole design of his philosophy is said to[h] have been comprehended in this short and fine maxim, consisting only of two words: 'Bear and forbear,' Ανεχε και απεχε. Which I have not observed among his Fragments, neither in Mr. Upton, nor in Mrs. Carter; though it is particularly mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and ascribed by him to Epictetus himself.

[f] See Vol. ii. ch. 42. [g] Contr. Cels. l. 6. sub fin.

[h] Præterea idem ille Epictetus, quod ex eodem Favorino audivimus, solitus dicere est, duo esse vitia multo omnium gravissima ac teterrima, intolerantiam et incontinentiam; quum aut injurias, quæ sunt ferendæ, non toleramus, neque ferimus; aut, a quibus rebus voluptatibusque nos tenere debemus, non tenemus. Itaque, inquit, si quis hæc duo verba cordi habeat, eaque sibi imperando, atque observando curet, is erit pleraque impoccabilis, vitamque vivet tranquillissimam. Verba duo hæc dicebat: Ανεχε και απεχε. A. Gell. l. 17. cap. 19.

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CHAP. XI.

THE EMPEROR ADRIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *His rescript in favour of the christians to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.* III. *His letter to Servianus, concerning the christians in Egypt.* IV. *Whether he erected, and intended to consecrate, temples to the honour of Jesus Christ.*

I. PUBLIUS ÆLIUS ADRIANUS,[a] or the emperor Adrian,[b] was born at Rome on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of Christ 76, and died on the tenth day of July, in the year 138, being then more than sixty-two years of age. He reigned twenty years and eleven months, from the death of Trajan, on the tenth or eleventh day of August in 117.

As I may not enlarge either on his character or history, it may be best for me to be quite silent. I shall only say that both have been written by ancient Roman and Greek authors with great freedom; and that he is reckoned one of those princes who had great virtues and great vices. He is also represented[c] to have been very various and inconstant.

II. Adrian is not generally reckoned among the persecuting emperors, because[d] he published no new edicts against them. But Trajan's edict was still in force. Many christians therefore might suffer in his reign, as there certainly did. Jerom supposeth that the persecution[e] in his reign was for a while very violent, and that it was moderated upon occasion of the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to Adrian at Athens. These apologies we have

[a] Vide Dion. Cass. lib. 69. Spartian. in Adriano. Eutrop. l. 8. c. vi. vii. Victor. de Cæsar. c. xiv. Victor. Epit. c. xiv.

[b] Vide Pagi ann. 138. n. iii. Basnag. ann. 117. viii. Tillemont, L'Emp. Adrian. art. i. and Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors, vol. vii. p. 213. Dictionnaire de Bayle, Hadrien.

[c] Idem severus, lætus; comis, gravis; lascivus, cunctator; tenax, liberalis; simulator, sævus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius. Spartian. Adrian. c. 14.

[d] —Quas [legas] nullas Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator—impressit. Tertull. Ap. c. 5. p. 7.

[e] Quadratus, Apostolorum discipulus; et Atheniensis Pontifex eccles æ, nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinia sacra invisenti, librum pro nostrà religione tradidit? Et tantæ admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium? Aristides Philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi apologeticum pro christianis obtulit, &c. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84.

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dated[f] in the year of Christ 126. Sulpicius[g] Severus placeth the fourth persecution in his reign. But he allows that afterwards the same emperor restrained it, referring, as it seems, to the rescript which shall be produced at length hereafter. Orosius does not number him among the persecuting emperors, and[h] placeth the fourth persecution in the time of Marcus Antoninus.

We are informed by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, that 'Serenius Granianus,[i] proconsul, wrote to Adrian, 'that it seemed to him unjust that the christians should be 'put to death only to gratify the clamours of the people, 'without trial, and without any crime proved against them: 'and that Adrian, in answer to that letter, wrote to Minu-'cius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering that no man 'should be put to death without a judicial process, and a 'legal trial.'

It is manifest, from the conclusion of Justin Martyr's first Apology, which was presented to Antoninus the Pious, and the senate of Rome, that[k] the rescript of Adrian was subjoined to it. And from Eusebius we know that it was in[l] Latin. He translated it into Greek, and inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History; whence we have it, and whence it has been put at the end of Justin's Apology, in the same language, the Latin original being lost.

The reason why this rescript was sent to Minucius Fundanus, is supposed to be that Serenius's letter to the emperor was not written till the time of his government was near expiring.

Beside Justin Martyr's early and express authority, this rescript is also mentioned by Melito in his Apology to Marcus Antoninus, whom he reminds that 'his[m] grandfather

[f] See Vol. ii. ch. xxviii.

[g] Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exerceri prohibuit; injustum esse pronuntians, ut quisquam sine crimine reus constituerentur. S. Sever. H. S. l. 2. c. 46. [h] Oros. l. 7. c. xv.

[i] Ετι δ' αυτος [Ιουστινος] ισορει δεξαμενον τον Ἀδριανον παρα Σερεννιου Γρανιανου λαμπροτατου ἡγουμενου γραμματα ὑπερ Χριστιανων, περιεχοντα, ὡς ου δικαιον ειη επι μηδενι εγκληματι, βοαις δημου χαριζομενους, ακριτως κτεινειν αυτους, αντιγραψαι Μινυκιῳ Φουνδανῳ ανθυπατῳ της Ασιας, προσταττοντα μηδενα κτεινειν ανευ εγκληματος και ευλογου κατηγοριας. H. E. l. 4. c. 8. p. 122. D.

[k] Ὑπεταξαμεν δε της επιστολης Ἀδριανου τω αντιγραφον, ἱνα και κατα τουτο αληθευειν ἡμας γνωριζητε. Justin. Ap. p. 84. Bened.

[l] Τουτοις ὁ μεν δηλωθεις ανηρ αυτην παρατεθειται την Ῥωμαικην αντιγραφην. Ἡμεις δ' επι το Ἑλληνικον κατα δυναμιν αυτην μετειληφαμεν, εχουσαν ὡδε. Euseb. l. 4. c. 8. p. 123.

[m] ———Εν οις ὁ μεν παππος σου Αδριανος πολλοις μεν και αλλοις, και Φουνδανῳ δε τῳ ανθυπατῳ ἡγουμενῳ της Ασιας, γραφων φαινεται. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 26. p. 148. C.

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'Adrian had written in their favour, as to others, so particularly to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.' This rescript is also referred to by Sulpicius Severus, as before observed: the genuineness of it therefore is indubitable.

It is very reasonably supposed that, beside the letter of Serenius Granianus, the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, presented about the same time, contributed to procure this favourable rescript. As much is plainly hinted in Jerom's Latin edition of Eusebius's[n] Chronicle. I now proceed to translate it literally from the Greek of Eusebius.

'Adrian[o] to Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by the illustrious[p] Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. It seems then to me that this is an affair which ought not to be passed over without being examined into; if it were only to prevent disturbance being given to people, and that room may not be left for informers to practise their wicked arts. If therefore the people of the province will appear publicly, and in a legal way charge the christians, that they may answer for themselves in court, let them take that course, and[q] not proceed by importunate demands and loud clamours only. For it is much the best method, if any bring accusations, that you should take cognizance of them. If then any one shall accuse and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you determine according to the nature of the crime: but by Hercules, if the charge be only a calumny, do you take care to punish the author of it with the severity it deserves.'

By 'importunate demands and loud clamours,' or in other words, by 'clamorous petitions,' learned men generally understand the popular cry of those times. 'The[r] christians 'to the lions.' Nor was it an unusual thing, as Valesius observes in his note upon the place, for the people at Rome, or in the provinces, in the time of public shows, when they were got together in the theatre, by loud cries, and a tumultuous behaviour, to gain their will of the presidents, and even of the emperor himself. This method had been

[n] Quadratus discipulus Apostolorum, et Aristides Atheniensis noster Philosophus, libros pro christianâ religione Adriano dedêre compositos. Et Serenius Granianus, legatus, vir apprime nobilis, literas ad imperatorem misit, iniquum esse dicens, clamoribus vulgi innocentium hominum sanguinem concedi, et, sine ullo crimine, nominis tantum et sectæ reos fieri. Quo commotus Hadrianus Minucio Fundano proconsuli Asiæ scribit, not sine objectu criminum christianos condemnandos. Chr. p. 167. [o] H. E. l. 4. cap. 9.

[p] Λαμπροτατε ανδρος. [q] —Αλλ' εκ αξιωσεσιν, ουδε μοναις βοαις.

[r] Si Tiberis ascendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues; statim, christianos ad leonem. Tertull. Ap. c. 40.

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practised against the christians. And it is likely that men were often brought before the presidents with general accusations, without distinct proofs. The emperor was apprehensive that evil-minded men should sometimes hurry on to death men who were not christians. Therefore he directs the proconsul that no man should be punished as christians, without a fair and public trial before himself in court.

The emperor's orders are obscure. 'If[s] any one accuse 'and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you de-'termine,' or punish, 'according to the nature of the crime.' Some may be apt to think that the emperor now appointed that none should be punished for being christians, unless some real crime were alleged and proved upon them. But that does not clearly appear to be the[t] meaning. Nor can we reasonably suppose that Trajan's edict is here repealed; according to which, if a man was accused and proved to be a christian, a president is required to punish him unless he recant. Nevertheless, this rescript must be allowed to have been beneficial to the christians. Several ancient writers, as we have seen, say that afterwards the persecution, which before had been violent, was restrained and moderated.

The christians were hereby taken out of the hands of the common people and tumultuous rabble, and brought before the governors of provinces to be examined in open court, and not to be condemned without evidence. This must have been a considerable advantage to men who were much disliked by the generality of their neighbours, as the christians were.

Melito, as before quoted, says that 'Adrian wrote in fa-'vour of the christians, as to divers others, so particularly 'to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.' By which we are led to understand that this rescript was sent to other governors of provinces, as well as to Fundanus; or that this rescript, sent to him, was to be the rule of conduct, not to him only, but to other governors likewise.

From this rescript, and from the letter, which gave occasion to it, we learn that there were then christians in Asia. It is probable they were there in great numbers; for the

[s] *Ει τις υν κατηγορει, και δεικνυσι τι παρα τος νομυς πραττοντας, υτως ὁριζε κατα την δυναμιν τυ αμαρτηματος.*

[t] 'Afterwards Adrian gave a rescript to Minucius Fundanus, which is ob-'scure. It does not manifestly exempt christians from punishment: and yet 'it seems in some degree to favour them, and might be so interpreted by a 'judge, who was disposed to put the mildest construction upon it. The 'christians often appealed to it.' Dr. Jortin's Discourses concerning the Christian Religion, p. 59.

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affair appeared worthy of the emperor's consideration. But christianity, as is apparent, was odious to the generality of people in that country; therefore men must have had some good reasons for embracing a profession which rendered them obnoxious to their neighbours.

From what we have seen of Quadratus and Aristides, two learned christian apologists, and the emperor Adrian, and also Serenius and Fundanus, two governors of the province of Asia, it may be concluded with certainty that the christians were now well known to the Roman emperors, and throughout the Roman empire. Indeed the christians diligently embraced all favourable opportunities to make themselves, and their own innocence, and the principles of their religion, and the grounds and reasons of their belief, well known to all men, and especially to the emperors and other magistrates. By that means they propagated their religion, and gradually wiped off the calumnies that had been invented against them, and with which they were loaded for a while. Quadratus and Aristides presented their apologies to Adrian, at the time of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at[u] Athens, when there was a concourse of men of all ranks, especially of the highest, and of the most eminent, and most distinguished for their learning, and zeal for the established rites.

At that very time those apologists made a public appearance, and pleaded the cause of their religion, and of their brethren, the professors of it. Nor did they make a contemptible figure. Their discourses were rational, eloquent, and persuasive; and they were followed by a relaxation of the violence of the persecution, which for some while had raged in several provinces, through the prevailing animosity of the people: and, as it is particularly observed by Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'In[v] the reign of

[u] Quadratus, Apostolorum discipulus—Quumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hiemem, invisens Eleusinam, et omnibus pene Græciæ sacris initiatus, dedisset occasionem his, qui christianos oderant, absque præcepto Imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei libellum pro religione nostrâ compositum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et apostolicâ doctrinâ dignum: in quo et antiquitatem suæ ætatis ostendens, ait, plurimos a se visos, qui sub Domino variis in Judæâ oppressi calamitatibus sanati fuerant, et qui a mortuis resurrexerant. Hieron. de V. I. cap. xix.

Aristides, Atheniensis Philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore, quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit. Ib. cap. xx. And see before, p. 92.

[v] —*Μεχρι των Αδριανε χρονων—Ουτος δε μαλιστα την χρονος, καθ' ον ἡ σωτηριος εις παντας ανθρωπους ηκμασε διδασκαλια.* Pr. Ev. l. 4. c. 17. p. 164. D.

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'Adrian the christian religion shone out in the eyes of all 'men.'

There are others beside our two apologists, who are entitled to applause in this place. Serenius Granianus is styled by Adrian, in his rescript, 'an illustrious man, λαμπροτατε ανδρος,' and by Jerom, in his Chronicle, 'a truly 'noble person, vir apprime nobilis.' We cannot but believe that he was a man of a generous mind, a lover of justice and equity, who pleaded the cause of the christians, when the current ran violently against them. His successor Fundanus, to whom the rescript was sent, may have been a man of a like disposition. Nor can we forbear saying somewhat here to the honour of the emperor Adrian. It does not appear that he ever issued out any orders for persecuting the christians. The persecution, which they had suffered in the beginning of his reign, was owing to the blind bigotry and violence of the common people. When the proconsul of Asia sent him a letter, representing the hardships which christians lay under, beyond most other men, he sent a favourable rescript, which could not but be, and actually was, of advantage to them: and he received the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides in behalf of a despised and persecuted people, without resentment. So far from being provoked at their importunity, he gratified their request, and moderated the displeasure of men against those whose cause they had pleaded. If moderation be a virtue, (as it certainly is,) it is more especially commendable in men of power and high stations.

A passage, formerly[w] omitted, shall be now transcribed from the Apology of Quadratus, which probably was the first written apology presented to a Roman emperor. It is in these very words: 'The[x] works of our Saviour were 'always conspicuous, for they were real: both they that 'were healed, and they that were raised from the dead, who 'were seen not only when they were healed, or raised, but 'for a long time afterwards; not only whilst he dwelled 'on this earth, but also after his departure, and for a good 'while after it: insomuch that some of them have reached 'to our times.' Jerom supposeth that[y] Quadratus himself saw several of those persons who had been the subjects of our Saviour's miracles.

III. Beside the rescript, there is a letter of Adrian to Servianus, husband of Paulina, the emperor's sister, who was consul in 134. It is preserved in Vopiscus, one of the

[w] See Vol. ii. ch. xxviii.

[x] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 3.

[y] See before, p. 96. note [u].

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writers of the Augustan history, who[z] flourished about the year 300. Adrian had been some while in Egypt. Having left it, when he got into Syria he wrote that letter to his brother-in-law, in the year 134. I shall transcribe it from the historian, with the connection.

'The[a] Egyptians, as you well know,' says Vopiscus, 'are 'vain, fond of innovations, men of all characters—For 'there are among them christians and Samaritans, and such 'as take a prodigious liberty in censuring the present times. 'That none of the Egyptians may be offended with me, I 'shall produce a letter of Adrian, taken from the books of 'Phlegon, his freed-man, in which the character of the 'Egyptians is clearly represented. "Adrian Augustus to 'the consul Servianus wisheth health. I have found Egypt, 'my dear Servianus, which you commended to me, all over 'fickle and inconstant, and continually shaken by the 'slightest reports of fame. The worshippers of Serapis are 'christians, and they are devoted to Serapis, who call them-'selves Christ's bishops. There is no ruler of the Jewish 'synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the christians, no 'mathematician, no soothsayer, no anointer: even the patri-'arch, if he should come to Egypt, would be required by 'some to worship Serapis, by others Christ. A seditious 'and turbulent sort of men. However, the city is rich and 'populous. Nor are any idle. Some are employed in 'making glass, others paper, others in weaving linen—They 'have one God—Him the christians, Him the Jews, Him 'all the Gentile people, worship."'

[z] Vid. Vos. Hist. Lat. l. 2. cap. 7. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 6. Tillemont, L'Empereur Aurelien. art. xv.

[a] Sunt enim Ægyptii (ut satis nôsti) viri ventosi, furibundi, jactantes, injuriosi—novatores rerum—versificatores, mathematici, aruspices, medici. Nam et Christiani, Samaritani, et quibus præsentia tempora cum enormi libertate displiceant. Ac nequis mihi Ægyptiorum irascatur, et meum esse credat, quod in literis retuli, Adriani epistolam ex libris Phlegontis liberti ejus proditam, ex quâ penitus Ægyptiorum vita detegitur, indidi. 'Adrianus Aug. Ser-'viano Coss. S. Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam 'didici levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illi qui 'Serapim colunt, christiani sunt: et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episco-'pos dicunt. Nemo illic Archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo 'Christianorum Presbyter, non Mathematicus, non Aruspex, non Aliptes. 'Ipse ille Patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab 'aliis cogitur Christum. Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, im-'periosissimum. Civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in quâ nemo vivat otiosus. 'Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta conficitur, alii linyphiones sunt: omnes 'certe cujuscumque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi, quod agant, 'habent; habent cœci, quod agant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi 'vivunt. Unus illis Deus est. Hunc christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes 'venerantur et Gentes," &c. Flav. Vopicus in Saturnino, cap. 7, et 8.

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It cannot be needful for me to explain all the several sorts of people here spoken of. Nor ought it to be thought strange that christians share in the emperor's satire, and are represented by him as fickle and inconstant, like the other Egyptians. It appears from this letter that the christians were numerous at Alexandria, and in other parts of Egypt, when Adrian was in that country: which, certainly, is very remarkable, that in a century after the resurrection of Jesus he should have so many followers in Asia and Egypt, as is manifest from this one emperor's authentic writings. Without any countenance from the civil government, and under a great deal of opposition from it, as well as from most other ranks of men, and especially from the lower sort of people, Christ's bishops were already become as considerable as the priests of Serapis.

IV. Once more. Ælius Lampridius, another writer of the Augustan history, who flourished about the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, in the life of the emperor Alexander Severus, says: 'He[b] intended to 'build a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the 'gods. Which Adrian also is reported to have designed; 'who ordered temples to be erected in all cities without 'statues; which therefore to this day are called Adrian's, 'it being said that he built them for that purpose. But he 'was hindered by some, who, having consulted the oracles, 'were assured that, if that were once done, all men would 'be christians, and the other temples would be deserted.'

This account is received by some[c] as true; by[d] others it is rejected, as destitute of any good foundation. I have referred below to several learned and judicious men on this side the question; and I would willingly find room at the bottom of the page for[e] Casaubon's observations upon this

[b] Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitâsse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri; quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc parâsse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repererant, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda. Æl. Lamp. in Alex. Sever. cap. 43.

[c] Huet. Dem. Evan. Prop. 3. sect. xxii. Tillem. Persecution d'Adrien. art. vi.

[d] Casaub. Annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 134. n. iv. Basnag. ann. 126. n. v. vi. Dictionnaire de Bayle, Hadrien. Cleric. H. E. ann. 129. n. iii. Moshem. De Reb. Christian. Sec. 2. sect. xii. p. 237.

[e] 'Quod et Hadrianus cogitâsse fertur.' De Tiberio narrant hoc Tertullianus et alii patres Græci et Latini. De Hadriano vero nemo illorum, si satis memini, simile quidquam. Et mirum profecto, tam nobilem historiam, tot fidei Christianæ propugnatores acerrimos, viros undecumque doctissimos, et quorum intererat hoc scire, potuisse fugere. Sed videtur hæc de Hadriano suspicio multo post ejus seculum hominum mentes insedisse; cum neque Jus-

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section of Lampridius; and the rather, because they have been judged so material by Pagi, as to be transcribed by him into his Critique upon Baronius. 'Casaubon then, and 'divers other learned men after him, or agreeably to him, 'observe that somewhat of this kind has been related of 'Tiberius by Tertullian, and other ancient Latin and Greek 'writers of the church, who are quite silent about the story 'of Lampridius. If there had been any truth in it, they 'say, so remarkable a thing could not have been omitted 'by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Cyprian, and 'all other ancient writers of the second and third centuries, 'who had many occasions to mention it, if there had been 'any ground for it. Nor is this mistaken opinion of Lam-'pridius, and some others in his time, very hard to be ac-'counted for. Adrian had erected, or ordered to be erect-'ed, temples in many places. He intended to have set up 'in them an altar, or statue, to himself: but he died before 'they were consecrated, and some of them were left un-'finished. It was well known that the Jews and christians 'had no images in their places of worship; Lampridius 'therefore, and some others in his time, entertained a notion 'that these temples were built in honour of Christ.'

That Adrian intended them in honour of himself, is con-

tinus Martyr, neque Athenagoras, neque Tertullianus, neque Cyprianus, aut omnino quisquam ex illâ veterum patrum manu, vel tenuissimam ejus rei suspicionem fando unquam accepissent. Unde autem vulgo multi seculo Lampridii hanc de Hadriano concepissent opinionem, declarat auctor, cum subjicit: 'qui 'templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri; quæ hodie id-'circo, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc pa-'râsse dicebatur.' En fontem et originem hujus opinionis. Jusserat Hadrianus templa fieri in omnibus civitatibus, suo nomini sine dubio consecranda; quod et Spartianus in vitâ suâ testatur. Sed, mortuo Hadriano prius quam hæc templa absolverentur, mansere pleraque illorum imperfecta, neque unquam dedicata sunt. Exemplo esse potest illud quod Tiberiade magnifice inchoatum, mox relictum est necdum absolutum, tandemque in usum balnearum a civibus destinatum. Epiphanius contra Ebionæos. H. 30. n. xii. *ναος μεγιστος εν τῃ πολει Τιβεριαδι προυπηρχε· ταχα, οιμαι, Αδριανειον τουτο εκαλουν. Ατελες δε τουτο το Αδριανειον διαμενον οι πολιται εις δημοσιον λουτρον επειρωντο επισκευασαι.* Talia ædificia in plerisque civitatibus adhuc Lampridii ætate exstabant, inchoata solum, non perfecta, non dedicata; ac proinde, ut ait ipse, sine numine et simulacro ullo. Eo factum, ut in animum inducerent multi, quibus assentitur hic Lampridius, non sibi Hadrianum illa templa exstruxisse, verum Christo. Erat quidem Lampridius, 'Ελλην religione, et a pietatis christianæ sacris, ut ejus scripta ostendunt, alienus; sed nórat ille, quod ignorare poterat nemo, et Judæos olim in Hierosolymitanâ æde *ειδως και αγαλματος χωρις*, ut Strabo quoque ac Dio scribunt, Deum coluisse; et suis etiam temporibus christianorum templa ejusmodi esse, qualia adhuc memoriâ suâ beatissimus Augustinus cum alibi prodit fuisse, tum etiam in Psalmi ciii. enarratione, sane luculenter. Casaubon. annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 134. iii. iv.

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firmed by what Spartian says in his life of this emperor: 'That,[f] when he had returned from Africa to Rome, he soon 'went away again into the East. Coming to Athens he 'dedicated the buildings that had been begun by him, par-'ticularly the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar to 'himself. In like manner, travelling through Asia, he con-'secrated temples of his own name.'

That seems to be the most probable account. But though it cannot be reasonably supposed that Adrian intended those temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, some may imagine that,[g] according to the doctrine of Numa and Pythagoras, Adrian might design to erect temples where the gods might be worshipped without images.

Crevier's judgment upon the point is to this purpose: 'He[h] paid but little attention to the religion of those nations, 'whom the Romans and Greeks considered as barbarians, 'they appearing to him as only deserving of contempt. 'This makes it difficult for me to believe, upon Lampridius's 'testimony, that he formed a design to consecrate, in honour 'of Jesus Christ, a great many temples, which he had be-'gun, but not finished, in the several cities of Asia and 'Egypt, and which remained without a dedication or statue. 'It is much more probable that he intended them for him-'self, and for his own proper worship.'

Indeed I think the opinion, that Adrian intended to consecrate temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, is without any good foundation; it being inconsistent with his[i] known principles, and unsupported by the testimony of those ancient christian writers, who must have known it, and would have mentioned it, if it had been true.

However, though there is no good ground for this story of Lampridius, it[k] is honourable to the christian religion,

[f] Denique quum post Africâ Romam redisset, statim ad orientem, profectus per Athenas, iter fecit, atque opera, quæ apud Athenienses cœperat, dedicavit; ut Jovis Olympii ædem et arcem sibi: eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens, templa sui nominis consecravit. Spartian. in Hadrian. cap. 13.

[g] Extructa tamen ea Christo templa, quæ simulacrorum vacua erant, nostrum in animum inducere non sustinemus. Aliæ igitur nobis sunt tentandæ causæ. Legitur in Victore; 'Adrianus, pace ad Orientem compositâ, Romam 'regreditur. Ibi Græcorum more, seu Pompilii Numæ, cæremonias, leges, 'gymnasia, doctoresque curare occœpit.' Est ergo vero proximum, more atque instituto et Pythagoræ, et Pompilii Numæ, Adrianum, philosophiæ peritum, templa quoque sine simulacris strui voluisse. Basnag. ann. 126. n. vi.

[h] History of the Rom. Emp. Vol. 7. p. 167.

[i] ———Και κατ' εμε ηδη, βασιλεως Αδριανου, της τε ες το θειον τιμης επιπλειστον ελθοντος. Pausan. l. i. cap. v. p. 14.

[k] Casaubon sans doute n'a point de fort de rejetter cela comme fabuleux. Ce que je trouve de vraisemblable, est cette crainte des Paiens, que leur reli-

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which was a spreading doctrine. And it was apprehended by those, who were far from wishing it success, that if a little encouragement were given to it, it would soon be the prevailing religion.

CHAP. XII.

BRUTTIUS PRÆSENS.

His testimony to Domitian's Persecution; with Remarks.

EUSEBIUS, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the persecution under Domitian says: 'Moreover,[a] at this time 'the doctrine of our faith was so conspicuous, that writers 'averse to our sentiments have not forborne to insert in their 'histories an account of this persecution, and the martyr-'doms that happened in it. They have likewise exactly 'marked the time of it, relating that in the fifteenth year of 'Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister's side to 'Flavius Clemens, then one of the consuls of Rome, with a 'great many others, was banished to the island Pontia, for 'the profession of the christian religion.'

In his Chronicle, at the fifteenth year of Domitian, Eusebius says: 'And[b] Bruttius writes that many christians suf-'fered martyrdom under Domitian. Among whom was 'Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister's side to Flavius Cle-'mens the consul, who was banished to the island Pontia, 'because she confessed herself to be a christian.'

I need not transcribe any thing from[c] Nicephorus. But in the Paschal Chronicle, at the year of Christ 94, are these

gion ne fût désertée, si l'on eût toléré publiquement le christianisme. Bayle, Dictionnaire. Hadrian. note Q.

[a] *Εις τοσουτον δε αρα κατα τους δηλουμενους ἡ της ἡμετερας πιστεως διδασκαλια διελαμπεν, ὡς και τους αποθεν τω καθ' ἡμας λογω συγγραφεις μη αποκνησαι ταις αυτων ἱστοριαις τον τε διωγμον, και τα εν αυτῳ μαρτυρια παραδουναι. Οἱγε και τον καιρον επ' ακριβες επησημηναντο· εν ετει πεντεκαιδεκατῳ Δομετιανου κατα πλειστων ἑτερων και Φλαβειαν Δομετιλλαν ἱσορησαντες, εξ αδελφης γεγονυιαν Φλαβιου Κλημεντος, ἑνος των τηνικαδε επι Ῥωμης ὑπατων, της εις Χριστον μαρτυριας ἑνεκεν, εις νησον Ποντιαν κατα τιμωριαν δεδοσθαι.* H. E. l. 3. c. 18. p. 89. A.

[b] Et scribit Bruttius plurimos christianorum sub Domitiano fecisse martyrium: inter quos Flaviam Domitillam, Flavii Clementis Consulis ex sorore neptem, in insulam Pontiam relegatam, quia se christianam testata est. Chron. p. 164.

[c] Vid. Niceph. l. 3. c. 9.

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words: 'Brutus[d] relates that many christians suffered martyrdom in the fourteenth year of Domitian.'

There were several eminent men of this name in the second century. There is a[e] letter of the younger Pliny to Præsens, whom some think to have been also called Brutius, or Bruttius. We meet with Bruttius Præsens, who was consul with Antoninus the pious, in the year 139; C. Bruttius Præsens, who was consul with Asturius Rufinus in the year 153; and L. Fulvius Bruttius Præsens, consul the second time in the year 180, with Sex. Quintillius Condianus. The daughter of this Bruttius[f] was married to Commodus, with the consent of Marcus Antoninus. And[g] Pagi supposeth that to be the reason why he was honoured with a second consulship.

Scaliger[h] supposeth this Bruttius, who had been consul with Antoninus, and afterwards a second time, whose daughter was married to Commodus, or a relation of his, to be the historian intended by Eusebius.

Tillemont[i] says he may have been Bruttius Præsens who was consul in the year 139, or Præsens to whom the younger Pliny wrote: though, as he adds, there were others of the same name about that time.

Mr. Dodwell's[k] conjecture is, that[l] he is the same who was consul with Antoninus the pious, as I understand him, though his manner of expression is ambiguous.

Some remarks may now not be improper. In the first place it may be fit to observe, that Brutus, and Bruttius, and Brettius, as in the[m] Greek of Eusebius's Chronicle, are all one and the same name, as Scaliger has shown.

Secondly, I suppose no one will hesitate to allow that Bruttius was an heathen historian, though he is not expressly

[d] Ἱστορει ὁ Βρυτος, πολλυς Χριστιανυς κατα το ιδ ετος Δομετιανυ μεμαρτυρηκεναι. Chron. Pasch. p. 250. [e] L. 7. ep. 3.

[f] Filio suo Brutii Præsentis filiam junxit [Marcus Aurelius]. Jul. Capitol. de M. Anton. Phil. c. 27. p. 394.

[g] Erat Bruttius Præsens pater Crispinæ uxoris Commodi, ob idque altero Consulatu hoc anno a M. Aurelio decoratus. Pagi ann. 180. num. i.

[h] Aut Bruttius Præsens, qui cum Imp. Antonino Consul fuit, et cujus filia Imperatoris Antonini filio nupta fuit, aut saltem ejus gentilis quidam, fuerit historicus iste. Scalig. in Euseb. p. 205. a.

[i] Saint Fl. Domitille. Mem. Ec. T. 2. p. 127.

[k] Ethnicum scriptorem protulit Eusebius, quem Brutium appellat in Chronico, forte eundem, qui consulatum gesserit sub [forte cum] Antonino. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 16. [l] P. 80.

[m] In Græcis est Βρεττιος. In Casauboni Chronico Βρυτιος, ut hic. Nam non audiendi sunt, qui hic Brutius substituunt, aut Bruttianus. Sat enim est, eos Græcâ lectione confutari. Nam quemadmodum Βρυττιοι et Βρεττιοι, Italiæ populi, indifferenter vocantur; ita etiam Βρυττιος et Βρεττιος pro eodem scriptore usurpari potuerit. Scal. ibid. p. 205.

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called so in any of the places where he is named. The manner in which he is mentioned by Eusebius in his Chronicle, and by the author of the Paschal Chronicle, would lead us to suppose him not a christian. And the passage in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, compared with his Chronicle, I think puts it out of doubt.

Thirdly, Nothing has appeared in our ancient authors to satisfy us whether Bruttius was a Latin or a Greek writer. But[n] Vossius placeth him among Latin historians.

Fourthly, Dion Cassius, to be hereafter quoted, will inform us of a Flavia Domitilla, wife of the consul Clement, who was banished by Domitian for christianity into the island Pandeteria, which lay near to Pontia, upon the same coast of Italy. This has given occasion to a dispute whether there were two of this name who suffered for christianity about the same time: some[o] supposing one and the same person to be intended, others[p] again contending that there were two. The matter is of no great importance; nevertheless, perhaps, we may hereafter give it some farther consideration in the chapter of Dion Cassius.

Fifthly, it seems somewhat probable that the author of the Paschal Chronicle did not copy Eusebius, but took his account from the work of Bruttius itself. For Eusebius, making particular mention of Domitilla only, who was not banished till the year 95, says that 'historians of different 'sentiment from us had accurately marked the time of that 'persecution to be in the fifteenth year of Domitian.' But the Paschal Chronicle affirms from Bruttius that many suffered in the fourteenth year of that reign. And[q] Pagi hence argues, and not without some appearance of probability, that the persecution began in the fourteenth year of Domitian.

Sixthly, I wish that either Eusebius, or the last mentioned author, had given us the very words of Bruttius. He did not say 'the christians suffered martyrdom.' The style of heathen authors in such matters is curious and entertaining, and more satisfactory than any other whatever.

Once more, seventhly, Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks in the plural number, and says that 'writers of 'a different sentiment from us had given an account of Do-'mitian's persecution in their histories:' but we have not found more than one named in his Chronicle, nor in the Paschal Chronicle. Dion Cassius wrote before Eusebius:

[n] De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. B. fin.

[o] Basnag. ann. 95. num. vii. Vid. et Scal. ubi supr. p. 205.

[p] Tillem. Mem. Ec. Tom. 2. p. 126, 127.

[q] Ann. 94. num. v.

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whether he ever read him does not now appear: but we shall quote him upon the same subject in his place and time.

I have been very much at a loss where to place this writer. One would think, from Eusebius's manner of expression in his Ecclesiastical History, that he had been contemporary with Domitian's persecution. And in his Chronicle Bruttius is placed at the year of Christ 95. Nevertheless, none can suppose that to be the real time of his writing. However, that I may not be charged with entering him too late, I place him at the year of Christ 136, the twentieth year of Adrian. And if this Bruttius be the same (as divers learned men have thought) who was consul with Titus Antoninus in the year 139, I have placed him early enough.

CHAP. XIII.

PHLEGON, THALLUS, AND DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

I. *Phlegon. His time and works.* II. *A passage in him concerning our Saviour's foreknowledge.* III. *Another passage supposed to relate to the miraculous darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, with remarks and observations.* IV. *Thallus, supposed also to speak of the same darkness.* V. *Dionysius the Areopagite, supposed likewise to speak of the same event.*

I. PHLEGON,[a] freed-man of the emperor Adrian, was born at Tralles in Lydia. He was author of several works; one of which was entitled[b] The Olympiads, or[c] A Collection of Olympiads and Chronicles, in sixteen books. It was a kind of general history of the world from the first to the two hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad, or to the times of Adrian. If the last olympiad was complete, as[d] some think,

[a] Vid. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 16. Vopisc. Saturnin. c. 7, 8.

[b] *Φλεγων Τραλλιανος—ἱςορικος. Εγραψε Ολυμπιαδας εν βιβλιοις ις. Εςι δε μεχρι της σκθ ολυμπιαδος τα πραχθεντα πανταχυ.* Suid.

[c] *Φλεγοντος Τραλλιανυ, απελευθερυ τυ αυτοκρατορος Αδριανυ, ολυμπιονικων και χρονικων συναγογη. Προσφωνει το συνταγμα προς Αλκιβιαδην τινα, ὁς εις ην των εις φυλακην τεταγμενων τυ Αδριανυ—κατεισε δε, ὁς αυτος φησι, μεχρι των Αδριανυ χρονων.* Phot. Cod. 97. p. 265.

[d] J. Scaliger. Animad. in Euseb. Chron. p. 185. Pagi ann. 136. n. viii. aliique.

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it reached to the fourth year of Antoninus the pious: if it was incomplete, as[e] others suppose, the work ended in the year 138, in which Adrian died; at which time I also place him. It was inscribed to Alcibiades, one of the body-guards of Adrian: which may afford an argument that the work did not go lower than the reign of that emperor, and was published in the year 138, or soon after. Basnage speaks of Phlegon at the year 141.

I write not the history of Phlegon, or his works: I therefore refer to[f] other learned moderns.

Out of the large work abovementioned, some passages have been alleged by ancient christian writers, of which some notice must be taken here.

II. Origen, in his books against Celsus, has this passage: 'However,[g] Phlegon in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the 'fourteenth book of his Chronicles, ascribes to Christ the 'knowledge of some future things; though he makes a 'mistake in the person, naming Peter instead of Jesus: and 'he allows that the things foretold came to pass.'

Upon this I must be allowed to say, first, that Origen seems to have trusted to his memory in this quotation. Secondly, If Phlegon named Peter instead of JESUS, it is a mark of carelessness and inaccuracy. Thirdly, We should have been glad to see this passage of Phlegon more at length; for want of which we cannot form any clear judgment about it. Fourthly, Phlegon was so credulous that his testimony concerning things of a marvellous kind must be of little weight. His credulity and uncommon regard for all sorts of oracles, are manifest in the[h] character of his Olympiads given by Photius, and in the fragments of his works, published by Meursius. I would also refer to the article[i] Ταρραχινη, in Stephanus Byzantinus, where Phlegon speaks of a child who was able to converse with others when it had been born not more that nine-and-forty days;

[e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. 13. T. 3. p. 401.

[f] Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. c. xi. Fabr. B. Gr. l. 4. c. 13. Tillemont. Adrien. art. 18. Dictionnaire de Bayle, Phlegon.

[g] Φλεγων μεντοι εν τρισκαιδεκατῳ, η τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῳ, οιμαι, των χρονικων, και την περι τινων μελλοντων προγνωσιν εδωκε τῳ Χριστῳ, συγχυθεις εν τοις περι Πετρυ, ὡς περι τυ Ιησυ· και εμαρτυρησεν ὁτι κατα τα ειρημενα ὑπ' αυτυ τα λεγομενα εκηντησε. Contr. Cels. l. 2. p. 69. al. sect. 14.

[h] Και ἡ περι τυς χρησμυς ακαιρος φιλοπονια τε και φιλοτιμια, εις κορον απαγυσα τον ακροατην—χρησμοις δε παντοιοις ες ὑπερβολην εστι κεχρημενος. Phot. ibid.

[i] Φλεγων ολυμπιαδι ἑκατοστῳ ογδοηκοστῳ πρωτῳ· 'Οτι παιδιον, εκ δυλης γενομενον, τῃ εννατῃ και τεσσαρακοστῃ της γενεσεως τον προσαγορευσαντα αντιπροσαγορευσαι. Steph. V. Ταρραχινη.

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and to Salmasius's[k] character of Phlegon's Olympiads in his notes upon Spartian's Life of Adrian. Fifthly, Origen is the only person that has mentioned this. I do not recollect any other ancient writer who has taken any notice of it. Consequently, I think we must say that upon the whole this citation[l] is of no great moment.

III. But there is another passage of this author which may be reckoned more material, many learned men of late times having been of opinion that it relates to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The Greek of Eusebius, in his Chronicle, which I must transcribe at large, is to this purpose: 'Jesus Christ[m] the 'Son of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies con- 'cerning him, came to his passion in the nineteenth year of 'the reign of Tiberius: about which time we find these 'things related in other, even Gentile memoirs, in these very 'words: "the sun was eclipsed, there was an earthquake in 'Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice." All 'which things agree with what happened at the time of our 'Saviour's passion. So writes and says the author of the 'Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in these words: "In 'the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad 'there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest of any known 'before. And it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so 'that the stars appeared in the heavens. And there was a 'great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many 'houses in Nice." So writes the forementioned author.'

I shall also transcribe and translate this article as it appears in Jerom's Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicle.

'Jesus Christ,[n] according to the prophecies which had

[k] Ex quo loco apparet, quale fuerit argumentum librorum Olympiadum Phlegontis. Nam sub quâque Olympiade, quid toto orbe gestum esset recensebat, prodigia præcipue et monstra, resque alias mirabiles, memorabilesque. Salmas. in Spartian. Hadrian. c. 16. p. 152.

[l] De Domino etiam mentionem egit, si fides Origeni.—Basnag. ann. 141. n. vii.

[m] Ιησυς ὁ Χριστος, ὁ υἱος τυ Θευ, ὁ Κυριος ἡμων, κατα τας περι αυτυ προφητειας, επι το παθος προηει, ετυς ιθ της Τιβεριυ Καισαρος βασιλειας· καθ' ὁν καιρον και εν αλλοις μεν Ἑλληνικοις ὑπομνημασιν εὑρομεν ἱστορυμενα κατα λεξιν ταυτα· Ὁ ἡλιος εκλελιπεν· Βιθυνια εσεισθη· Νικαιας τα πολλα επεσεν. Ὁ και συναδει τοις περι το παθος τυ σωτηρος ἡμων συμβεβηκοσι.—Γραφει δε και λεγει ὁ τας ολυμπιαδας.—Περι των αυτων εν τῳ ιγ, ῥημασιν αυτοι ταδε· τῳ $\overline{\delta}$ ετει της $\overline{\text{CB}}$ ολυμπιαδος εγενετο εκλειψις ἡλιυ μεγιστη των εγνωρισμενων προτερον, και νυξ ωρα $\overline{\varsigma}$ της ἡμερας εγενετο, ωστε και αστερας εν ουρανῳ φανηναι, σεισμος τε μεγας κατα Βιθυνιαν γενομενος, τα πολλα Νικαιας κατεστρεψατο. Και ταυτα μεν ὁ δηλωθεις ανηρ. Euseb. Chr. p. 77.

[n] Jesus Christus, secundum prophetias, quæ de eo fuerant prolocutæ, ad passionem venit anno Tiberii xviii. quo tempore etiam in aliis Ethnicorum

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'before spoken of him, came to his passion in the eighteenth 'year of Tiberius; at which time in other, even heathen 'memoirs, we find it written to this purpose: "There was 'an eclipse of the sun: Bithynia was shaken by an earth-'quake, and in the city of Nice many houses were over-'thrown." All which things agree with what happened at 'the time of our Saviour's passion. And so writes Phlegon, 'an excellent compiler of the Olympiads, in his thirteenth 'book, saying: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and 'second olympiad there was a great and extraordinary 'eclipse of the sun, distinguished among all that had hap-'pened before. At the sixth hour the day was turned into 'dark night, so that the stars in the heavens were seen, and 'there was an earthquake in Bithynia which overthrew 'many houses in the city of Nice." So writes the above-'named author.'

Phlegon is twice quoted, after the same manner, in the Paschal Chronicle[o] composed in the seventh century.

Many learned men[p] have supposed that Eusebius here speaks of another, beside Phlegon, who had borne witness to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. They think that Eusebius refers to Thallus, as well as Phlegon. I think that Eusebius speaks of one only. His first expressions are general. He observes that, what is said by prophets and by the evangelists, there are heathen authors who have borne testimony to this darkness. Nevertheless he means one only. And, having given a general account of what was to be found in other memoirs, beside the sacred, he produces distinctly the passage of Phlegon, and concludes, 'so writes the forenamed man.' I need not enlarge farther. To me it appears exceeding manifest that Eusebius speaks of one writer only, meaning Phlegon the compiler of Olympiads. The two quotations in the Paschal Chronicle, as well as St. Jerom's version, are all to be understood in the like manner.

Before making any remarks upon this passage of Phlegon,

commentariis hæc ad verbum scripta reperimus. 'Solis facta defectio; Bi-'thynia terræ motu concussa; et in urbe Nicæâ ædes plurimæ corruerunt.' Quæ omnia his congruunt, quæ in passione Salvatoris acciderant. Scribit vero super his et Phlego, qui Olympiadarum egregius supputator est, in tertio decimo libro ita dicens: Quarto autem anno ccii. Olympiadis magna et excellens inter omnes, quæ ante eam acciderant, defectio solis facta; dies horâ sextâ in tenebrosam noctem versus, ut stellæ in cœlo visæ sint; terræque motus in Bithyniâ Nicææ urbis multas ædes subverteret. Hæc supradictus vir Euseb. Chr. p. 158.

[o] Chr. Pasch. p. 219, et 222.

[p] J. Scaliger, ut supr. p. 186. et Tillemont, note xxxv. sur J. C.

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I would take notice of some authors more ancient than Eusebius, who have referred to Phlegon, or are supposed to have referred to him.

Of these, undoubtedly, Tertullian is the most ancient. 'At[q] the same time,' says he, 'at noonday there was a great 'darkness. They thought it to be an eclipse, who did not 'know that this also was foretold concerning Christ. And 'some have denied it, not knowing the cause of such dark-'ness. And yet you have that remarkable event recorded 'in your archives.'

I think that Tertullian refers not to Phlegon, or any other author, whose testimony could be no other than a private record, but to some public acts of the Romans, and probably those in which was kept registered the Relation of Pontius Pilate, sent to the emperor Tiberius, concerning the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the wonderful circumstances of it.

Huet[r] understands Tertullian to refer to some public acts: and in like manner[s] Grotius. And Dr. Clarke, in the first edition of his sermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture, where he quoted Phlegon, and in the eighth edition, where he omitted Phlegon, represents the sense of this place of Tertullian after this manner, and in the same words: 'And[t] divers of 'the most remarkable circumstances attending our Saviour's 'crucifixion, such as the earthquake, and miraculous dark-'ness, were recorded in the public Roman registers, com-'monly appealed to by the first christians, as what could 'not be denied by the adversaries themselves.'

What Tertullian says here has a great resemblance with what is said by the martyr Lucian, in his Apology, as represented by Rufinus in an addition to Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, where he says: 'Look[u] into your own

[q] Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est. Deliquium utique putaverunt, qui id quoque super Christo prædicatum non sciverunt: ratione non deprehensâ negaverunt. Et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis [al. archivis] vestris habetis. Apol. c. 21. p. 22.

[r] Merito itaque, christianorum causam apud Ethnicos agens in Apologetico, [cap. 21.] Tertullianus miraculi hujus testes citat tabularia ipsorum, et publica instrumenta, sive quæ a rectoribus provinciarum, sive quæ ex instituto Cæsaris Romæ conficiebantur, in quæ diurna referebantur Acta Populi et Senatûs. Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. sect. viii. p. 30.

[s] Exstabant olim et libri, tum privatorum, ut Phlegontis, tum et acta publica, ad quæ Christiani provocabant, quibus constabat de eo sidere, quod post Christum natum apparuit, de terræ motu, et solis deliquio, contra naturam, plenissimo lunæ orbe, circa tempus, quo Christus crucis supplicio affectus est. Grot. de Verit. Rel. Christ. l. 3. c. xiv.

[t] See the first edition, p. 325; and the eighth edition, p. 357.

[u] Solem vobis ipsum horum produco testem; qui cum hoc fieri per impios

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'annals; there you will find that in the time of Pilate, when 'Christ suffered, the sun was obscured, and the light of the 'day was interrupted with darkness.'

For the present I pass by Africanus. The author therefore that next offers himself to our consideration is Origen, who, in his books against Celsus, says: 'But[v] of the eclipse, 'which happened in the time of Tiberius, in whose reign 'Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which 'were at that time, Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or, as 'I think, the fourteenth book of his Chronicle.'

Afterwards in the same work: 'But[w] Celsus thinks both 'the earthquake and the darkness to be only fictitious won-'ders. To which we have already answered according to 'our ability,' says Origen, 'alleging Phlegon, who relates 'that such things happened at the time of our Saviour's 'passion.'

In the first of these two passages, Origen refers to the book, but does not quote the words of Phlegon. This second reference is not more distinct nor more accurate.

There is another long passage of Origen in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Gospel, which it may be expected I should transcribe here: and I shall do[x] so. But,

videret in terris, lumen suum meridie abscondit in cœlo. Requirite in annalibus vestris; invenietis, temporibus Pilati, Christo patiente, fugato sole, interruptum tenebris diem. Euseb. H. E. l. 9. c. 6. ex versione Rufin.

[v] Περι δε της επι Τιβεριω Καισαρος εκλειψεως, ω βασιλευοντος και ὁ Ιησους εοικεν εσταυρωσθαι, και περι των μεγαλων τοτε γενομενων σεισμων της γης, ανεγραψε και Φλεγων εν τῳ τρισκαιδεκατῳ η τῳ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῳ, οιμαι, των χρονικων. Contr. Cels. l. 2. p. 80. Cant. al. sect. 33.

[w] Οιεται δε τερατειαν ειναι και τον σεισμον και το σκοτος· περι ὧν κατα δυνατον, εν τοις ανωτερω απελογησαμεθα, παραθεμενοι τον Φλεγοντα, ἱστορησαντα, κατα τον χρονον τω παθους τω σωτηρος τοιαυτα απηντηκεναι. Ib. l. 2. p. 96. al. sect. 59.

[x] Matt. xxvii. 45. Ad hunc textum quidam calumniantur evangelicam veritatem, dicentes, quomodo secundum textum potest esse verum quod dicitur, quia factæ sunt tenebræ super omnem terram a sextâ horâ, usque ad nonam, quod factum nulla refert historia? Et dicunt, quia, sicut solet fieri in solis defectione, sic facta est tunc defectio solis. Defectio autem solis, quæ secundum consuetudinem temporum ita currentium fieri solet, non in alio tempore fit, nisi in conventu solis et lunæ—in tempore autem, quo passus est Christus, manifestum est, quoniam conventus non erat lunæ ad solem, quoniam tempus erat paschale, quod consuetudinis est agere, quando luna solis plenitudinem habet, et in totâ est nocte. Quomodo ergo poterat fieri defectio solis, cum luna esset plena, et plenitudinem solis haberet?—Pone, quia extra consuetudinem facta est illa defectio solis in tempore non antiquo, sub principatu Romanorum, ita ut tenebræ fierent super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam; quomodo hoc factum tam mirabile nemo Græcorum, nemo Barbarorum factum conscripsit in tempore illo, maxime qui Chronica conscripserunt, et notaverunt, sicuti aliquid novum factum est aliquando, sed soli hoc scripserunt vestri auctores? Et Phlegon quidem in Chronicis suis scripsit,

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considering that we have it only in a Latin translation, which is obscure, I suppose I may be excused from attempting to translate it at length.

The substance of what Origen says may be reduced to a few observations. 'He proposeth an objection of unbelie-'vers against the evangelical history. They said that an 'eclipse of the sun never happens at full moon, as the dark-'ness mentioned by the evangelists did: and that if there 'had been an eclipse, or other darkness, over all the earth, 'lasting three hours, from six till nine, it would have been 'mentioned by many authors, and especially by writers of 'chronicles. Origen allows that if the evangelists had men-'tioned such a thing in all those circumstances, and had said 'it was general all over the world, it would be reasonable 'to expect to find the mention of it in many writers, both 'Greeks and barbarians. But he says the evangelists speak 'only of a darkness in the land of Judea; nor do they call 'it an eclipse. Other extraordinary things, which are relat-'ed by the evangelists to have happened at the time of our 'Saviour's sufferings, he says, were at Jerusalem, or near it. 'There "the veil of the temple was rent," there "the earth 'quaked and the rocks were rent," there, or near it, "the 'graves were opened." So likewise it is to be understood, 'that at Jerusalem, or near it, or over the whole land of Ju-'dea, was "darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour." 'Finally, Origen observes and allows that Phlegon did not

in principatu Tiberii Cæsaris factum, sed non significavit in lunâ plenâ hoc factum. Vide ergo, ne fortis est objectio hæc, et potens movere omnem hominem sapientem, qui nec illis dicentibus, nec istis scribentibus consentit, sed omnino cum ratione et judicio audit.—Dicimus ergo, quod Matthæus et Marcus non dixerunt, defectionem solis tunc factam fuisse, sed neque Lucas, secundum pleraque exemplaria, habentia sic: 'Et erat hora fere sexta, et tenebræ 'factæ sunt super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam, et obscuratus est sol.' —Arbitror ergo, sicut cætera signa, quæ facta sunt in passionem ipsius, in Jerusalem facta sunt: sic et tenebræ tantummodo super omnem terram Judæam usque ad horam nonam. Quæ autem dico, in Jerusalem tantummodo hæc facta sunt: quod velum templi scissum est, quod terra contremuit, quod petræ diruptæ sunt, quod monumenta aperta sunt. Nec enim extra Judæam petræ diruptæ sunt, aut monumenta aperta sunt alia, nisi ea tantum, quæ in Jerusalem erant, aut forte in terrâ Judæâ. Nec alia terra tremuit tunc, nisi terra Jerusalem. Nec enim refertur alicubi, quod omne elementum terræ tremuerit in tempore illo, ut sentirent, verbi gratiâ, et qui in Ethiopiâ erant, et in Indiâ, et in Scythiâ. Quod si factum fuisset, sine dubio inveniretur in historiis aliquibus eorum, qui in Chronicis scripserunt nova aliqua facta. Sicut ergo quod dicitur, 'terra contremuit,' refertur ad terram Jerusalem, aut, si latius voluerit quis extendere, ad terram Judæam; sic et 'tenebræ factæ sunt ab horâ sextâ 'usque ad nonam super omnem terram,' intellige, quod super omnem terram Judæam sunt factæ, aut certe super Jerusalem tantum. Origen. in Matt. Tr. 35. p. 922, 923. Tom. 3. Bened.

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'say that the eclipse mentioned by him happened at the time 'of a full moon.'

Tillemont, arguing upon this testimony of Phlegon, observes: 'Nevertheless,[y] he did not say that this obscurity, 'which he took for an eclipse, happened at full moon, when 'it is impossible to happen, according to the ordinary 'course of nature. For which reason Origen says very 'wisely, that we must not too positively maintain against 'heathen people that Phlegon spoke of the darkness which 'happened at the death of Jesus Christ.'

We are now coming to a main point.

I suppose my readers to be well acquainted with the gospels, and to know that it is there related that "from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour," Matt. xxvii. 45; or, "when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour," Mark xv. 33; or, "and it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth [or land] until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened," Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

1. In the first place, then, it appears to me very plain that the evangelists, by the earth, or the land, mean Judea. So the original word is sometimes used, as Luke iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. So it was understood in these texts by that great critic Origen, as we have seen. So likewise says that eminent man[z] G. J. Vossius, and divers[a] other learned moderns of very good judgment. And Beza, for preventing ambiguity, useth the word[b] region, or country, instead of land, or earth; and upon Mark xv. 33, has a good note,[c]

[y] Il ne marquoit pas néanmoins que cette obscurité, qu'il prenoit pour une eclipse, fût arrivée dans la pleine lune, ou il est impossible selon l'ordre de la nature qu'il en arrive jamais. C'est pourquoi Origène remarque fort sagement, qu'il ne faut pas s'opiniâtrer à soutenir contre les Payens, que Phlégon a parlé de ce qui est arrivé à la mort de J. C. Note 35. sur N. S. J. C. p. 449. M. E.

[z] Putamus autem, per universam terram solam signari Judæam. Quod et Erasmus arbitratur in cap. xxvii. Matt. G. Voss. Harm. Ev. l. 2. cap. x.

[a] Matt. xxvii. 45. "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land [of Judea] until the ninth hour." Whitby.——Sur tout le païs. Le Clerc. Apparemment sur la Judée, comme Luc. iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. L'Enfant. See also Basnage ann. 33. n. cxviii.

[b] '——Super universam regionem.' Πασαν την γην, i. e. χωραν. Vulgata, et Erasmus, universam terram, quasi omnes mundi plagæ fuerint obscuratæ. Bez. ad Matt. xxvii. 45.

[c] Quæritur autem a multis, an de Judæâ duntaxat, an vero potius de universo orbe terrarum, hæc sint accipienda. Quod posterius videtur amplecti Tertullianus Ap. c. xxi. hoc solis deliquium vocans 'mundi casum,' quem Romani in suis archivis habeant. Sed ego iis potius assentior, qui de Hierosolymis et totâ vicinâ regione hoc dictum accipiunt. Nam in Archivis annotari justius etiam prodigium illud potuit, quoniam fuit Judææ peculiare.

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justifying that version. Indeed, it is so pertinent, that I am tempted to write out a good part of it below. This, I think, must be right. The evangelists speak of things that happened in the land of Judea, the place of their residence, and within the extent of their knowledge. How should they know what happened abroad, throughout the whole world? There was darkness at Jerusalem, and near it, and in that whole country where Christ was crucified, and among that people who had been taught by his ministry, who had seen his miracles, and now triumphed in his crucifixion. But there might be the light and brightness of the sun in other countries, as probably there were.

A. Bynæus, after having carefully examined this point, expresseth himself to the same[d] purpose.

2. There are such inaccuracies, and such differences, in the quotations of Phlegon by several authors, as very much diminish the credit and authority of this testimony.

Origen says no more than that Phlegon speaks of an eclipse and earthquakes in the reign of Tiberius, without mentioning what year of his reign. Eusebius, and Jerom, and the Paschal Chronicle, speak of an eclipse of the sun, and an earthquake, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad, meaning the eighteenth or nineteenth year of Tiberius, and the thirty-second or thirty-third year of our Lord, according to the common computation. But they do not say in what part, or what month of the year, those things happened: which would be very material, and tend to decide a reference to the darkness at our Saviour's passion, if it had been said that the eclipse was in the spring, or such a month of the spring part of the year.

I now add some other quotations to those just mentioned.

J. Philoponus, who lived near the end of the sixth, and

Familiare etiam est sacris scriptoribus, terræ appellatione, etiamsi nihil adjiciatur, intelligere terram Chanaan. Et γην pro χωραν, id est, 'terram,' pro 'regione,' reperimus alibi: ut Matt. ix. 26. et Luc. iv. 25. Confert autem hoc ad prodigii novitatem, si intellexerimus non modo die Paschæ, id est in plenilunio, accidisse hanc solis eclipsin, sed etiam reliquum orbem illustrante sole, atque adeo in ipso meridie hunc unum orbis terrarum angulum, in quo tantum facinus patrabatur, in densissimis tenebris delituisse. Et si universale fuisset hoc prodigium, esset proculdubio omnium astrologorum monumentis celebratum. Bez. in Mark xv. 33.

[d] Profecto credibilius nihil est, quam scriptores sacros ortas hasce tenebras επι πασαν την γην, 'super omnem terram,' vel εφ'ὁλην την γην, 'super totam terram,' dixisse, ut designarent, occupâsse eas non Hierosolymam tantum, locumque, in quo Jesus suffixus cruci fuit, sed Judæam, vel terram Israëliticam universam. De orbe toto enim nequit hic cogitari. Sed nec orbis intelligi Romanus potest, ad quem Lucas, dum res describit in Judæâ gestas, utique non attendit, &c. Ant. Bynæus, de Morte J. C. l. 3. c. 8. sect. ii. p. 410.

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the beginning of the seventh, century, writes to this purpose: 'Phlegon[e] also, in his Olympiads, makes mention 'of this darkness, or rather this night: for he says that in 'the second year of the one hundred and second olympiad 'there was the greatest eclipse of the sun that had been 'known before, and night came on at the sixth hour of the 'day; insomuch that the stars appeared in the sky.'

Afterwards the same Philoponus speaks of Phlegon, as saying that[f] the eclipse happened in the two hundred and second olympiad. Some may think this to be an inconsistency: but, perhaps, there[g] were different ways of computing the olympiads, or the years of each olympiad.

In the Chronicle of George Syncellus, who flourished in the eighth century, Africanus is quoted in this manner: 'Phlegon[h] relates that in the reign of the emperor Tiberius, 'at the time of the full moon, there was a total eclipse of 'the sun from the sixth hour to the ninth.'

It is obvious to observe here—it is not easy to believe that Africanus said Phlegon had mentioned an eclipse with those circumstances, because Phlegon[i] is not so quoted by any other writer. And Origen assures us that Phlegon had omitted that circumstance, that the eclipse mentioned by him was 'in the time of the full moon.'

Maximus, of the seventh century, in his Scholia upon the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, says: 'Phlegon[k] the 'Gentile chronographer, in the thirteenth book of his Chro-'nography, at the two hundred and third olympiad, men-'tions this eclipse, saying that it happened in an unusual 'manner: but does not say in what manner. And our 'Africanus in the fifth book of his Chronography, and Eu-'sebius Pamphili likewise in his Chronicle, mention the 'same eclipse.'

J. Malala, in the sixth or seventh century, in his Chronicle, writes to this purpose: 'And[l] the sun was darkened,

[e] Λεγει γαρ, ὁτι τῳ δευτερῳ ετει της διακοσιοστης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος εγενετο ἡλιω εκλειψις μεγιστη των [ουκ] εγνωσμενων προτερον και νυξ ὡρᾳ ἑκτῃ της ἡμερας εγενετο· ωστε και αστερας εν ουρανῳ φανειναι. Philop. de Mundi Creatione, l. 2. cap. 21.

[f] Την δε εκλειψιν γεγονεναι εν τῳ τεταρτῳ ετει της διακοστης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος. Philop. Ibid.

[g] Vide Pagi ann. 32. n. xii. xiii.

[h] Φλεγων ἱστορει, επι Τιβεριω Καισαρος εν πανσεληνῳ εκλειψιν ἡλιω γεγονεναι τελειαν απο ὡρας ἑκτης μεχρις εννατης. Vid. G. Syncell. p. 322, 323.

[i] By all means see Tillemont, M. E. Tom. i. note 35. sur Jesus Christ, p. 449, 450.

[k] Μεμνηται μεν και Φλεγων ὁ Ἑλληνικος χρονογραφος, εν τρισκαιδεκατῳ χρονογραφων εν τῃ σιγ ολυμπιαδι, της εκλειψεως ταυτης, παρα το ειωθος αυτην λεγων γενεσθαι, ου μην τον τροπον ανεγραψε, κ. λ. Maxim. ap. Dionys. Areop. T. 2. p. 97.

[l] J. Malal. Chronogr. lib. 10. p. 310.

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'and there was darkness upon the world. Concerning 'which darkness, Phlegon, that wise Athenian, writes thus: '"In the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, 'there was a great eclipse of the sun, greater than those 'that had been known before: and it became night at the 'sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared.'

Such are the principal quotations of Phlegon in ancient writers. We may wish they had been more distinct and accurate, and that there had been a nearer agreement between them; but we must take them as they are. Nor do they all place the eclipse, which they speak of, in the same year of the same olympiad. However I do not choose to enlarge on this particular; it is rather too critical for my present work: I therefore refer to[m] Pagi, who has spoken to the point with great learning and judgment, and must be of use to remove difficulties of this sort. Wherefore I proceed.

3. Phlegon says nothing of Judea. What he says is, that in such an olympiad, 'there was an eclipse in Bithynia, and an earthquake at Nice.'

4. Phlegon does not say that the earthquake happened at the same time with the eclipse.

5. Phlegon mentions not any extraordinary circumstances of the darkness at the time of our Saviour's sufferings. We cannot perceive from the quotations that have been made of him, that it is reasonable to believe he said that the eclipse mentioned by him happened at the time of a 'full moon,' or that it lasted 'three hours.' These circumstances could not have been omitted by him if he had known any thing of them.

The acute Mr. Bayle, in his[n] article of Phlegon, has enlarged upon this point, and as it seems to me with good reason. 'Never was there a man more intent than Phlegon 'to collect marvellous events, and to observe the supernatural circumstances of them. How then was it possible 'that a man of this temper should omit to remark that which 'was most extraordinary in this eclipse, I mean that it happened at the time of a full moon.'

6. Phlegon speaks of an ordinary eclipse of the sun. Therefore he cannot intend the darkness mentioned by the evangelists, which happened when the moon was full: at which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible. Nor do any of the evangelists use the word eclipse in their history of this darkness. Phlegon speaks of a total, or very near total eclipse of the sun, so that the stars were seen;

[m] Pagi ann. 32. num xi—xiv. [n] Phlegon, note D. Diction. Critic.

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which is common when there is a total eclipse, and the air is clear; but could not have been if there had been clouds, which would have hid the stars also. G. J. Vossius[o] was clearly of opinion that Phlegon speaks of an ordinary and natural eclipse of the sun: for which and other reasons he concludes that Phlegon did not intend the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour's passion.

Scaliger[p] likewise understands Phlegon to speak of a natural eclipse of the sun.

7. It is reasonable to believe, from what Phlegon writes, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in some year of the two hundred and second olympiad. According to the calculations of some able astronomers there[q] was a great eclipse of the sun in the month of November, in the twenty-ninth year of our Lord, according to the common account, and the first year of the two hundred and second olympiad. But whether their calculations be right or not, I think we may be satisfied that Phlegon thought there was a great eclipse of the sun about that time.

From all these considerations (however without insisting much upon that which is the second in order) it appears to me that we have not sufficient reason to think that Phlegon has mentioned the darkness which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion at Jerusalem: several learned men have been of the same opinion. I have already mentioned, and quoted, G. J. Vossius: I now[r] refer to several others who may be consulted by the curious.

[o] Phlego tamen pro naturali habuit eclipsi—Dixeris, videri eamdem, quia Evangelistæ dicunt, fuisse eo tempore terræ motum: ac Phlego itidem dicat, tempore eclipseos ejus, de quâ agit, terræ motum fuisse in Bithyniâ, maximeque Nicææ. Scio. Sed scrupulum injicit, quod sileat de terræ motu in Palæstinâ. At, inquias, potuit hoc ignorare: nec levem videri nobis auctoritatem Patrum debere, qui eamdem faciunt eclipsim illam Evangelistis ac Phlegonti memoratam. Movit Patres, quod eumdem in annum utraque incideret. Sed falsos esse, arguit, quod si miraculosa eclipsis variis conspecta terris foret, non solus ejus Phlegon meminisset. Quid enim magis in naturâ stupendum, quam solem deficere in plenilunio? Ut jam mittam, quod ante dicebam, Phlegonti sermonem esse de eclipsi naturali, quæ solum in novilunio. G. J. Voss. Harmon. Evang. l. 2. c. x.

[p] Nam eclipsin quoque veram Phlegon putavit. Scaliger, Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. a.

[q] See Dr. Sykes's Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, p. 70—79. and his Defence of the same Dissertation, p. 60—67.

[r] Kepler. Eclogæ Chronicæ, p. 87, 126. He may be seen cited largely in Dr. Sykes's Diss. p. 70—72. Dr. Sykes's Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, and his Defence of the same Dissertation, London, 1732 and 1733; to whom I may add Dr. S. Clarke, who, in the first edition of his sermons at Boyle's lecture alleged the passage of Phlegon, but afterwards left it out. Comp. p. 325 of the first edition in 1706, and p. 357 of the eighth

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Colonia[s] puts great value upon the testimony of Phlegon to the extraordinary events attending our Saviour's passion; but I see no reason to make any remarks upon what he says: I refer however to other learned men[t] on the same side of the question.

8. I must add one observation more (eighthly). The passage of Phlegon concerning an eclipse of the sun is very seldom mentioned by the ancient learned christian writers as a testimony to the wonderful events at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: which induces me to think they paid little or no regard to it; and that they did not judge it proper to be alleged, either for the satisfaction and confutation of adversaries, or for the confirmation of their own people.

I have already shown what notice is taken of this passage of Phlegon by Origen, in his books against Celsus, and in his commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel: and I have also mentioned divers other authors as low as the sixth and seventh century, chiefly writers of chronicles. All which, however, amount to no great number in so long a period.

For there is very little notice taken of it by other ancient christians, whether apologists, historians, or commentators.

To be more particular. No notice is taken of Phlegon, or his eclipse and earthquake, by Justin Martyr, Tatian, Bardesanes, Athenagoras, Theophilus ad Autolicum, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Arnobius, Lactantius. They may mention the miraculous events attending our Saviour's sufferings; but they allege not Phlegon as confirming the truth of the evangelical history. How those events are mentioned by[u] Arnobius, and[v] Lactantius, may be seen in

edition in 1732. Basnag. ann. 29. num. 30, 31. and Bayle's Dictionnaire, Phlegon. Note D.

[s] La Religion Chrettienne autorisée par les Auteurs Payens. Vol. i. ch. i. p. 1—44.

[t] Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 3. p. 30, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 3. p. 403. Phlegon examined critically and impartially, and re-examined by Dr. John Chapman. Cambridge, 1734 and 1735. The testimony of Phlegon vindicated by Mr. Whiston, 1732.

[u] Exutus at corpore—novitate rerum exterrita universa mundi sunt, elementa turbata, tellus mota contremuit, mare funditus refusum est, aër globis involutus est tenebrarum, igneus orbis solis tepefacto ardore diriguit. Arnob. l. i. p. 32.

[v] Et eâdem horâ terræ motus factus. Et velum templi, quod separabat duo tabernacula, scissum est in duas partes: et sol repente subductus est: et ab horâ sextâ usque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt. Inst. l. 4. c. 19. Quod facinus prodigia secuta sunt, ut intelligerent nefas, quod admiserant. Eodem namque momento, quo spiritum posuit, et terræ motus magnus, et deliquium solis fuit, ut in noctem dies verteretur. Hæc omnia Prophetæ sic futura esse prædixerant. Lact. Epit. c. 45, et 46.

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their own words, which I place below. Lactantius has twice very particularly rehearsed the extraordinary things that bore honour to our Lord when suffering by the hands of men: but he takes not any notice of Phlegon.

Eusebius has the honour to sustain at once all the just mentioned characters of apologist, historian, and commentator. And yet, so far as I recollect, he has no where mentioned Phlegon, except in his Chronicle, which has been expressly cited by me. He has not distinctly quoted or referred to this passage, that I remember, in his Ecclesiastical History, nor in his Evangelical Preparation or Demonstration. All which works may be reckoned partly historical and partly apologetical for the principles of our religion. Nor does Phlegon appear in his Commentary upon the Psalms or Isaiah. In his Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned the troubles which Pilate met with, and his tragical end, he adds: 'This[w] is related by Greek writ-'ers who have published olympiads, with a history of events, 'and the times when they happened.' Whether Phlegon was here intended cannot be said: he is not mentioned; nor has this any connection with the passage of Phlegon, which we are now considering. Nicephorus,[x] going over again this same history, is not more particular than Eusebius. He mentions not Phlegon by name, nor any other writer of olympiads. In his Chronicle, under the reign of Caligula, Eusebius, recording the death of Pilate, who laid violent hands upon himself, says: 'This[y] is related by Roman his-'torians.'

Nor is Phlegon's eclipse any where taken notice of by Jerom, in any of his numerous and learned works, excepting only in his Latin version of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, above quoted by us. Scaliger observes that[z] Jerom seems to refer to this author and his Olympiads, in his Commentary upon Habakkuk, ch. iii. 9, 10. But Phlegon is not there named; nor does he there speak of his eclipse, but of quite other things. I have transcribed below the passage

[w] Ἱστορουσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τας ολυμπιαδας αμα τοις κατα χρονον πεπραγμενοις αναγραψαντες. H. E. l. 2. c. 7. [x] Vid. Niceph. l. 2. c. 10.

[y] Pontius Pilatus incidens in multas calamitates propriâ se manu interfecit. Scribunt Romanorum historici. Chron. p. 159.

[z] De illo, ut alibi diximus, intelligebat Hieronymus, quum hæc scriberet Commentario in Habacuc, capite tertio. 'Legimus in his, qui de mirabilibus 'confecerunt volumina, et qui Olympiadas Græciæ ad nostram usque memo-'riam perduxêre, exponentes quid in singulis annis novi acciderit in mundo, 'quod inter cætera terræ motu eruperint flumina, quæ ante non fuerant, et 'rursum alia absorpta sint, et pessum ierint.' Scaliger Animadv. in Euseb. Et conf. Hieron. T. 3. p. 1628. Ed. Bened.

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referred to more distinctly, from the Benedictine edition of Jerom, than it is quoted by Scaliger. Doubtless Jerom has several times spoken of the darkness and other extraordinary events at the time of our Saviour's passion: as in his Commentary upon[a] Amos viii. 9, 10. And in his Commentary upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says: 'They[b] who have written against the gospels suspect that the disciples of Christ, through ignorance, speak of an ordinary eclipse of the sun, which never happens except at the time of the new moon. But Jerom answers that there could be no ground for such a supposition; for our Lord suffered at the time of the Jewish passover, when the moon was at full, as all know. The darkness therefore must have been miraculous. Moreover, it lasted three hours; which is sufficient to remove all suspicion that it was a natural eclipse,'

So Jerom. But nothing is said of Phlegon, either here or elsewhere. The silence about Phlegon, in so learned a writer as Jerom, appears to me remarkable.

Nor does Phlegon appear at all in the Homilies, or other writings, of Chrysostom. In a homily, remarking upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says, that 'darkness[c] was not an eclipse, but a token of the divine displeasure, as is manifest from the time of it; for it lasted three hours: whereas, an eclipse of the sun is over in a moment of time. This all know who have seen an eclipse, as we have lately.'

Nor do I remember that Phlegon is mentioned by Augustine in any of his numerous writings. In that noble work, his Apology for the christian religion, called, Of the City of God, he observes, that 'the[d] darkness at the time of our Saviour's passion, was not owing to an eclipse of the sun; for it was the time of the passover, when the moon was at

[a] Possumus hunc locum et in Domini intelligere, passione, quando sol horâ sextâ retraxit radios suos, et pendentem in cruce Dominum suum spectare non ausus est. In Amos, p. 1442.

[b] Qui scripserunt contra Evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretatos? quum defectus solis nunquam nisi ortu lunæ fieri solet. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschæ tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et, ne forsitan videretur umbra terræ, vel orbis lunæ soli oppositus, breves et ferrugineas fecisse tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis causantium occasio tolleretur, &c. In Matt. c. xxvii. Tom. 4. p. 139.

[c] Οργιζομενε γαρ επι τοις τολμωμενοις ην το σκοτος εκεινο. Ὅτι γαρ ουκ ην εκλειψις, αλλ' οργητε και αγανακτησις, εκ εντευθεν μονον δηλον ην, αλλα και απο καιρε. Τρεις γαρ ωρας παρεμεινεν. Ἡ δε εκλειψις εν μιᾳ καιρε γινεται ῥοπῃ. Και ισασιν οἱ ταυτην τεθεαμενοι· και γαρ επι της γενεας της ἡμετερας συνεβη. Chr. in Matt. hom. 88. al. 89. p. 825. T. vii.

[d] De Civ. Dei, l. 3. cap. xv.

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'the full: whereas all natural eclipses are at the time of the 'new moon.' But he does not call in Phlegon to bear witness to this. In like manner, in[e] one of his epistles, he argues excellently well that 'the darkness at the time of our 'Saviour's crucifixion was miraculous and preternatural, 'and not owing to an interposition of the moon between our 'earth and the sun.' But neither does he here take any notice of Phlegon.

I might go on to mention Epiphanius, Leo the great, Gregory the first, Ambrose of Milan, Theodoret both an historian and a commentator, and other learned and voluminous writers of the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, who are all silent about Phlegon and his eclipse.

Nor is Phlegon named in Œcumenius, or Theophylact, both excellent commentators. But this last, in the eleventh century, in his note upon Matt. xxvii. 45, distinctly shows that the darkness, at our Saviour's crucifixion, was preternatural, and could not be an ordinary eclipse of the sun.

There are many historians, partly secular, partly ecclesiastical, who, as we may think, might have been led, either occasionally, or on set purpose, to mention Phlegon: such as Socrates, Sozomen, Orosius, Cassiodorius, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others; who nevertheless take no particular notice of him or his eclipse.

Orosius indeed, near the beginning of the fifth century, rehearsing the affecting circumstances of our Saviour's sufferings, says: 'And[f] divers writings of Greek authors con-'firm the evangelical history.' But he does not mention Phlegon, nor any other.

Nicephorus[g] in like manner speaks of the darkness, the earthquake, and other wonderful concomitants of our Saviour's sufferings: but says nothing of Phlegon, or any other heathen authors.

This silence about Phlegon in many of the most judicious and learned ancient Christian writers has induced me to think they did not reckon the passage of Phlegon very material. If it had been reckoned by them clear and important, we should have seen numerous quotations of it, and cogent arguments upon it. Indeed, if it had been clear, it

[e] Ep. 199. al. 80. ad Hesychium. cap. x. num. 34. Tom. 2. P. 2.

[f] Deinde anno ejusdem [Tiberii] decimo septimo, cum Dominus Jesus Christus voluntarie quidem se tradidit passioni,—et patibulo suffixus est, maximo terræ motu per orbem facto, saxa in montibus scissa sunt——— Eâdem quoque die ad horam diei sextam sol in totum obscuratus, tetraque nox subito obducta terris est.—Quod non solum sanctorum Evangeliorum fides, sed etiam aliquanti Græcorum libri adtestantur. Oros. l. 7. cap. 4.

[g] Vid. Niceph. l. i. cap. 31.

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must have been important. But not being, as I suppose, reckoned by them clearly to refer to the darkness in Judea, at the time of our Lord's sufferings, they did not esteem it of much moment, and therefore did not allege it.

Many people of our times, I believe, suppose that this passage of Phlegon is quoted and insisted upon by all ancient christian writers in general. But so far is that from being the case, that it is to be found quoted in very few, one perhaps in a century or two, and those chiefly writers of Chronicles.

Petavius, speaking of Phlegon's eclipse, says: 'That[h] this 'is the same which happened at the death of Christ, all the 'ancient fathers have declared, as with one mouth.' But what does Tillemont say to this? His remark is in these words: 'But[i] Petavius makes use of an expression which 'is rather too strong. For I think that 'all the fathers' are 'reduced to Jerom, who translated Eusebius,' [meaning his Chronicle:] 'and[k] if by 'fathers' he means ecclesiastical 'writers, it will not extend, perhaps, to more than four or 'five.'

I hope that what has been observed under this last particular may be of use to satisfy some, who may not be fully convinced by the foregoing considerations. None, I think, can much dislike my declining to insist upon a passage, as a testimony to the truth of the evangelical history, which has been so little regarded, and so seldom quoted by ancient Christian writers, remarkable for their diligence, as well as for their learning and judgment.

IV. Thallus,[l] a Syrian author, is sometimes alleged by[m] learned moderns, as bearing witness to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's passion. Whether there be any good reason for so doing, may appear from a few observations.

In the fragments of Africanus, which are in the Chronicle[n] of G. Syncellus of the eighth century, and in the collections of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, as made by Joseph Scaliger, that very learned ancient christian writer says,

[h] Hanc esse illam ipsam, quæ sub Christi mortem accidit, patres omnes antiqui velut uno ore pronuntiârunt. Petav. de Doctrinâ Temp. l. 12. cap. 21. p. 458. [i] Note xxxv. sur. N. S. Jésus Christ. p. 449. Mem. Ec.

[k] Et si, par les pères, il entend les auteurs ecclésiastiques, cela ne s'étendra peutêstre à plus de quatre ou cinq. Ibid. [l] Vid Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 3.

[m] Quos inter præcipua est Thalli auctoritas, quem libro Historiarum suarum tertio eamdem eclipsim memorare prodidit insignis temporum metator Africanus. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prov. 3. sect. viii. &c. See likewise Colonia, vol. i. p. 27, &c. [n] Ap. G. Syncell. p. 322.

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'There was[o] a dreadful darkness over the whole world, and 'the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many buildings 'were overturned in Judea, and in other parts of the earth. 'This[p] darkness Thallus calls an eclipse of the sun, in the 'third book of his histories: but as seems to me, very im-'properly; for the Jews keep the passover in the four-'teenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipse of the 'sun is impossible.'

Upon this passage I must observe, 1. That it appears only in the fragments of Africanus; whereas it often happens that, in collections of that kind, we do not find so much accuracy as could be wished. 2. The words of Thallus are not cited: for which reason we cannot presume to form a judgment concerning what he said. 3. This passage of Thallus is no where quoted or referred to by any other ancient writer that I know of. It is not in any work of Eusebius, excepting those Greek collections of his Chronicle, which are very inaccurate and imperfect: nor is there any notice taken of it in Jerom's version of the Chronicle.

I might rest here without adding any thing more. Nevertheless I shall proceed somewhat farther.

The time of Thallus seems not to be exactly known. If indeed there was any thing in his history relating to transactions in Judea in the time of our Saviour, he must have lived between that time and Africanus: but of that we want some farther proof.

In Eusebius's Evangelical Preparation[q] is quoted a long passage of Africanus, from the third book of his Chronology; where[r] are mentioned, all together, Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, Polybius, and Phlegon. 'And afterwards[s] Hel-'lanicus and Philochorus, who wrote of the affairs of At-'tica; Castor and Thallus, who wrote a history of Syria; 'Diodorus, and Alexander Polyhistor.' Whereby we learn that Thallus was a Syrian, who wrote in the Greek language.

Thallus is quoted by divers ancient christian writers. Justin Martyr,[t] in his exhortation to the Greeks, allegeth Hellanicus, Philochorus, Castor, and Thallus, as bearing witness to the antiquity of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver.

[o] Euseb. Canon. Chron. Græce. p. 77.

[p] Τυτο το σκοτος εκλειψιν ἡλιυ Θαλλος αποκαλει εν τριτῃ τῳν ἱστοριων, ως εμοι δοκει, αλογως, Ἑβραιοι γαρ αγεσι το πασχα κατα σεληνης εδ. κ. λ. Ap. Euseb. Chron. Gr. p. 77.

[q] Pr. Ev. l. x. cap. x. p. 487—493.

[r] Ib. p. 488.

[s] Ἑλλανικος τε και Φιλοχορος, οἱ τας Ατθιδας, οἱ τε τα Συρια, Καςωρ και Θαλλος. κ. λ. p. 489.

[t] Ad. Gr. Coh. p. 10. A. Par. p. 13. n. 9. Bened.

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Tertullian[u] and Minucius Felix[v] quote Thallus and divers other authors, as acknowledging Saturn to have been a man who had lived on this earth.

Thallus and other writers are quoted with a like view by[w] Lactantius.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch about the year 180, in his[x] letter to Autolicus, quotes Thallus, to prove that Belus lived long before the Trojan war; which passage is quoted again from Theophilus by[y] Lactantius.

All these quotations of Thallus appear to be made properly: and he is so quoted with other writers of antiquity, that one might be apt to think that he lived rather before than after our Saviour's coming: nor is there any thing here said of an eclipse; which may induce us to think that the passage in the fragments of Africanus is not material. Indeed, if I was unwilling to admit any thing disrespectful to the memory of so great and learned an ancient as Africanus, I should suspect that the eclipse mentioned by Thallus, (whenever it happened,) was a natural eclipse of the sun. For it is not likely that a learned historian, as Thallus was, should use that expression concerning any other darkness or obscurity. Consequently, what he said could not have any reference to the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour's last sufferings.

Thallus is not quoted upon this occasion, either by[z] Grotius, or[a] Dr. Clarke.

V. It has been often said that Dionysius the Areopagite, when a young man, went into Egypt for the sake of improvement in knowledge. 'And[b] being at Heliopolis, with

[u] Saturnum itaque, quantum literæ docent, neque Diodorus Græcus, aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator ejusmodi antiquitatum, aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Tertull. Ap. cap. 10.

[v] Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historiâ: et Thallus, et Diodorus, hæc loquuntur. Minuc. Felix. cap. 22.

[w] Omnes ergo, non tantum poetæ, sed et historiarum quoque, ac rerum antiquarum scriptores, hominem fuisse consentiunt, qui res ejus in Italiâ gestas memoriæ prodiderunt; Græci, Diodorus et Thallus; Latini, Nepos, et Cassius, et Varro. Lact. Inst. l. i. cap. 13.

[x] Ad Aut. l. 3. p. 138, 139. Par. p. 399. n. 29. Bened.

[y] Theophilus, in libro de temporibus ad Autolycum scripto ait, in historiâ suâ Thallum dicere, quod Belus, quem Babylonii et Assyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bello fuisse invenitur 322 annis, &c. Id. ib. l. i. cap. 23. Conf. ejusd. Epit. cap. 24.

[z] Vide de Veritate Rel. Christian. l. 3. cap. xiv.

[a] See his Sermons at Boyle's Lecture, the first ed. p. 325, the eighth ed. p. 357. A. D. 1732.

[b] Vid. Dionys. ep. ad Polycarp. T. 2. p. 88, &c. et Suidas. V. Διονυσιος ὁ Αρεοπαγιτης.

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'his friend Apollophanes, when our Saviour suffered, they 'there saw a wonderful eclipse of the sun: whereupon Dio-'nysius said to his friend: "Either[c] God himself suffers, 'or sympathizeth with the sufferer."'

But, as[d] all the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite are now reckoned spurious, and are allowed not to have been composed before the fifth or sixth century, this story is disregarded by all learned men in general. I shall put below the judgments of[e] Huet and[f] Tillemont, who might be as likely to assert it as any, but do absolutely abandon and give it up as of no value. Colonia[g] likewise, after a good deal of parade, declares it inconsistent with sincerity to allege it among genuine and authentic testimonies in favour of christianity.

CHAP. XIV.

THE EMPEROR TITUS ANTONINUS THE PIOUS.

I. *His time and character.* II. *That he was favourable to the christians.* III. *His edict in their favour sent to the States of Asia. The genuineness of which is here asserted with remarks.*

I. TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ANTONINUS PIUS; or Antoninus, surnamed the Pious, or the Good, was born in the reign of Domitian, in the year of Christ 86. He[a] succeeded Adrian on the tenth day of July,

[c] Η το θειον πασχει, η τῳ πασχοντι συμπασχει.

[d] See Vol. iv. ch. cxliii. init.

[e] Poteramus et Dionysii Areopagitæ testimonio pugnare, qui in epistolâ ad Polycarpum rem a se et ab Apollophane sophistâ Heliopoli Ægypti observatam narrat. Verum quoniam has Dionysii Epistolas, aliasque ejusdem scriptiones, in controversiam vocari video, neque sane immerito, si quid judicio valeo, hæc prætermittimus. Huet. Prop. 3. n. ix.

[f] Nous ne nous arrêtons pas à l'auteur des ouvrages attribués à S. Denys l'Aréopagite, qui prétend avoir remarqué à Heliopolis en Egypte les ténèbres arrivées à la mort de J. C. et qui veut qu'elles vinssent d'une éclipse véritable, et causée, comme les autres, par l'interposition de la lune entre la terre et le soliel, quoiqu' entièrement miraculeuse, et contre la nature des autres éclipses. Peu de personnes habiles se laisont persuader aujourdhui par ces sortes d'autorités. Tillemont. note 35. sur N. S. J. C. Mem. T. i.

[g] La Religion Chréttienne autorisée, &c. Vol. i. p. 40, 41.

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 161. n. ii. Basnag. ann. 138. n. xi. Tillem. L'Emp. Tite Antonin. art. i. et xii.

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in the year of our Lord 138, and died on the seventh of March in 161, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

He is much commended; and indeed seems to have been a man[b] of as fair a character as any of the Roman emperors, not excepting[c] the most admired. And, though he was about seventy years of age at the time of his death, he was as much lamented as if he had died in the[d] prime of life.

When Xiphilinus made the epitome of Dion Cassius's History, the seventeenth book of that work, which contained the reign of this emperor, was wanting, excepting only a small part at the beginning. Having given a short account of that, Xiphilinus proceeds: 'It[e] is agreed by all, that Antoninus 'was a good and mild prince, who was oppressive neither 'to any of his other subjects, nor to the christians, whom he 'protected and favoured, even beyond what had been done 'by Adrian, as is shown by Eusebius[f] Pamphili.'

II. So writes Xiphilinus. We are therefore led directly to the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which is the earliest account we can expect to find of Antoninus's regard for the Christians.

He is not reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Nevertheless the christians were persecuted in his time; otherwise there could have been no occasion to present apologies to him; and that Justin's first apology was addressed to him is allowed. It is inscribed in this manner:

[b] Vid. M. Aurel. de Reb. suis. lib. i. sect. xvi. Dio. Cass. l. 69. p. 796. al. 1167. Jul. Capitolin. Victor. et Eutrop.

[c] Hunc fere nulla vitiorum labes maculavit. Victor. de Cæsar. cap. xiv.

———tantæ bonitatis in principatu fuit, ut haud dubie sine exemplo vixerit. Victor. Epit. c. xv.

[d] Periit anno septuagesimo; sed quasi adolescens desideratus est. Jul. Capitolin. in Vit. Anton. cap. 12.

[e] Ὁ γαρ Αντωνινος ὁμολογειται παρα παντων καλος τε και αγαθος γενεσθαι, και ουτε των αλλων ὑπηκοων τισι βαρυς, ουτε χριστιανοις επαχθης, αλλα πολλην τινα τουτοις νεμων αιδω, και τῃ τȣ Αδριανȣ τιμῃ, ἡν εκεινος ετιμα χριστιανȣς, προστιθεις, κ. λ. Dio. l. 70. p. 1173. al. 799.

[f] Mr. La Roche, in his New Memoirs of Literature, vol. i. p. 81—99, gives an account of a book in two volumes, 8vo. printed at the Hague, entitled, Histoire de la Philosophie Payenne, &c. A History of the Pagan Philosophy, or the Sentiments of the most famous Pagan Philosophers and Nations concerning God, the Soul, and the Duties of Man. Where, at p. 98, Mr. La Roche says: 'In the last chapter of this work, the author shows that there 'was not one perfect man among the heathens. He examines the lives of 'Pythagoras, Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Dion, Phocion, 'Timoleon, Cato the censor, Cato of Utica, Brutus, Seneca, Apollonius of 'Tyana, Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius; and finds them guilty of 'several vices. He highly commends the wise and just government of Titus 'Antoninus. But, says he, that emperor had some faults, which however 'were not very prejudicial to his subjects.' It is plain that this author had a very favourable opinion of Titus Antoninus. I should be very glad to see his work: but it has never come in my way.

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'To the emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus the pious, 'and to his son Verissimus, and Lucius, and the senate, and 'all the people of the Romans, in [g] behalf of men gathered 'out of all nations, who are unjustly hated and ill-treated, 'I Justin, son of Priscus, son of Bacchius, one of them of 'the city of Flavia Neapolis, in that part of Syria which is 'called Palestine, make this address and supplication.'

And, not to take notice of any other passages of it, the same apology concludes in this manner: 'If what has been 'now offered be material, pay a suitable regard to it; but 'if all this be of no moment, let it be slighted as trifling: 'but [h] do not treat as enemies, and appoint death for men 'who are guilty of no crimes. And we foretell unto you 'that ye will not escape the future judgment of God if you 'persist in this injustice.'

Which plainly shows that the Christians were then persecuted even to death.

III. Eusebius, [i] having given an account of Justin's apology, and quoted the beginning of it, goes on: 'And the 'same emperor [k] having been applied to by other of the 'brethren in Asia, complaining of the many injuries which 'they suffered from the people of the country, [l] sent an edict 'to the common council of Asia, which is to this purpose:' '"The emperor—to the states of Asia sendeth greeting. I 'am well satisfied the gods will not suffer such men to be 'concealed; for undoubtedly they are more concerned to 'punish those who refuse to worship them than you are. 'But you only confirm these men in their sentiments, and 'make them more obstinate by calling them impious, and 'giving them vexation: for they are not so desirous to live, 'as to be prosecuted, and suffer death for their God. Hence 'they come off victorious, laying down their lives rather 'than do what you demand of them. As for the earth-'quakes of the former, or the present times, it may not be 'improper to advise you to compare yourselves with them, 'and your sentiments with theirs; for when such things 'happen you are dejected, but they are full of confidence 'in God: and you, in the ignorance you are in, neglect the 'other gods and their rites, and the worship of the Immor-'tal likewise: and the christians, who worship him, you

[g] ———Ὑπερ των εκ παντος γενους ανθρωπων αδικως μισουμενων και εκηρεαζομενων, εις αυτων την προσφωνησιν και εντευξιν ποιουμαι. Apol. pr. et ap. Euseb. H. E. L. 4. c. 12.

[h] —και μη, ὡς κατ' εχθρων, κατα των μηδεν αδικουντων θανατον ὁριζετε. Προλεγομεν γαρ ὑμιν, ὁτι εκ εκφευξεσθε την εσομενην τε Θεου κρισιν, εαν επιμενητε τῃ αδικιᾳ. [i] L. 4. c. xi. xii. [k] Cap. xiii. p. 126.

[l] —τοιαυτης ηξιωσε το κοινον της Ασιας διαταξεως.

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'banish and persecute to death. Before our time many 'governors of provinces wrote to our deified father about 'these men. To whom he wrote that they should not 'be molested, unless they did things contrary to the wel-'fare of the Roman government. Many also have informed 'me about the same men; to whom I returned an answer 'agreeable to the rescript of my father [Adrian]. If there-'fore any person will still accuse any of these men as such, '[as a christian,] let the accused be acquitted, though he 'appear to be such an one [that is, a christian;] and let 'the accuser be punished. Set up at Ephesus in the com-'mon assembly of Asia."' And that these things were so done, adds Eusebius, 'is attested by Melito bishop of Sar-'dis, who flourished at that time, in what he says in his 'excellent apology, which he made for our religion to the 'emperor Verus.'

Melito's apology was presented to Marcus Antoninus[m] about the year 177. From that apology Eusebius, in a following chapter, makes a large extract: a part of which I also must transcribe here, reserving the rest till hereafter: 'Of[n] all the Roman emperors,' says Melito to Marcus, 'Nero 'and Domitian only, who were misled by designing men, 'have shown enmity to our religion. From them have pro-'ceeded the evil reports concerning us, that are received and 'propagated by the vulgar; which have often been checked 'by your pious ancestors, who by edicts have restrained those 'who have been troublesome to men of our religion. Among 'whom is your grandfather Adrian, who wrote, as to many 'others, so particularly to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of 'Asia. And your father also, at the same time that you 'governed all things with him, wrote to several cities, that 'they should not give us any vexation, and among them to 'the Larisseans, and the Thessalonians, and the Athenians, 'and to all the Greeks. And we are persuaded that you, 'who cannot but have the like regard for us, and are yet of 'a more humane and philosophical disposition, will grant 'all we desire.'

So writes Melito. And hence, and from what Eusebius before said, may be concluded with certainty, that not only Justin presented an apology to Titus Antoninus, but that other christians also, from divers parts, had applied to him; and that he had sent favourable orders to the Larisseans in Thessaly, and to other Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks in general, which may comprehend the

[m] See Vol. ii. ch. xv.

[n] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 26.

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Asiatics, for whom Melito in particular seems to have pleaded.

Nevertheless there are difficulties relating to that edict, before translated, said to have been sent to the common council of Asia. Some think it was given by Titus Antoninus, others by Marcus Antoninus: and others suspect it to be a forgery, and really sent by neither of those emperors.

And among the ancients there is some difference of opinion. By Eusebius, whom I have transcribed at length, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. This letter, or edict, is also at length in the Paschal Chronicle[o] and in[p] Nicephorus Callisti. By the former it is ascribed to Antoninus the philosopher, by the latter to his predecessor. Zonaras[q] follows Eusebius, as does also Xiphilinus, before quoted. Orosius does not expressly mention this edict; but he says that[r] Justin presented an apology to Antoninus the pious, and that thereby the emperor was rendered favourable to the christians.

Among the moderns likewise, as before hinted, there are various sentiments. Valesius, the learned editor of Eusebius and the other ecclesiastical historians, dissents here from his author: he says the[s] letter is Marcus's, and that Eusebius was mistaken in ascribing it to the elder Antoninus. Of the same opinion are [t]Scaliger,[u] Huet, [v]Basnage, and [w]Pagi. By [x]Baronius, [y]Cave, and [z]divers others, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. As the argument of the Benedictine editors, on the same side of the question, is not very prolix, I shall put a part of it below. They say, with Tillemont, that 'the[a] authority of 'Eusebius, who ascribes it to Titus Antoninus the pious,

[o] P. 259. [p] L. 3. cap. 28. [q] Tom. 2. p. 206.

[r] Verum Justinus philosophus librum pro christianâ religione compositum Antonino tradidit, benignumque eum erga christianos fecit. Oros. l. 7. cap. xiv.

[s] Errat Eusebius, qui Antonino Pio hanc epistolam tribuit, cum sit divi Marci. Annot. in Euseb. p. 66. [t] Animadv. in Euseb. p. 219.

[u] Dem. Evang. p. 42. [v] Bas. ann. 139. n. vii. et ann. 164. n. iv.

[w] Pagi ann. 152. num. iv. v. [x] Baron. ann. 154. n. v.

[y] H. L. de Justino M. [z] Balduin. Edict. Princep. Rom. p. 86—92. Tillem. Antonin. art. xi. S. Justin M. art. xii. et note xi. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. p. 86—92.

[a] Nam, ut Tillemontii, qui Antonino vindicat, rationum momenta breviter referam. 1. Eusebii auctoritas, qui eas Antonino tribuit, maximi debet esse ponderis. 2. Antonino conveniunt, qui Adrianum solus appellare potuit parentem suum, ac solus post Adrianum illâ ætate favit christianis. Hunc enim constat ea ad civitates, ac nominatim ad Larissæos, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Athenienses, ad universos denique Græcos scripsisse, quæ in literis ad Commune Asiæ leguntur, nempe nequid novi adversus christianos molirentur. At Marcus semper christianis iniquus fuit. Præf. ad Justin. M. Pars. 3. cap. v. num. iii.

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'ought by no means to be slighted: he only could call 'Adrian his father, and was the only emperor after him who 'favoured the christians: for Marcus was always unfriendly 'to them: and it is certain that he wrote the same things to 'the Larisseans, and the Thessalonians, that are contained 'in this letter to the states of Asia, that they should not be 'troublesome to the christians.'

But some suspect the genuineness of this letter, as Mr. Dodwell, who says it[b] is so christian, that he can hardly think it was written by a heathen emperor. Thirlby[c] rejects it as a plain forgery. Dr. Jortin goes into the same opinion, saying: 'It was forged by some christian before 'the days of[d] Eusebius,' and Reimar wisheth that[e] some farther light might be obtained for clearing up the difficulties relating to it.

I think this rescript could not be written by Marcus Antoninus, who was always averse and unfriendly to the christians, as we shall see hereafter. If this letter had been written in the first year of Marcus's reign, as Valesius thought, or in the fourth of it, as Pagi and Basnage say, the christians would not have suffered such persecutions in his time, as they did in many places. Nor would there have been so many apologies presented to him, as we know there were. Nor could Melito have omitted to take notice of it. He reminds Marcus of the rescript of his grandfather Adrian, and the letter of Antoninus, his father, to several cities; much more would he have reminded him of his own letter in favour of the christians, if there had been any such thing.

As for the suspicion of forgery, I see no plain evidence of it. I do not discern the hand of a conceited and pedantic sophist; nothing but what might come from a good-natured magistrate, as Antoninus was. There[f] had been some earth-

[b] Sed mihi fateor suspectum esse, magisque ad mentem christianorum esse conceptum, quam illud concepturus fuerit gentilis Imperator. Diss. Cypr. xi. num. 34.

[c] Tot viros doctos et graves ludos fecit unus, idemque non vaferrimus, nebulo, qui hoc rescriptum confinxit—Emendatione autem nostrâ dignum non censuimus figmentum ineptum et puerile. Thirlb. in Justin. M. p. 101.

[d] Remarks upon E. H. vol. 2. p. 168. See also p. 174.

[e] Quoniam vero ne veteres quidam sibi constant, utri imperatorum adscribenda sit; et, quamcumque teneas sententiam, difficultates aliæ obstant inextricabiles; operæ pretium fuerit, clariore quam factum est adhuc luce discutere dubia, ni tota illa epistola conficta quibusdam liberius judicantibus debeat videri. Reimar. in notis ad Dion. Cass. p. 1172. al. 799.

[f] Adversa ejus temporibus hæc provenerunt; fames, de quâ diximus, circi ruina, terræ motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiæ oppida conciderunt.—Quæ omnia

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quakes in Asia, and other countries not far off. The heathen people were much terrified by them, and ascribed them to the vengeance of heaven, because the christians were numerous among them: and they had thereupon committed great outrages: of these injuries the christians made complaints; and the emperor, in his letter to the states, pleasantly reprimands his own people, the heathens, upon both those accounts, that is, for their timorousness, and for their cruel usage of the christians, their neighbours: and he as agreeably commends the christians for their intrepidity, or composure, amidst such dangers; and sends orders that they should not be any longer abused as they had been.

I think, then, that this rescript was sent by Titus Antoninus the pious, as Eusebius[g] supposed. But, allowing that to be doubtful, we learn several things from what has now passed before us. The emperor Antoninus the pious must have had good knowledge of the christians and their principles: he was favourable to them, and must have been well satisfied of their innocence. To him Justin presented a long and excellent apology, still extant, a most valuable remain of christian antiquity. By Eusebius, and others, we are assured it had a good effect. And, if it had not been of some advantage to the christian interest at that time, Justin would scarcely have thought of making any more addresses to Roman emperors: and his addressing another apology afterwards to Marcus Antoninus is an argument that he had some encouragement to it by the success of his former apology.

To Antoninus the pious applications had been made also by other Christians beside Justin: and he wrote to the Larisseans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks in general, that they should forbear to give trouble to the christians, as such, and unless they were guilty of some offence contrary to the welfare of society and the peace of the Roman government: by which we must understand, at least, that he confirmed the rescript of Adrian, sent to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. All this we are fully assured of from the apology of Melito, presented to Marcus Antoninus: for none can admit the suspicion of an attempt to impose upon so knowing and so

mirifice instauravit. Capitolin. Antonin. Pius. cap. 9. p. 168. Vid. et. Dion. Cass. lib. 70. p. 1173.

[g] Some more observations for showing that this rescript was sent by Antoninus Pius, will appear near the end of the chapter of Marcus Antoninus, in what is there called the Summary of the Argument.

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great a man as that emperor. By all which we may be assured that Antoninus the pious was persuaded of the innocence, both of the principles and of the conduct of the christians; which are largely insisted upon in the apology of Justin Martyr.

And, as it was the design of all the apologies at that time to clear the christians from the charge of the crimes imputed to them, it is reasonable to believe that all the other apologies from different persons and several countries, agreeing in their accounts, they concurred together to give full satisfaction to this good and vigilant emperor, Antoninus the pious, for that is one part of his character: he was inquisitive about every part of his government: 'He[h] knew all 'the concerns of the empire, and of all the people subject 'to him, as distinctly as he did those of his own family.' Nor were the least things overlooked by him: which[i] is sometimes mentioned to his advantage, and at other times as a fault, and almost the only fault that could be charged upon him, that[k] he was too inquisitive, and prying into little things. That[l] temper however must have been of use to divers people; and, upon many occasions, this in particular. By most men at that time the christians and their affairs were despised, as unworthy of regard: and it is one great concern of all the christian apologists, to excite the attention of the Roman emperors, and the Roman governors of provinces, and of all other people in general, and to induce them to inquire and examine, and take cognizance of the christian cause, and their affairs: which, as it seems, this emperor had done, to his own credit and their benefit.

[h] Tantâ sane diligentiâ subjectos sibi populos rexit, ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curavit. Jul. Capitol. Vit. Tit. Antonin. cap. 7. p. 261.

[i] *Και το ζητητικον ακριβως εν τοις συμβουλιοις, και επιμονον, αλλ' ο το προαπεστη της φρονησης αρκεσθεις ταις προχειροις φαντασιαις.* Marc. Anton. de Reb. suis. lib. i. cap. 16.

[k] *Ιδων αυτον ὁ Σειληνος εφη· βαβαι της μικρολογιας· ὡς ειναι μοι δοκει των διαπριοντων το κυμινον, ὁ πρεσβυτης ουτος.* Julian. Cæs. p. 312. A. ed. Spanh.

Λεγεται δε ὁ Αντωνινος ζητητικος γενεσθαι, και μηδε περι τα μικρα και τυχοντα της ακριβολογιας αφιεσθαι· ὁθεν αυτον οἱ σπουδαζοντες κυμινοπριστην εκαλουν. Xiph. ap. Dion. l. 70. p. 1173.

[l] Neque vero dubito, Xiphilinum loqui generatim, et intelligere accuratum et diligens studium, in quâcumque re, etiam minimâ et obviâ, inquirendi et rimandi id quod verum rectumque esset. Reimar. ad Xiphilin. loc. modo citat. not. [k].

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CHAP. XV.

THE EMPEROR MARCUS ANTONINUS THE PHILOSOPHER.

SECTION I.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The passage in his Meditations concerning the christians, with notes and observations.*

I. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, or Marcus Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher, was[a] born in the reign of Adrian, the twenty-sixth day of April, in the year of Christ 121. He succeeded Antoninus the pious on the second day of March in the year of our Lord 161, and died on the seventeenth day of March in the year 180.

The virtues of his private and public life have been greatly commended and highly celebrated: but, if a comparison were to be made between Antoninus the pious and Antoninus the philosopher, I should be disposed to give the preference to the former.

Aristides the sophist, in his panegyric upon this emperor, says, that 'before[b] he came to the empire, he restrained and 'prevented many disorders and mismanagements in the 'government of public affairs:' and insinuates that 'great 'injuries were done, and many things carried with violence 'and insult.' But, as[c] Tillemont observes, 'Aristides 'seems to have aimed to decry the government of Antoni-'nus, in order to extol that of Marcus. But,' as he adds, 'the sophist therein showed greater regard to the laws of 'oratory than of truth. For, according to historians, Mar-'cus did not at all excel Antoninus in moderation and the 'care of the public.'

Some other learned men[d] have formed a like judgment concerning this emperor.

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 180. n. ii. Basnag. ann. 121. viii. et 180. i. Tillemont, L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 23. T. 4. p. 20, &c.

[b] —*ὁρων πολλα της βασιλειας ȣ καλως ȣδε ὁσιως διοικȣμενα, αλλα πολλην ανθαδειαν και ὑβριν και ακολασιας εγγινομενην, ȣκ ειᾳ αυξεσθια—Τοιȣτος δε προ τȣ βασιλευσαι ην.* Aristid. in Regem Orat. p. 107. al. 59. Tom. i.

[c] M. Aurele. art. iv.

[d] Vide vero hìc infelicitatem temporum Marci, quo nullus Imperatorum justior et sapientior putatur! Princeps minime malus philosophicis meditationibus animum pascebat, non admodum curiosus eorum, quæ in imperio gererentur. Interea magistratus impune voluntati suæ obsequebantur, quasque

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Marcus, however, deserves great commendation upon many accounts. Tillemont, having given a history of the rude and disagreeable treatment which he received from Herodes Atticus, and Marcus's obliging behaviour to him afterwards, adds: 'There[e] are many christians, whom this 'mildness of a heathen emperor will condemn in the last 'day.'

In the year 175, Avidius Cassius rebelled, and set up himself for emperor, and was soon defeated. Marcus's[f] clemency toward the family and the accomplices of Avidius is universally allowed[g] to have been very extraordinary, and even above all commendations. Upon that, and many other occasions, he showed that he was master of himself, and had a great government of his temper.

But, to be a little more particular concerning this renowned emperor and much admired heathen philosopher:[h]

He[i] was a youth of great expectations, and was beloved by Adrian from his childhood. That[k] emperor introduced him into the college of the priests, called Salii, at the age of eight years. And Marcus made himself complete master of all the rules of that order, so as to be able to discharge himself all the functions of the priesthood.

He[l] was early initiated in the principles of philosophy, and put under the tuition of the most able masters of the several sects. At[m] the age of twenty years he put on the

venerari videbantur leges, turpissime violabant. Moshem. de Reb. Christianorum, p. 244. Dubitavi dudum, tantus num fuerit Marcus, quantus esse plerisque omnibus et olim visus est, et hodie videtur—Bonum virum fuisse, valde licet superstitiosum, dubitare nolo; boni vero imperatoris et principis nomen an mereatur, dubito. Id. ibid.

[e] L'Emp. M. Aurele, art. xiv.

[f] Vid. Capitolin. Vit. M. Antonin. cap. 24, 25. Vulcatius Gallicanus in Vitâ Avidii Cassii, cap. 7, &c. Basnag. ann. 175. Tillem. Marc. Aurele, art. 18—21.

[g] Laudes Marci exuperat omnes, quod scriptas ad Cassium epistolas cunctas prius conscidit, quam legerit, ne cogeretur quempiam invitus odisse. Basnag. ann. 175. num. iv.

[h] Propterea vir ille divinus, neque satis unquam cognitus, vel laudatus. Is. Casaub. ad Capitol. de Vitâ M. Aurel. cap. 2. p. 293.

[i] Fuit a primâ infantiâ gravis. Capitolin. cap. 2. in.———tantæ admirationis adhuc juvenis, &c. Eutrop. l. 8. cap. xi.

[k] Educatus est in Adriani gremio, qui illum (ut supra diximus) Verissimum nominavit; et qui ei honorem equi publici sexenni detulit, octavo ætatis anno in Saliorum collegium retulit. Fuit in eo sacerdotio et præses et vates et magister, et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit, nemine præeunte, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset. Capit. ib. cap. 4.

[l] At ubi egressus est annos, qui nutricum foventur auxilio, magnis præceptoribus traditus ad philosophiæ scita pervenit. Id. ib. cap. 2. in.

[m] Philosophiæ operam vehementer dedit, et quidem adhuc puer. Nam

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habit of a philosopher, and wore their cloak. He also practised austerities, so far as to lie upon the bare ground; and was difficultly persuaded by his mother to make use of a mattress, with a slight coverlid. When emperor,[n] he sometimes went on foot to the schools of Apollonius and[o] Sextus, stoic philosophers. I do not know whether it be worth mentioning, that[p] he placed in his private chapel golden statues of his deceased masters, and honoured them by visiting their sepulchral monuments, offering there sacrifices, and strewing upon them flowers.

Zonaras, entering upon the history of a war in Germany, to be taken notice of by us hereafter, says that[q] Marcus was weak in body; and so intent upon his studies, that he went to school after he was emperor, to hear several philosophers, and others, whom he there names. Dion Cassius[r] speaks to the like purpose, and Zonaras seems to have copied him: but, by the place where it is brought in, it seems to have been the intention of Zonaras to insinuate that the great difficulty into which Marcus was brought, in the war with the Quadi, was owing to his want of military skill, he having been so much taken up with philosophical studies.

Before[s] he entered into the war with the Marcomans, and other people in Germany, he performed lustrations for the city of Rome, and called together priests from all quarters to offer sacrifices, and adopted even foreign rites; for the doing of all which things his departure from Rome was delayed. He[t] seems to have been sometimes ridiculed for the great number of his sacrifices.

Marcus had faith also in dreams: and says himself that[u]

duodecimum annum ingressus, habitum philosophi assumsit, et deinceps tolerantiam, quum studeret in pallio, et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo cubaret. Id. cap. 2.——*Και το σκιμποδος και δορας επεθυμησαι, και οσα τοιαυτα της Ελληνικης αγωγης εχομενα.* De Reb. suis, l. i. sect. 6.

[n] Usus est et Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoïco philosopho. Tantum autem studium in eo philosophiæ fuit, ut adscitus jam in imperatoriam dignitatem tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causâ veniret. Capit. cap. 3.

[o] Philostr. Vit. Sophist. l. 2. c. ix. Dion. Cass. l. 71. sub in. Suid. V. *Μαρκος.*

[p] Tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit, ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet, ac sepulchra eorum aditus hostiis, floribus semper honoraret. Capit. cap. 3. [q] Zon. Tom. 2. p. 207. [r] Dio. l. 71. sub in.

[s] Tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit, retardatusque a bellicâ profectione sit, &c. Capitol. ib. cap. 13.

[t] Marci illius similis Cæsaris, in quem id accepimus dictum. *Οι λευκοι βοες Μαρκῳ τῳ Καισαρι· Αν συ νικησης, ἡμεις απολομεθα.* Amm. Marcell. l. 25. cap. 4. [u] *Το δι' ονειρατων βοηθηματα δοθηναι, αλλα τε, και ὡς μη πτυειν αἱμα, και μη ιλιγγιαν.* De Reb. suis, l. i. sect. ult.

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he had thereby learned remedies for staying his spitting of blood, and for curing a dizziness in his head.

Of Antoninus his predecessor, and father by adoption, he says, 'he[v] was religious without superstition;' and, in another place, that 'he[w] was not a superstitious worshipper of the gods.' Marcus therefore knew that religion and superstition were different, and that there might be one without the other. Whether he was so wise as to separate them, may be partly discerned from what we have now seen.

II. There is still remaining a work of this emperor in twelve books, which we generally[x] call his Meditations. They must have been put together at several times as he had leisure. However some have computed that[y] they were composed before the year 175.

In the eleventh book of that work there is an observation which I shall now transcribe, and place here.

'What[z] a soul is that which is prepared, even now presently, if needful, to be separated from the body, whether it be to be extinguished, or to be dispersed, or to subsist still. But this readiness must proceed from a well weighed judgment, not from mere obstinacy, like the christians. And it should be done considerately, and with gravity, without tragical exclamations, and so as to persuade another.'

In the English translation, published at Glasgow in 1742, the same passage stands thus: 'How happy is that soul which is prepared either to depart presently, or to be extinguished, or dispersed, or to remain along with it! But let this preparation arise from its own judgment, and not from mere obstinacy, like that of the christians: that you may die considerately, with a venerable composure, so as even to persuade others into a like disposition, and without noise and ostentation.' p. 259, 260.

Upon this passage Dr. Jortin has a remark which is to this purpose: 'The emperor[a] Marcus was prejudiced 'against the christians; and in his own book, xi. 3, censures 'very unreasonably what he ought to have approved—this 'readiness and resolution to die for their religion.'

Certainly that remark is very just, and I think very mild; for, if I were to allow myself to speak freely, I should say

[v] *Και ὡς θεοσεβης χωρις δεισιδαιμονιας.* Ib. l. 6. sect. 30.

[w] *Και το μητε περι θεους δεισιδαιμονειν.* Ib. l. 1. sect. 16.

[x] *Τα εις ἑαυτον.* De Rebus suis. [y] See Tillemont, Marc. Aurele. art. 28.

[z] *Οἱα εστιν ἡ ψυχη, ἡ ετοιμος, εαν ηδη απολυθηναι δειη του σωματος, και ητοι σβεσθηναι, η σκεδασθηναι, η συμμεναι; Το δε ἑτοιμον τυτο, ἱνα απο ιδικης κρισεως ερχηται, μη κατα ψιλην παραταξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοι· αλλα λελογισμενως, και σεμνως, και ὡστε και αλλον πεισαι, ατραγωδως.* L. xi. sect. 3.

[a] Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 57.

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that this is the basest reflection upon the christians that I remember to have met with among all their old enemies. To say it is unbecoming a gentleman, and an emperor, is to say nothing. It is insensibility and inhumanity—in a word, stoicism. It is the worse, as it comes from a magistrate; who, if he had been pleased to send proper orders to the officers under him, and particularly to the governors of provinces, he might have delivered the christians from that trial which is here supposed.

It may seem strange to some that[b] such a man as Marcus Antoninus should pass any censure upon the christians' fortitude. One would rather think that, as a stoic, he should have admired and commended their resolution: but it may be accounted for.

1. The christians refused to join in the common worship of the heathen deities: and they were likewise very free in their reflections[c] upon the philosophers.

2. They[d] outdid the stoics themselves in patience under all kinds of sufferings. The women and children and common people among the christians had in a short time shown more examples of true fortitude, than the stoics had done since the origin of their sect.

3. Once more. This emperor was a bigot in religion and philosophy: whereas bigotry in any one thing will have bad effects, and make the best tempers act contrary to the laws of equity upon some occasions.

It will not be thought that I speak with too much severity, if we examine the several particulars of this passage; which I now intend to do; and afterwards I shall mention some corollaries.

(1.) Marcus's[e] expressions denote great uncertainty

[b] Nisi constaret, Stoïcorum doctrinam, cui M. Aurelius addictus erat, plenam fuisse repugnantiis, quod singulari opere ostendit Plutarchus, mirum esset mortis contemptorem iis detrahere, qui eam despiciebant. Atque non licuit, Philosopho præsertim, in aliis damnare quæ in se et suis probaret. Cleric. H. E. ann. 165. n. iv.

[c] Vid. Justin. M. Ap. 2. p. 46. B. E. et 47. Paris. num. 3. p. 90. Bened. et Tatian, contr. Gentes, p. 157, 162. al. num. 19. p. 260. et num. 25. p. 264.

[d] Nostri autem (ut de viris taceam) pueri, et mulierculæ, tortores suos taciti vincunt; et exprimere illis gemitus nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, et Mutio glorientur aut Regulo———Ecce sexus infirmus, et frigilis ætas dilacerari se toto corpore, urique perpetitur, non necessitate, quia licet vitare, si vellent, sed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc est vera virtus, quam philosophi quoque gloriabundi, non re, sed verbis inanibus jactant: disserentes, nihil esse tam congruens viri sapientis gravitati, atque constantiæ, quam nullis terroribus de sententiæ proposito posse depelli, &c. Lactant. Instit. l. 5. cap. 13.

[e] Nesciebant enim [Stoïci] an 'qui corpore migrâssent, animi extingueren-'tur, vel dispergerentur, vel permanerent,' quod cum ita haberet, nemini poterant probare virtutem. Numini gratam, vitium contra invisum esse; cum

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concerning a future state of existence; being doubtful whether the soul, when separated from the body, should be 'extinguished, or be dispersed, or still subsist.' He speaks again to the like purpose elsewhere: 'To[f] what 'purpose all this?——You have made your voyage, and 'arrived at your port. Go ashore; if into another life, the 'gods are there: if into a state of insensibility, you will be 'no longer distracted by pains and pleasures, nor be in 'subjection to this mean vessel.'

(2.) The christians had a strong persuasion and good hopes of another life,—a life of happiness without end for all good and virtuous men. No men therefore could be ready to leave this world upon better grounds than they, when they could no longer live here with innocence.

(3.) Marcus ascribes the christians' willingness to die to obstinacy; and says that men ought to resign life only 'upon a well formed judgment, and considerately.'

Did[g] not the christians die in that manner? Should they have denied themselves to be christians, when they were brought before Pliny, or other governors, and were examined by them? Should they then have told a lie, and so redeem their lives by falsehood, or by worshipping images contrary

bonos et malos nullo discrimine negligeret.—Quod si numen talia non curaret, quid opus erat homines vel ipsius vitæ jacturâ virtutem colere, et vitio adversari?—Exclamationi ergo, aut interrogationi M. Aurelii, 'qualis est anima, 'quæ parata est, si jam e corpore migrare, aut extingui, aut dispergi, aut per-'manere oporteat?' respondebimus: Misera et infelix, quæ nescit, quid a summo Numine exspectare virtus possit, aut vitium timere. Quod ferme perinde est, ac ignorare, an sit Deus, &c. Cleric. ubi supr. num. v.

[f] De Rebus suis, l. 3. sect. 3.

[g] Verum inquiet, Philosophus mortem spernit 'proprio judicio, conside-'rate.'—Audio. Sed annon christianus quivis mortem ferebat 'ex proprio 'judicio,' qui cinctus Ethnicis furentibus, aut ridentibus, et a morte revocantibus, si modo Diis sacra faceret, moriebatur tamen, quod mentiri nollet, nec ore, nec factis; quia nefas putabat, veritatem ejurare. Annon considerate satis, qui deprehensâ Ethnicæ religionis falsitate, et veritate ejus, quam Christus et apostoli docuerant, sese dudum parârat ad mortem, siquando vitari non posset, sine abnegatione veritatis?—Fac Epicureos fuisse rerum potitos, et furore quodam actos ad tribunalia sua traxisse Stoïcos, omnibus suppliciis propositis et morte ipsâ intentatâ, nisi Zenoni, Cleanthi, Chrysippo, cæterisque sectæ conditoribus maledixissent, negâssentque se iis adsentiri, et facerent quæcumque principes sectæ vetuerant, cum scirent se mentiri, et improbe facere; an se Stoïcæ familiæ defensoribus, et mortem fortiter obeuntibus, exprobâsset M. Aurelius παραταξιν? Immo vero summopere eos laudâsset, ut laudati sunt apud Ethnicos omnes, qui maluerunt mori, quam quidquam facere, quod inhonestum et impium judicabant. Si voluisset Socrates contra animi sententiam loqui, et mentiri, ac sese ad pedes judicum abjicere, vitæ suæ sine dubio consuluisset; sed ejus absolutionem æterna infamia esset consecuta. Quod de cæteris omnibus, qui virtutis causâ mortui sunt, dictum puta. Cleric. ib. num. iv.

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to their judgment, and the principles which they had embraced after serious inquiry and consideration? Were not all wise and honest men persuaded that a man ought to die rather than do what he thought evil and dishonourable. Celsus,[h] who wrote against the christians, says as much. Was there any way for a christian's escaping, but by criminal hypocrisy and dissimulation, when statues of heathen deities were set before him to be worshipped by him; or when he was required to revile Jesus Christ? They had taken up their principles upon consideration; and it was reasonable to adhere to them at all times.

(4.) Marcus says must be done 'considerately.'

The christians took up their principles upon consideration. When they first embraced them they could not but see that, as the world then stood, the making a profession of them was very likely to expose them to many sufferings. And therefore, when[i] they first resolved upon christianity, they must have resolved to adhere to it whatever it should cost them. By this means they were always ready to die, upon mature consideration, whenever the spite of their ignorant and prejudiced neighbours worked so far against them. And a constant readiness for a violent death, in a good cause, is the most glorious fortitude that can be imagined in a human creature.

(5.) He says it should be done 'gravely, without tragical exclamations.'

Upon this Le Clerc well observes, that 'it[k] is not a little 'strange that a stoic, whose writings are full of affectation,

[h] ———Τοιαυτα τινα λεγει· Εαν μεντοι γε κελευοι τις, ει τυχοι, θρησκευοντα Θεον η ασεβειν, η αλλο τι αισχρον ειπειν, ȣδαμη ȣδαμως πιστευτεον, αλλα προ τȣτων πασαις βασανοις εγκαρτερητεον, και παντας θανατȣς ὑπομενητεον, πριν τι ανοσιον περι Θεȣ, μη οτι γε ειπειν, αλλα μελετησαι. Celsus ap. Orig. Contra Cels. l. 8. p. 421. al. num. 66.

[i] Nos quidem neque expavescimus, neque pertimescimus ea quæ ab ignorantibus patimur; cum ad hanc sectam utique susceptâ conditione ejus pacti venerimus, ut etiam animas nostras auctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea, quæ Deus repromittit, consequi optantes, et ea, quæ diversæ vitæ comminatur, pati timentes, Tertull. ad Scap. cap. i.

[k] Verum et hoc mirum est, hominem Stoïcum, et cujus liber plenus est exaggerationibus vere tragicis, hoc est, tumidis et fictis, exprobare christianis, quod ατραγωδως non morerentur. Atqui nihil illi exaggerabant, cum vitam Deo repetenti, potius quam ab eo deficerent, libenter reddendam profitebantur.———Si qui, quod interdum factum negare nolim, credulitate suppliciorum, propinquitate mortis, speque proximæ beatitatis, extra se rapti, quædam proferebant, quæ supra vulgi Ethnici captum erant, an tribuenda hæc sunt παραταξει, obstinationi, vel perturbationi? Imo eo aut vitio, aut adfectu, vel maxime laborabant, qui innocentes excarnificatos occidebant, quod facere nollent, quæ illicita, et a Deo improbari, pro certo statuebant. Cleric. ib. ann. 165. n. iv.

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'and are all over tragical, should blame the christians for 'not dying without tragical noise and exclamation.' If they then called upon God and Christ; if they then exhorted their brethren to constancy and perseverance; if they expressed a contempt of this world, and its fading enjoyments; if they spake in sublime strains of the felicities of the world to come; in a word, if they triumphed in death, as some of them did, there is nothing in it absurd or unreasonable; nothing but what is truly admirable: the heathen people around them wanted nothing to make them sensible of it but a better knowledge of the christian principles; such as a persuasion of the boundless power and goodness of the one God, Creator of all, and a well-grounded expectation of eternal life.

(6.) And lastly, Marcus says, 'it should be done so as to persuade another.'

This alone, if there were nothing else, would be sufficient to satisfy us that Marcus was influenced by prejudice in his judgment concerning the christians. It has been often said, and very truly, that[l] the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. And some early believers have themselves assured us, that[m] they were led to inquire into the principles of the christians when they observed their manner of dying; and that this was the first means of their own conversion. The like is often testified by[n] christian writers, who lived when the followers of Jesus were in suffering circumstances, and martyrdoms were frequent. But if there were nothing of this kind in the remains of ancient christian authors, since there continued to be christians in the world, and they suffered in every age, and were not extinguished, but remained and increased, as heathen writers themselves

[l] Nec quidquam tamen proficit exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra. Illecebra magis est sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis christianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50.

[m] *Και γαρ αυτος εγω, τοις Πλατωνος χαιρων διδαγμασι, διαβαλλομενης ακεων Χριστιανης, ορων δε αφοβης προς θανατον, και παντα τα αλλα νομιζομενα φοβερα, ενενοεν αδυνατον ειναι εν κακια και φληδονια ὑπαρχειν αυτης.* Justin. M. ap. 2. p. 50. a. al. p. 96. num. 12.

[n] Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in fortuitis—Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? Ubi accessit, pati exoptat? Tertull. ap. cap. 50.

Nec tamen deficiet hæc secta, quam tunc magis ædificari scias, cum cædi videtur. Quisquis enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus, et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in causâ: et ubi cognoverit veritatem, et ipse statim sequitur. Ad Scap. cap. ult. Vid. et Lact. l. 5. c. 13. et alibi.

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acknowledge; we may depend upon it that many did die so as to persuade others; their brethren were animated to patience and courage by their example; and unbelievers were awakened, and excited to serious examination, till they were convinced and converted.

As I have gone along, I have transcribed in the margin several remarks upon this passage of Marcus Antoninus from Le Clerc's Ecclesiastical History. I would also refer to[o] Mr. Mosheim, in whom likewise divers just observations may be seen upon the same.

But perhaps it will be said that the christians gave cause for these censures by their too great forwardness, and by offering themselves to death.

To which I would answer. First, Instances of this kind were not very common, and they were disliked and condemned by the wiser sort. Some such instances there were during the persecution in Asia when Polycarp suffered. They[p] are particularly mentioned, and censured in the epistle of the church of Smyrna, which gives an account of the martyrs in that city. And[q] St. Cyprian, in his last letter to his people at Carthage, in the persecution of Valerian, in the year 258, exhorts them to a quiet and peaceable behaviour, but not to offer themselves to the magistrates; forasmuch as the Lord had not required it of us; but to confess his name when called upon so to do. And he reminds them that this had always been his doctrine. Secondly, There could be no instances of this kind but in times of persecution, and when there were magistrates who were disposed to inflict death upon men as christians. Thirdly, The most remarkable instances of this kind happened when the persecution was violent. So it was in the case[r] before taken notice of by us. When Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, furiously persecuted the christians in that country, a great number of them, in some city where he was, came before his tribunal, telling him he might do with them as he pleased, for they were not afraid to die. In like manner Scapula, proconsul of Africa, persecuted the christians with great severity. Some[s] he ordered to be burnt alive;

[o] De Reb. Christianorum, sec. ii. p. 245, 246.

[p] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. p. 129, 130.

[q] Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplinâ, quam de mandatis dominicis a me semper accepistis,—quietem et tranquillitatem tenete: ne quisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum de fratribus moveat, aut ultro se Gentilibus offerat. Apprehensus enim et traditus loqui debet: siquidem in nobis Dominus positus illâ horâ loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam profiteri. Ep. 81. al. 83. p. 239. Oxon.

[r] See p. 57.

[s] Pro tantâ innocentiâ, pro tantâ probitate, pro justitiâ, pro pudicitia, pro

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though that was a punishment seldom inflicted even upon traitors, or the worst of criminals. Upon that occasion Tertullian[t] puts him in mind of the forementioned conduct of the christians in Asia: and, the more to alarm him, tells him the like might happen again, and at Carthage itself. And what would you do, says he, if you should see the christians of that place present themselves in a body before your tribunal? What would you do with so many thousands of each sex, of every age, of every condition, and some of the most honourable persons of the city, some of them your friends, or friends and relations of your friends and counsellors?

After all, it must be acknowledged that the christians'[u] readiness to die, and their intrepidity in death, were sometimes perverted to their disadvantage. Nor do I think that the primitive christians were exempted from human frailty. Nevertheless I apprehend that the exceptions and reflections of this kind were chiefly owing to the prejudices and ignorance of misguided and sensual men, who minded little or nothing but the affairs of this present life; who did not consider the importance of religious truth, nor the great virtue and value of integrity, and a steady regard to the convictions of our own minds. So[v] says Lactantius. And Tertullian has spoken to this point excellently at the conclusion of his Apology. He[w] mentions 'Mutius, Regulus,

fide, pro veritate, pro Deo, vivi cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot majestatis rei pati solent. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

[t] Vide tantum, ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos hæc non timere, sed ultro vocare. Arrius Antoninus in Asiâ cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis christiani ante tribunalia ejus se, manu factâ, obtulerunt.—Hoc si placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexûs, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est decimanda a te, cum propinquos, cum contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognoverit, cum viderit illic fortasse et tui ordinis viros et matronas, et principales quasque personas, et amicorum tuorum vel propinquos vel amicos. Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis: parce Carthagini, si non tibi. Ad Scap. cap. 5.

[u] Licet nunc sarmentitios ac semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur.—Propterea enim desperati, et perditi existimamur. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50. Vid. et Minuc. Fel. cap. 3. Lactant. l. 5. cap. 9. et Epit. cap. 54.

[v] Sed illi malitiâ et furore cœcantur, ne videant; stultosque arbitrantur esse, qui cum habeant in suâ potestate supplicia vitare, cruciari tamen, et emori malunt. Lact. l. 5. cap. 13.

[w] O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec presumptio perdita, nec persuasio desperata reputatur, in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodæ; cui tantum pro patriâ, pro imperio, pro amicitiâ pati permissum est, quantum pro Deo non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas defunditis, et imagines inscribitis—quantum de monimentis potestis scilicet, præstatis et ipsi quodam-

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'and others, whose resolution had been admired and applauded by the Greeks and Romans. And indeed,' says he, 'with you it is reputable to die for our country, for the commonwealth, for a friend; but to die for God and truth is reckoned reproachful and dishonourable.'

Certainly the first christians, who were men as we are, and had the same sensations with us, were not weary of life, nor did they desire death: but[x] as men engaged in a warfare, hazard their lives for the sake of victory, and the advantages of it; so the christians of those times, desirous to approve themselves to God, and hoping for the reward of eternal life, were ready, if required, to lay down their lives rather than deny Christ and the truths which they had received from him.

The corollaries to be drawn from this passage are several; but they will be all easily admitted after what has been already said.

1. At that time the christians were well known in the world. 2. The emperor Marcus was well acquainted with them, and had often heard of their sufferings. He knew that many christians had died in testimony to their principles, and as christians; and that the sufferings which they had undergone were in common estimation very grievous. 3. He knew, and here acknowledgeth, their resolution and steadiness in the profession of their principles for which they suffered death. This he calls obstinacy. 4. He had heard of their cheerfulness in death and in all the sufferings which they had met with. This he endeavours to disparage by comparing it to the declamations of tragedies. 5. He was also persuaded of their innocence, or freedom from promiscuous lewdness and other gross crimes in their assemblies, with which they were charged by some. If he had known and believed that they practised such things, he would have expressed himself very differently. 6. He despised and scorned the christians as a mean, illiterate, and unphilosophical set of men. 7. He was not at all inclined

modo mortuis resurrectionem: hanc qui veram a Deo sperat, si pro Deo patiatur, insanus est. Ap. cap. 50. p. 45.

[x] Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis; cum diligere debeatis, per quos patimini quod vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare, et periclitari sit necesse; tamen et prœliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in prœlio gaudet, qui de prœlio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur et prædam. Prœlium est nobis, quod provocemur ad tribunalia, ut illis sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi Deo, et prædam vivendi in æternum. Tertullian. Apol. c. 50. p. 44. B. C.

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to interpose in their behalf, either for preventing or for mitigating their sufferings. And hereafter we shall see that, when application was made to him by a governor for direction how to treat some men, who had been accused before him as christians, and were in his custody, this emperor sent orders that 'they should be put to death,' unless they renounced the christian doctrine. Once more, 8. I must beg leave to observe that we can hence infer, that the christian scriptures were as yet held in contempt by the wise and great men of this world. The books of the New Testament were all published and joined together in two codes or volumes, one called Gospels, the other Epistles, before Marcus Antoninus was born: and they were in the hands of great numbers of his subjects, and were highly prized, and diligently read and studied by them. But he had never read them, nor perhaps ever seen them. They might, possibly, be well known to some of the philosophers, his masters: but they knew how to be silent and to keep their disciple in ignorance about what they did not desire he should know. Hence this great man, in the midst of light, was in darkness: he had no just apprehensions concerning a life to come.

The christian religion, considering the difficulties it had met with, and that it contained no worldly allurements, had made great progress. But it was not yet the prevailing religion. The state of things in the world had still a resemblance with what it was in the time of St. Paul: 1 Cor. i. 22, and 26. "The Jews," says he, "require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." And, "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called." And Jesus himself, reflecting upon the success of his ministry after having preached the heavenly doctrine with unparalleled faithfulness and zeal, and observing that they were chiefly of the meaner rank with whom it had met with a ready acceptance, expressed his acquiescence in the event, and said: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth," 'I give glory to thee, 'cheerfully acquiescing in this dispensation of thy provi-'dence,' "that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.

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SECTION II.

OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN HIS TIME.

I. *A general account of the persecutions in the reign of this emperor.* II. *Large extracts out of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who, with twelve others, suffered in that city in the year* 167 *or* 168. III. *The history of the martyrs at Lyons, who suffered in the year* 177. IV. *Remarks and observations upon the foregoing history.*

I. I THINK it must be fit for me to take some particular notice of the treatment which the christians met with in the reign of this emperor, who by the ancients is always reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Eusebius[a] placeth the fourth persecution under him; as does also[b] Orosius, who follows him. Sulpicius,[c] thinking that the christians were persecuted by Adrian, reckons Marcus's the fifth persecution.

And learned moderns seem now to be fully convinced that Marcus was unfriendly to the christians. Says Dr. Jortin: 'As to[d] the emperor Marcus, with all his amiable 'and princely qualities, he did not love the christians, as 'appears from unquestionable authority, even his own book. 'The philosophers had probably contributed to set him 'against them. And his love of philosophy, and the re-'spect which he paid to the professors of it, was excessive, 'and indeed sometimes ridiculous.'

Tillemont says, 'There[e] were many instances of mildness 'in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, ex-'cepting against the christians, who the least deserved it.' And in another place, the same diligent writer, having put down some instances of this emperor's exactness in the rites

[a] Euseb. Chr. p. 169.

[b] Sed in diebus Parthici belli persecutiones christianorum, quartâ jam post Neronem vice, in Asiâ et Galliâ graves precepto ejus exstiterunt, multique sanctorum martyrio coronati sunt. Oros. l. 7. c. xv.

[c] Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exerceri prohibuit, 'injustum esse' pronuntians, 'ut quisquam sine crimine reus constitueretur.' Post Adrianum, Antonino Pio imperante, pax ecclesiis fuit. Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa, serius trans Alpes Dei religione susceptâ. Sul. Sev. Sacr. Hist. l. 2. cap. 46.

[d] Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. ii. p. 169. See also his Discourses, p. 57

[e] L'Emp. Max. Aurele. art. vii.

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of the established worship, adds: 'We[f] have taken notice 'of these things to show that we ought not to be surprised 'that a prince, reckoned so mild and equitable, should per-'secute the true religion, as we know he did.'

Pagi acknowledgeth the same. He says that[g] this emperor was not only averse to the christians, but persecuted them in the former part of his reign, as well as afterwards: and elsewhere[h] he observes how grievous the persecutions were in this reign, and the reasons of it.

Mosheim says that[i] in the time of no emperor after Nero the christians suffered more or greater calamities than under Marcus. And he ascribes[k] this emperor's ill-will toward the christians more to the instructions of the philosophers, and the hard-hearted philosophy which he had embraced, than to his superstition.

The Benedictine editors[l] of Justin Martyr, and other ancient Greek apologists, are likewise very sensible of this temper of Marcus. And I transcribe in the margin some of their observations, to be perused by such of my readers as are willing to cast their eyes downward.

This temper of Marcus, which, as before hinted, prevailed

[f] Ibid. art. ii.

[g] Ad hæc Marcus non solum a christianis alienus fuit, sed etiam sæpe in eos sæviit, et quidem prioribus imperii annis, quibus Lucilla Lucio Vero uxor data est. Ann. 161. n. xi.

[h] Vid. ann. 162. num. vi. et 163. num. ii. 177. n. iii. &c.

[i] Itaque nullo sub Imperatore post Neronem plures et graviores calamitates perpessi sunt christiani, quam sub Marco, quem cæteris omnibus meliorem et sapientiorem fuisse censent. De Reb. Christian. p. 246. Confer ejusdem Institutiones H. E. Sec. 2. P. i. c. 2. num. v. p. 74.

[k] Mala hæc Imperatoris in christianos voluntas unde prodierit, nusquam memoriæ proditam legitur: proclive vero conjectu est, a philosophis, quibus omnia dare solebat, inductum fuisse eum, ut christianos absurdos, rationis inopes, obstinatos, et vanos esse duceret; ideoque quum ex lege philosophiæ, quam profitebatur, justo durior esset, judicâsse, satius esse vecordes ejusmodi hominis delere, quam tolerare. Moshem. Ibid. p. 242. Vid. et p. 244, 245.

[l] Quo anno Romam reversus sit Justinus, statuere non possumus: minime dubium, quin et hac urbe commoratus sit, cum gravissima persecutio sub Marco Aurelio grassaretur. Non jusserat præstantissimus princeps vexari christianos. Sed, ut observat Athenagoras, [ap. num. 1.] dum injuriam ab eis non propulsat, dum nullam partem in eos derivat paternæ illius solicitudinis, quâ universos Imperii Romani cives tuebatur, omnibus inimicorum injuriis expositi fuere. Hæc agendi ratio in optimo imperatore summum odium declarat christianæ religionis. Nunquam enim suum de illis patrocinium clausisset, si quid de illis æqui sensisset. Sed plus apud eum et nefaria philosophorum consilia, et Romanorum cæremoniarum amor, quam avi et patris exempla, et insita omnibus justitiæ et æquitatis elementa, valuerunt. Cum ergo omni ope destituti essent christiani, gravissimæ in eos undique exortæ tempestates. Præf. P. 3. cap. viii. n. i. p. 92.———Tam inimica tempora non Antonini, qui illis favit, sed M. Aurelii imperium redolent, qui ne maximo quidem beneficio provocatus æquum se illis præbuit. Ib. n. iv. p. 94. m.

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in every part of his reign, has appeared to me the more strange, considering how favourable to the christians Adrian was, and also his predecessor Antoninus. Nor can we forbear to observe that Marcus must have been well acquainted with the conduct of his predecessor, and the reasons of it: for it was the custom of that good emperor Titus Antoninus, to determine nothing concerning the provinces, or any other affairs of the public, without first[m] consulting his friends, of[n] whom Marcus was one. Moreover during the whole time of his reign, Marcus lived in the same palace, and was almost constantly with him. As those two emperors were so intimate, and Marcus had so long experienced the favour of his predecessor and father Antoninus, it is truly somewhat strange that their temper and conduct toward the christians should have been so different.

One thing we plainly hence discern, that Marcus was not unacquainted with the christians. He must have often heard of them, and of their sufferings, and of the apologies made by them. The christians were well known to Adrian and to Antoninus the pious, his grandfather and father, and they had been favoured by them. Marcus therefore must have had good knowledge of them, and have been acquainted with their circumstances, many years before he came to the empire himself.

We have seen how learned men ascribe Marcus's aversion to the christians to his attachment to philosophy, and the rites of the established deities. Nor is that judgment formed without probability. Nevertheless I have observed a passage at the beginning of this emperor's meditations, which may perhaps deserve to be taken notice of here; 'From[o] 'Diognetus,' says he, 'I learned not to busy myself about 'vain things, nor to give credit to wonder-workers, and 'stories of incantations, and expelling dæmons, and such 'like things.'

Possibly Marcus applied the instructions of Diognetus to the history of our Saviour's miracles, and to the relations of some extraordinary works, said to have been done by christians; and he concluded the whole to be nothing but imposture. If so, he might admit of an aversion to the chris-

[m] Neque de provinciis, neque de ullis actibus quidquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos retulit. Atque ex eorum sententiâ formas constituit. Capitol in Vit. Ant. Pii, cap. 6.

[n] —tantumque apud eum valuit, ut nunquam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. Capit. in Vitâ M. Aurel. cap. 6.

[o] Παρα Διογνητυ, το ακενοσπυδον, και το απιστητικον τοις ὑπο των τερατευομενων, και γοητων περι επωδων και περι δαιμονων αποπομπης, και των τοιυτων λεγομενοις. De Reb. suis, l. i. sect. 6.

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tians in general, who often spoke of these things and relied much upon them.

I am indeed well satisfied that Marcus had never read, or looked into, the books of the New Testament. But if he could have been persuaded to read them, I think (provided he had in him any real goodness, and could have detached himself for a few moments from subjection to the philosophers) he would have admired the sublime morality of the gospels and the epistles; and then the miracles would have been distinguished from the pretensions of imposture, and would have been received by him as true and divine works, notwithstanding all the precautions of Diognetus: but that was not to be obtained. Marcus scorned every thing that was christian, their books as well as their persons, and looked upon all as void of merit.

But, whatever was the reason of it, we plainly perceive the christians to be under great discouragements during the reign of this emperor. In that period were published many apologies, as the second of Justin Martyr, the Apologies of Tatian, Athenagoras, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch. In this reign likewise, or at the beginning of that of Commodus, is to be placed the Apology of Miltiades. In this period were many martyrs; some of great distinction, as Justin, Polycarp, and the martyrs of Lyons, with their aged bishop Pothinus.

Justin, at the beginning of his second apology, presented in the early part of this reign, mentions Ptolemy, and two others, who had suffered martyrdom at Rome a short time before, by the order of Urbicus, præfect of the city, and speaks as if the persecution was general; and he suffered himself not long after in the year 166 or 167, if not sooner. 'Things[p] that have happened very lately, but a few days ago, 'in your city, and which are every where done in like manner by the presidents, without reason, have compelled me 'to make this address to you.' And he says that, 'every[q] 'where, if any Gentile was admonished or reproved for a 'fault, by a father, or a neighbour, or a child, or a friend, 'or a brother, or a husband, or a wife, he would presently 'have his reprover before a governor, who would be willing to inflict death upon him.'

[p] Και τα χθες δε και πρωην εν τη πολει ὑμων γενομενα επι Ουρβικυ, ὡ Ῥωμαιοι, και τα πανταχυ ὁμοως ὑπο των ἡγυμενων αλογως πραττομενα, εξηναγκασι με, κ. λ. Ap. 2. p. 41. al. num. i. p. 88.

[q] Πανταχυ γαρ, ὁς αν σωφρονιζηται ὑπο πατρος, η γειτονος, η τεκνυ, η φιλυ, η αδελφυ, η ανδρος, η γυναικος κατ' ελλειψεν—ὡς ων αρχοντας δαιμονιωντας φονευειν ἡμας παρασκευαζυσιν. Id. ib.

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Athenagoras[r] is supposed to have been an Athenian. His apology was presented to Marcus and Commodus jointly, and therefore not till near the end of Marcus's reign, in the year 177 or 178. He tells the emperors that 'all[s] other people experienced the benefit of their equitable government: but we christians,' says he, 'because no regard is had to us, nor any provision made for us, though we do no evil, and are in all things obedient to the Divine Being, and your government, are harassed and persecuted for the name only.——We therefore entreat you to take care of us, that we may no longer be put to death by sycophants.'

Athenagoras therefore does not speak of any edicts issued out against them, but only that they were neglected. They were accused by many, and put to death by the presidents, as christians, without any crime proved against them. And the emperor took no care of them, to protect them from the abuses of their enemies. However, though Athenagoras mentions not any new edicts against the christians, he supposeth that their sufferings were not unknown to the emperor, and that they had now for a long time been carried on with his connivance and permission.

In the same reign, about the year[t] 177, another apology was presented by Melito, bishop of Sardis or Sardes (for the name is frequently written in the plural number by the ancients.) The apology is lost: but Eusebius has preserved a large fragment of it in his Ecclesiastical History. I quoted a part of it[u] some while ago: I now take another paragraph,[v] which is remarkable for politeness, as well as upon other accounts.

'Pious men,'[w] says he, 'are now persecuted and harassed throughout all Asia by new decrees, which was never done before. And impudent sycophants, and such as covet the possessions of others, taking occasion from the

[r] See in this work, Vol ii. ch. xviii.

[s] Ἡμεις δε οἱ λεγομενοι χριστιανοι, ὁτι μη προνενοησθε και ἡμων, συγχωρειτε δε, μηδεν αδικουντας, ευσεβεστατα διακειμενους και δικαιοτατα προς τε το θειον και την ἡμετεραν βασιλειαν, ελαυνεσθαι και διωκεσθαι—και δεομεθα ὑμων και περι ἡμων τι σκεψασθαι, ὁπως παυσωμεθα ποτε ὑπο των συκοφαντων σφαττομενοι. Athen. Ap. p. 180.

[t] See in this work, Vol. ii. ch. xv.

[u] See before, p. 127.

[v] H. E. l. 4. cap. 26. p. 147.

[w] Το γαρ ουδε πωποτε γενομενον, νυν διωκεται το των θεοσεβων γενος κοινοις ελαυνομενοι δογμασι κατα την Ασιαν. Οἱ γαρ αναιδεις συκοφανται, και των αλλοτριων εραται, την εκ των διαταγματων εχοντες αφορμην, φανερως ληστευουσι, νυκτωρ και μεθημεραν διαρπαζοντες τους μηδεν αδικουντας—και ἡμεις ἡδεως φερομεν τουτοις θανατου το γερας—ει δε και παρα σου μη ειη ἡ βουλη αυτη, και το καινον τουτο διαταγμα, ο μηδε κατα βαρβαρων πρεπει πολεμιων, πολυ μαλλον δεομεθα σου, μη περιιδειν ημας εν τοιαυτῃ δημωδει λεηλασιᾳ. P. 147. B. C.

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'edicts, rob without fear or shame, and cease not to plun-
'der those who have offended in nothing.' And afterwards:
'If these things are done by your order, let them be
'thought to be well done. For it is not reasonable to be-
'lieve that a just emperor should ever decree what is un-
'just. And we shall cheerfully bear the reward of such a
'death. This request, however, we make to you, that you
'will first inform yourself concerning those who are engag-
'ed in this contention,' meaning the christians, 'and then
'judge whether they deserve death and punishment, or safe-
'ty and quiet. But if this resolution and new edict, which
'is not fit to be enacted against barbarians and enemies,
'proceeds not from you, [as we hope,] much more would we
'entreat you not to neglect us, and give us up to this pub-
'lic rapine.'

This paragraph is very observable. Melito seems to speak of new edicts against the christians throughout Asia. Nor is it easy to contest or evade this testimony of Melito. For it may be well supposed to be only owing to prudent caution that he expresseth a doubt whether the edict, to which he refers, came from the emperor or not. Tertullian indeed says that[x] Marcus published not any laws against the christians. But Tertullian did not know every thing that passed in the empire. There might be imperial edicts published in Gaul and Asia, which he was not acquainted with: Ruinart[y] reckons this passage of Melito a proof that there were then imperial edicts against the christians. As does also[z] Mosheim, whose observations upon this emperor's

[x] Quales leges istæ, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces—? Quas nullus Hadrianus, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Ap. c. 5.

[y] Imperialia vero edicta adversus christianos tunc temporis vulgata fuisse, testatur Melito Sardensis in apologià apud Eusebium. l. 4. c. 26. Ruinart. Præf. num. 40. p. 43.

[z] Neque satis videbatur Imperatori fræna laxare hostibus christianorum, quæ parens ejus injecerat. Addebat etiam edicta christianis inimica, per quæ voluntas deferendi et accusandi accendi poterat. Diserte Melito in Apologià apud Eusebium meminit 'novorum in christianos edictorum in Asià pervulga-'torum,' unde impudentissimi homines occasionem caperent palam diu noctuque grassendi. Et acerbissima fuerint hæc edicta necesse est.—Tertium ergo locum sapientissimus ille Imperatorum Marcus, Philosophus ille, cujus hodie sapientiam admirari non cessamus, post Neronem et Domitianum inter vere et proprie dictos christianorum persecutores meretur———Vellem hoc Marci edictum ad nos pervenisset———Quamquam in Melitonis loco inest aliquid, unde hujus generis atrox illud Marci edictum esset, conjecturam facere licet. Perhibet illa, 'impudentissimos et alienarum opum cupidos' delatores, lege Marci ad christianos diu noctuque invadendos invitari. Igitur habebat aliquid edictum hoc, quod spem ostendebat hominibus avaris et argenti cupidis ex alienis opibus suas augendi. Hoc posito, quod apertum est, credibile videri debet, imo prope certum, Imperatorem, præmio proposito, accusatores christi-

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conduct toward the christians I shall place below, to be considered by such as are pleased to attend to them: who also thinks he has discovered the severity of those new edicts to which Melito refers. He supposeth that the emperor sent an edict against the christians, appointing also that the accusers and prosecutors of the christians should be entitled to their possessions, as a recompense for their zeal against them.

I should rather think there was no occasion for any edict of the emperor to put christians to death. The case seems to me to have been this. Several, perhaps many, christians had been put to death in Asia at the importunity of the common people, and by virtue of Trajan's rescript. The Roman proconsul in Asia was at a loss how to dispose of the effects and estates of those sufferers: he therefore sent to the emperor for direction in this affair. The emperor wrote back that their goods and possessions should be given to the accusers and informers. This resolution or edict, Melito says, was such as was 'not fit to be enacted against enemies and 'barbarians.' And he says to the emperor, 'If this edict 'be yours, we will bear the reward of such a death:' [we will endeavour contentedly to bear the loss of our goods, with which others are rewarded for accusing us, and procuring our death.] For certain, such encouragements would make prosecutions frequent; and Melito might have reason to say, as he does at the beginning of the paragraph cited by us: 'Pious men are now persecuted and harassed 'throughout all Asia.'

II. I shall take no farther notice of apologies, but immediately proceed to the martyrdoms of this reign, I shall say nothing more than I have already done of Justin,[a] or other martyrs mentioned by him at the beginning of his second apology: but I shall give some account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and then a large account of the martyrs at Lyons. The reasons of my doing so will be manifest hereafter. They are a necessary part of the history of this renowned emperor; and the state of christianity in this early age will be much illustrated.

The time of the martyrdom of Polycarp has been disputed. I still think, as[b] formerly said, that he died in the year of our Lord 167 or 168. His[c] death is placed by Eusebius, and Jerom after him, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, in

anorum veluti evocâsse, atque illis bona et opes eorum, quos in judicio criminis cujusdam convicissent, addici jussisse. Mosh. De Reb. Christianor. &c. Sec. 2. sect. xv. p. 241, &c.

[a] See Vol. ii. ch. x.

[b] Ibid. ch. vi.

[c] Hieron. De V. J. cap. 17. Chron. p. 169.

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what they call the fourth persecution. Says Eusebius,[d] in his Ecclesiastical History, 'Antoninus, surnamed the pious, 'being dead, he was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, 'called also Antoninus, and Lucius Verus. At that time 'the persecutions being violent in Asia, Polycarp ended 'his days by martyrdom.' Whereby, I think, Eusebius intends to intimate that there were then persecutions in several places in Asia, and not at Smyrna only.

Some while after the death of Polycarp, the christians at Smyrna sent an account of it in a letter to the christians at Philadelphia, Philomelium, and other places, who had expressed a desire to have it from eye-witnesses. The letter is to this purpose: 'The[e] church of God which is at Smyrna 'to the church at Philomelium;' [or Philadelphia, in another copy;] 'and to all the congregations of the holy catholic 'church in every place; the mercy, and peace, and love of 'God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. 'We have written to you, brethren, concerning those who 'have suffered martyrdom, and particularly concerning the 'blessed Polycarp; who by his martyrdom as it were seal-'ed up and put an end to the persecution. After which,' says Eusebius, 'before they speak of Polycarp they relate 'the sufferings of the other martyrs, describing their con-'stancy under the torments which they endured; and how 'all who stood round them were astonished, seeing them 'scourged till their veins and arteries were laid bare, and 'even their entrails became visible; after which they were 'laid upon the shells of sea-fish, and upon sharp spikes, 'fixed in the ground, with many other kinds of torture: 'in the end they were cast to wild beasts to be devoured 'by them.' They are particular in the account of the gene-'rous Germanicus, who, being corroborated by the divine 'grace, overcame the fear of death implanted in the nature 'of men. For when the proconsul advised him to think of 'his youth, and to spare himself, and not throw away his 'life in his flourishing age, he was not at all moved there-'by. But, as they say, he enticed and stimulated the wild 'beasts to approach him, that he might be the sooner dis-'missed from this evil world. Presently after that glorious 'exit, the whole multitude cried out, "Away with the im-'pious. Let Polycarp be sought for." There following 'then a great noise and tumult, and having in view the wild 'beasts and other tortures, Quintus, a Phrygian, was inti-'midated, and gave way; as did also some others with him,

[d] H. E. l. 4. c. 14. fin. c. 15. in. p. 128.

[e] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 15. p. 128. &c.

'who without a truly religious fear had rashly presented 'themselves before the tribunal.——When the admirable 'Polycarp heard of the demand made for him, he was not 'at all disturbed, but continued to be in a firm and com-'posed temper of mind; and he resolved to stay in the city. 'Nevertheless, at length he so far complied with the request 'of his friends, as to retire to a country house not far off; 'where he abode with a small company, spending the time 'night and day in continual prayers to God, offering up 'supplications for the peace of the churches throughout the 'world: which indeed was his constant usage. Moreover, 'three days before his apprehension, having been at prayer, 'and falling asleep in the night time, he had a vision of the 'pillow under his head consumed by a flame of fire. When 'he awoke he related the vision to those about him, and 'letting them know that he thence concluded that for the 'testimony of Christ he should lose his life by fire. And 'when they, who were sent out to apprehend him, were 'using their best diligence to find him out, they say that 'for the love of the brethren he was constrained to remove 'again to another place. However, in a short time, his 'pursuers, by informations given them, were led to the place 'where Polycarp was. Coming thither in the evening, they 'found him resting in an upper room; whence it was not 'difficult for him to remove to another house; but he would 'not, saying: "The will of the Lord be done." He then 'went down to the men, and talked to them in a free and 'cheerful manner, and ordered meat to be set before them, 'begging that they would allow him the space of one hour, 'in which he might pray without disturbance. Prayer be-'ing ended, they set him upon an ass to carry him into the 'city. As they were going he was met by Herod the Ire-'narch, and his father Nicetas, who took him up into their 'chariot. As they sat together they endeavoured to per-'suade him, saying, "What harm is it to say, Lord Cæsar, 'and to sacrifice, and so to be safe?" At first he made no an-'swer: but, when they were importunate, he said, "I will 'never do what you advise." They then began to reproach 'him, and they thrust him out of the chariot so hastily, that 'in getting down his leg was bruised: but he got up and 'went on cheerfully, as if he had suffered no harm, till he 'came to the stadium. When he was brought before the 'tribunal there was a great shout of the multitude. As he 'came near, the proconsul[f] asked him if he was Polycarp.

[f] In the ancient Latin edition of this epistle, which may be seen in Ruinart, and elsewhere, the proconsul's name, near the end, is said to be Statius Qua-

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'Upon his confessing that he was, he endeavoured to per-
'suade him to deny Christ, and saying: "Reverence thy
'age," and other like things customary with them; "Swear
'by the fortune of Cæsar.——Repent. Say, Away with
'the impious." The governor still urging him, and say-
'ing: "Swear, and I will dismiss thee; reproach Christ,"
'Polycarp then answered: "Fourscore and six years have
'I served him, and he has never done me any injury. How
'can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The go-
'vernor was still urgent, saying: "Swear by the fortune of
'Cæsar." Whereupon Polycarp answered: "How can
'you desire this of me, as if you did not know who I am.
'Hear me then openly professing I am a christian. And if
'you have a mind to know the doctrine of christianity, ap-
'point me a day and I will inform you."—The proconsul
'said: "I have wild beasts, and I will cast you to them
'unless you change your mind." But he answered: "Call
'for them; there can be no alteration from good to bad:
'but it is good to change from vice to virtue." He said
'again to him: "Since you do not mind the beasts, I will
'order you to be consumed by fire, unless you repent."
'Polycarp said: "You threaten me with fire which burns
'for an hour, and then is extinguished; but you are igno-
'rant of the fire of the future judgment, and everlasting
'punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you de-
'lay? Appoint which you please." The proconsul then
'sent the cryer to make proclamation thrice in the midst of
'the stadium: "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a
'christian." That proclamation having being made by the
'cryer, the whole multitude of the Gentiles and Jews, in-
'habiting Smyrna, with furious rage, and in a loud voice,
'cried out: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the
'christians, the destroyer of our gods, who teacheth all men
'not to sacrifice, nor to worship them." Having uttered
'those words, they cried out, and requested Philip the
'Asiarch to let out a lion upon Polycarp. He said he could
'not do that, because the amphitheatrical shows of wild
'beasts were over. Then they cried out, with one consent,
'that Polycarp should be burnt alive. Which was no sooner
'said than done; all immediately joining together in bring-
'ing wood, and dried branches of trees, from the shops and
'the baths: the Jews also, according to their custom, assist-

dratus; who is mentioned by Aristides the sophist, as proconsul of Asia. And Valesius hence argues that Polycarp suffered in the seventh year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or the year of Christ 167.

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'ing with the greatest forwardness. When the pile was 'made ready, he unclothed himself, and untied his girdle, 'and endeavoured to pull off his shoes himself, which for a 'long time he had not done before; the faithful performing 'such offices for him, and that not only since he became 'grey-headed, but in a more early age: such was the vene-'ration in which he had been long held for the sanctity of 'his life! Now all things being prepared and put in order for 'the pile, when they were about to nail him to the stake, he 'said: "Let me be as I am. He that enables me to bear 'the fire, will enable me also to remain unmoved within the 'pile, without your fastening me with nails." They there-'fore did not nail him, but only bound him. He then offer-'ed up a prayer to God; which he concluded, saying aloud, 'Amen. Then the officers who had the charge of it, kin-'dled the fire. But Polycarp's body not being so soon 'consumed as expected, the people desired that the con-'fector should be called for, and run him through with a 'sword. The faithful were now very desirous to have his 'body delivered to them: but some there were who moved 'Nicetas, father of Herod, to go to the governor to prevent his 'giving the body to the believers, lest, as they said, they 'should leave him that was crucified, to worship this man. 'This they said at the suggestion of the Jews, who also dili-'gently watched us, that we might not carry off the body; 'little considering that we can never forsake Christ, who has 'suffered for the salvation of all men. Him we worship as 'the Son of God. The martyrs we love as the disciples and 'imitators of the Lord. The centurion therefore, perceiving 'the perverseness of the Jews, caused the body to be brought 'forth, and burnt it. We then gathered up his bones, and 'deposited them in a proper place. This is our account of 'the blessed Polycarp, who, with twelve others from Phila-'delphia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna:' or, according to another reading, 'who, together with those of Philadel-'phia, was the twelfth who suffered martyrdom at Smyrna.'

It may be here asked by some what was the death which Polycarp endured? I answer, he was burnt alive. Some who were cast to wild beasts were torn and mangled, but not killed out-right by them: their death was completed by the officer called confector, who thrust them through with a sword, or some other weapon with which he was armed. So it now was with Polycarp: he was burnt alive. But by some means it so happened that he lived a good while in the pile. For which reason it was determined

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that he should be despatched with a sword. Nor was there any exception made to that by the multitude: they even desired it to secure his death.

Thus died the excellent, the aged and venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

It is needless for me to make remarks which may be obvious to every reader. Polycarp, and the rest with him, suffered as christians. It does not appear that any crime, beside that of christianity, was proved or even imputed to them. Their innocence of great crimes, punishable by law, is manifest. If they had been known, or even suspected, to kill and eat children, and practise promiscuous lewdness in their worship, they would not have been readily discharged upon a bare verbal renunciation of their religion.

We must also be persuaded that the christians were now well known in the world: how much soever the great men of those times might affect to seem unacquainted with them, they knew them very well. It is not conceivable that an emperor, who has any the least concern for the welfare of his people, and the peace of society, should neglect to inform himself about what is done in great cities, and in their theatres or amphitheatres. Marcus, therefore, and his courtiers, and the philosophers about him, knew very well what had now happened at Smyrna in Asia. Nevertheless he took no pains to restrain the animosity of the people.

Let me say one thing more—that the steadiness of the christians might have induced Marcus and his courtiers to make inquiries after their scriptures, and the evidences of those principles which they so firmly believed, and by which they were supported under so grievous sufferings.

III. I shall be rather more particular in my account of the sufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, another instance of grievous persecution in the reign of the same emperor. Of the histories of their martyrdom, and of that of Polycarp as is well known, that great man, Joseph Scaliger, speaks with admiration: 'The[g] minds of pious and devout men,' says he, 'must be so affected with them, as never to be 'satiated with the reading of them. For my own part I

[g] Ea, et Polycarpi Martyrium, hodie exstant apud Eusebium in Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ, quæ sunt vetustissima Ecclesiæ Martyria, quorum lectione piorum animus ita afficitur, ut nunquam satur inde recedat. Quod quidem ita esse, unusquisque pro suo et conscientiæ modo sentire potest. Certe ego nihil unquam in historiâ ecclesiasticâ vidi, a cujus lectione commotior recedam, ut non amplius meus esse videar.' Idem sentimus de Actis Martyrum Lugdunensium et Viennensium apud eundem Eusebium, quibus quid augustius, quid venerabilius in antiquitatis monumentis? Jos. Scal. Animad. in Euseb. p. 221.

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'never met with any thing in ecclesiastical history by which 'I have been so transported as by these.'

I formerly said that[h] the history of the sufferings of the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons is the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity. The martyrdom, or passion, of Perpetua and Felicitas, who suffered near the beginning of the third century, in the time of the emperor Severus, is likewise affecting and curious in divers respects, as was also observed[i] formerly.

To relate this in the way of an extract would be to enervate what is in the highest degree affecting: and moreover, as before said, it is a necessary part of the history and character of this emperor. I therefore intend to transcribe Eusebius at length, word for word, for the most part: after which I shall add some remarks.

Says Eusebius, in his preface to the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History: 'At this time Eleutherus succeeded 'Soter in the see of Rome: and it was the seventeenth year 'of the emperor Antoninus; in which time the persecution 'against us raged with great violence in several parts of the 'world, through the enmity of the people in the cities. 'What[k] vast multitudes of martyrs there were throughout 'the whole empire may be concluded from what happened 'in one nation: which also have been committed to writing, 'that they may be delivered to others and may be always 'remembered. The whole history of these things has been 'inserted in our work, of the Collection of Martyrs, of which 'I here select a part.'[l]

Eusebius then goes on in[m] the first chapter of that book; 'The country in which those things happened, of which I 'am now to speak, is Gaul. In which are two great and 'famous cities, Lyons and Vienne, both washed by the river 'Rhone, which traverseth that country with a rapid stream. 'These famous churches sent in writing an account of their 'martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. I shall in-'sert their own words: "The servants of Jesus Christ, 'dwelling in Vienne and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia 'and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemp-'tion with us, peace and grace, and glory from God the

[h] Vol. ii. ch. xvi. [i] Vol. ii. ch. xl. [k] Μυριαδας μαρτυρων ανα την οικεμενην διαπρεψαι τοχασμω λαβειν ενεστιν, απο των καθ' ἑν εθνος συμβεβηκοτων. H. E. l. 5. Pr. p. 153.

[l] That the persecution at Lyons, of which Eusebius here speaks, happened in the seventeenth year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the year of Christ 177, was shown formerly. Vol. ii. ch. xvi.

[m] H. E. l. 5. c. i. p. 154, &c.

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'Father and Jesus Christ our Lord." After a few things 'said in the way of preface, they begin the narration in 'these words: "The greatness of the affliction in these 'places, and the excessive rage of the people against the 'saints, and what the blessed martyrs have endured, we are 'not able to describe in words, nor put down in writing: 'for the enemy at the very first invaded us with the greatest 'violence, showing from the beginning what sore evils we 'were to expect. Every thing was done to exercise his 'ministers, and to train them to the practice of the utmost 'cruelty against the servants of God. We were not only 'excluded from houses," [of friends, as it seems,] "and 'from the baths and the market, but we were forbidden to 'appear in any place whatever. However, the grace of 'God fought for us against the enemy; delivering such 'as were weak, and setting up the pillars, which were firm 'and stable, and able by their patience and fortitude to 'withstand all the force of the enemy. They therefore came 'to a near combat with him, undergoing all manner of re-'proach and suffering. Accounting the greatest afflictions 'to be small, they hastened to Christ; thus showing, in 'fact, that "the sufferings of this present time are not wor-'thy to be compared with the glory which shall be reveal-'ed in us:" Rom. viii. 18. First then they courageously 'endured the insults of the multitude gathered together 'about them in crowds, their shouts, and blows, and drag-'gings about, pillaging their goods, throwing of stones, 'confinement to their dwellings, and all such things as an 'enraged multitude is wont to practise against adversaries 'and enemies. Then, being brought into the market by 'the tribune and the chief magistrates of the city, they were 'examined before all the people: and, having made their 'confession, they were shut up in prison till the arrival of 'the[n] president. Afterwards, when they were brought be-'fore the president, who exercised all manner of cruelty 'against us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, full of

[n] The name of the president is no where mentioned in this epistle; but Valesius thinks he was Severus, afterwards emperor; and he thinks he was not proconsul, but the emperor's legate, or lieutenant; forasmuch as Spartian says he governed the province of Lyons in that quality. Deinde Lugdunensem provinciam legatus accepit. De Severo, c. 4. I shall add, that Dion Cassius also mentions his government at Lyons. *Και εν Λεγδενῳ αρχοντι—προσηλθε.* Dion. p. 1243. Reimar. And Fr. Balduinus was of the same opinion. Interea, dum hæc Romæ exercerentur, Lugdunensem provinciam legatus regebat Septimius Severus.—Non dubium est, quæ tunc illic de christianis sumpta supplicia esse dicuntur, hujus Severi imperio irrogata fuisse. Edict. Princ. Rom. de christianis. p. 97.

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'love toward God and his neighbour, whose course of life 'also was so perfect that, though a young man, he might 'deserve the character of old Zacharias, Luke i. 6. "that 'he walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the 'Lord blameless:" and was unwearied in the performance 'of all good offices to his neighbour, being full of zeal for 'God, and "fervent in spirit:" Rom. xii. 11: he being 'such a one, was not able to bear these so unjust proceed-'ings against us; but, being moved with indignation, re-'quested that he might be allowed to make a defence in 'behalf of the brethren, and show that nothing impious and 'irreligious was done by us. But they who were near the 'tribunal cried out against him, (for he was a person well 'known,) and the president refused to grant his request, 'though so reasonable, and asked him whether he was a 'christian. He, answering with a loud voice that he was 'a christian, was put into the number[o] of the martyrs, and 'was called the advocate of the christians. And indeed he 'had within him the advocate, the Holy Ghost, in a greater 'measure than Zacharias: Luke i. 67. Which he also 'showed by the abundance of his love, being willing to lay 'down his own life in defence of the brethren: 1 John iii. '16. For he was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, "fol-'lowing the Lamb whithersoever he goeth:" Rev. xiv. 4. 'After this, others were chosen out; and they proved to be 'illustrious and well-prepared proto-martyrs; who with all 'alacrity of mind accomplished the solemn confession of 'martyrdom. They also were manifest who were unprepar-'ed, and unexercised, and still weak, and not able to bear 'the shock of so great a combat; of whom about ten in 'number fell away, causing in us great grief and un-'measurable concern, and damping the alacrity of those who 'were not yet apprehended. Of whom however it must be 'acknowledged that they kept company with the martyrs, 'and did not forsake them though they suffered considerably 'in so doing. At that time we were all in great consterna-'tion, being uncertain about the event of this confession: 'not dreading the torments that might be inflicted upon us, 'but apprehensive of the issue, and that some might fall in 'the trial. However, from day to day such were taken up 'as were worthy to supply the number of such as had gone 'off: so that the most eminent men of the two churches, 'and by whom good order had been settled among us, were 'picked out and brought together. Moreover, some Gen-

[o] So confessors are called in this, and many other ancient writings, about the same time.

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'tile servants of our people were apprehended. For the 'governor had given public orders for making strict in-'quiries after us. They, at the instigation of Satan, and 'dreading the torments which they saw the saints suffer, the 'soldiers also exciting them to it, falsely charged us[p] with 'having the suppers of Thyestes, and the incestuous mix-'tures of Œdipus, and other such like things, which it is 'not lawful for us to mention, nor to think of, nor to believe 'that they were ever done among men. These stories being 'spread abroad, all men were incensed against us: inso-'much, that if any there were who before had been civil to 'us, upon account of affinity or friendship, they were then 'much offended, and exclaimed against us. And then was 'fulfilled what the Lord had said, John xvi. 2; "that the 'time would come when every one who killeth you will 'think that he doth God service:" [or, offers to God a sa-'crifice.] After that the holy martyrs underwent such tor-'ments as are above all description; Satan doing his 'utmost to make them also to say such impious things:" '[or to confess what had been declared by the heathen ser-'vants.] But the utmost excess of rage of the multitude, 'and of the president, and of the soldiers, fell upon Sanctus, 'deacon at Vienne; and upon Maturus, newly baptized in-'deed, yet a most valiant champion, and upon Attalus, a na-'tive of Pergamus, who always was a pillar and support of 'the churches here; and upon Blandina, by whom Christ 'showed that those things which among men seem mean, 'base, and contemptible, are by God accounted worthy of 'great honour, for their love toward him, which is evidently 'manifested in great power, and not in appearance only 'boasted of: 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; 2 Cor. v. 12. For when we 'were all in pain for her, and especially her mistress ac-'cording to the flesh, Eph. vi. 5, (who likewise was one of 'the champions among the martyrs,) lest, upon account of 'the infirmity of her body, she should not be able to make 'an open confession, she was furnished with such strength, 'that they, who by turns tortured her all manner of ways 'from morning to evening, became feeble and faint, and 'acknowledged themselves overcome, there being nothing 'more that they could do to her. And they wondered that 'she had any breath left, her whole body having been torn

[p] Thyestes, as is said, ate part of his own son, whom his brother Atreus, to be revenged on him for committing adultery with his wife, had killed, and then dressed, and set before him at an entertainment.—Œdipus, as the story is, married his mother Jocasta, not knowing her to be so, and had children by her.

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'and mangled; and declaring that any one kind of torture, 'used by them, was sufficient to deprive her of life, much 'more so many and so great. But that blessed woman and 'renowned champion renewed her strength in the midst of 'her confession: 2 Cor. iv. 16. And it was a refreshment 'and ease to her, and an abatement of the torments inflicted 'upon her, to say, "I am a christian: nor is there any 'wickedness practised among us." Sanctus likewise, hav-'ing in a most extraordinary manner, and beyond all hu-'man power, courageously undergone all the tortures they 'could invent, the wicked wretches hoping, by the continu-'ance and greatness of their tortures, to extort from him 'somewhat unbecoming,' [a confession of unbecoming prac-'tices among the christians] 'he withstood them with such 'resolution that he would not tell them his own name, nor his 'country, nor the city whence he was, nor whether he was 'a slave or a freeman. But to all their interrogatories he 'answered in the Roman tongue: "I am a christian;" that 'was what he declared again and again, instead of his name, 'and city, and country: nor did the Gentiles hear any other 'word from him. Upon which account the rage both of the 'president and the tormentors was very great. And when 'there was nothing more that they could do unto him, they 'at last clapt red hot plates of brass upon the most tender 'parts of his body, and his members were burnt: yet he 'stood firm, without yielding at all, and continued stedfast 'and unshaken in his confession; bedewed and strength-'ened with the heavenly living water which flowed out of 'the belly of Christ: John vii. 38. His body showed what 'had been done, being all over wound and scar, contracted 'and drawn together, having lost the external shape of a 'man. In whom Christ suffering, performed great wonders, 'defeating the enemy, and demonstrating, for an example 'to others, that nothing is formidable where there is the 'love of the Father, nor any thing painful where the glory 'of Christ is concerned. For when those wicked men, a 'few days after, began again to torture the martyr, suppos-'ing that if they should make use of the same tortures 'whilst his body was swelled, and his wounds inflamed, 'they should master him, since he could not endure to be 'touched by the hand; or that he would die under the tor-'ments, which might strike terror into others; not only no 'such thing happened to him, but contrary to the opinion 'of all men, his body became erect by means of those re-'peated tortures, and he recovered his former shape, and 'the use of his limbs: so that, by the grace of Christ, the

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'second torture became a remedy instead of a punishment. 'Moreover, the devil caused one Biblias to be brought out, 'being one of those who had denied the faith, and whom he 'considered as already devoured by him: but was desirous 'to accumulate her guilt by compelling her to utter re-'proachful things against us. And indeed she had shown 'herself weak and timorous: but now in the midst of her 'torture she recovered herself, and awaked as it were out of 'a profound sleep, being by these torments, which are but for 'a time, reminded of the everlasting torments of hell. She 'then contradicted the slanderous reports concerning us, 'saying: "How should they eat infants to whom it is not 'lawful to eat the blood of brute animals!" And thencefor-'ward she confessed herself a christian, and was added to 'the number of the martyrs. But when these tyrannical 'measures were rendered ineffectual by Christ, through the 'patience of those blessed men, the devil tried other de-'vice: such as imprisonment in dark and noisome dunge-'ons; putting the feet into stocks and straining them to the 'fifth hole; and such other pains as enraged ministers, and 'full of the devil, inflict upon those who are shut up in pri-'son: so that many were suffocated in their confinement, 'even as many as it was the will of the Lord should go out 'of the world in that manner, thereby showing forth his 'glory. But some others, who had been grievously tor-'tured, so that it was thought they could not live, though 'the best methods of cure had been afforded them, continu-'ed to live in prison; deprived indeed of the help of men, 'but corroborated by the Lord, and strengthened both in 'body and mind; who also animated and comforted the 'rest: whilst others who were but young, and were newly 'apprehended, whose bodies were not accustomed to hard-'ships, were not able to bear the inconvenience of confine-'ment, and expired in the prison. But the blessed Pothi-'nus, who was intrusted with the administration of the epis-'copal office at Lyons, being more than ninety years of age, 'and very weak in body, and scarcely breathing by reason 'of his bodily infirmity, but strengthened in mind with a 'desire of the martyrdom now in view, even he also was 'dragged to the tribunal. His body was worn out by age 'and distemper; but his soul yet remained in him, that by 'it Christ might triumph. He being brought before the 'tribunal by the soldiers, the city magistrates also attend-'ing, and the multitude hooting him all along with loud 'shouts, as if he had been Christ himself, exhibited a good 'testimony. Being asked by the president, "who was the

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'God of the christians," he answered: "If you are worthy, 'you shall know." After that he was dragged about in an 'inhuman manner, and received many blows; they who 'were near striking him with their hands and feet, without 'any respect to his age; they who stood farther off threw 'at him whatever came to hand: every one thinking him-'self guilty of an offence against religion, if he did not offer 'him some abuse: for thereby they thought they should 'avenge their gods. And when there was scarcely any 'breath left in him, he was cast into prison, where after two 'days he expired.

'And now appeared a wonderful dispensation of divine 'providence, and the boundless mercy of Jesus Christ. It 'was a rare instance indeed in the brotherhood, but not be-'yond the power or wisdom of Christ; for they who, at 'their first being apprehended, had denied the faith, were 'also shut up in prison, and partook of the same sufferings 'with others; for their denial was of no benefit to them at 'that time. They who confessed that they really were, 'were imprisoned as christians, no other crime being laid to 'their charge; but these were confined as murderers and 'malefactors, and therefore underwent a double punishment: 'for the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the promised happi-'ness, and the Spirit of the Father comforted those; but the 'conscience of the others was a torment to them, insomuch 'that, in their passage from the prison to the tribunal, the 'difference of their countenances was manifest to all. The 'others appeared cheerful, having in their countenances a 'mixture of gravity and pleasantness. Their fetters gave 'them grace and comeliness, "like a bride adorned with 'tresses of gold, wrought with divers colours," (Psal. xlv. '10—15,) having also a sweet savour of Christ, so that 'some thought they were anointed with terrestrial oint-'ment. The others appeared dejected and dispirited, 'and covered all over with deformity. And, moreover, 'they were reproached by the Gentiles as unmanly and 'mean-spirited; having brought upon themselves the ac-'cusation of being murderers, and lost the honourable 'and glorious and reviving appellation [of christians]. 'When the rest beheld these things, they were established. 'And if after this any were apprehended, they presently, 'without any doubt or hesitation, confessed, not admit-'ting the least thought of a diabolical suggestion. Hav-'ing here interposed some things,' says Eusebius, 'they 'go on. Henceforward the martyrdoms were divided into 'all sorts: for, having platted one crown of different co-

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'lours, they offered it to the Father: and indeed it was fit 'that these generous champions, who had sustained various 'combats, and had gloriously overcome, should receive a 'glorious and incorruptible crown. Maturus then, and 'Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus, were brought to the 'wild beasts in the amphitheatre, to be a public spectacle 'to the inhumanity of the Gentiles: a day for combats of 'wild beasts having been purposely granted upon our ac- 'count. And Maturus and Sanctus did again undergo all 'sorts of torments in the amphitheatre, as if they had before 'suffered nothing at all. Or rather, having already over- 'come the adversary in many encounters, and being now 'to contend for the crown itself, they again endured in the 'way to it the accustomed blows of the place, and the 'tearings of wild beasts, and whatever else the mad mul- 'titude from all sides called for and demanded: and after 'all these things the iron chair, upon which, when their 'bodies were broiled, they yielded the offensive smell of 'burnt flesh. Nor were they yet satisfied, but were still 'more enraged, being earnestly desirous to overcome the 'patience of the sufferer. However, they could get no- 'thing from Sanctus more than the confession which he had 'made at the first. These two therefore, (Maturus and 'Sanctus,) having undergone a severe combat, their life 'having continued a long while, they were at last slain, 'having been made throughout that day "a spectacle to the 'world," instead of all that variety which is usually exhibit- 'ed in the combats of gladiators (1 Cor. iv. 9). But Blan- 'dina, having been hung upon a stake, was left for a prey 'to wild beasts which were let out upon her. And, as she 'seemed to hang upon a cross, and prayed to God earnestly, 'she infused great alacrity into the combatants, they seeing 'with their own eyes, in the person of their sister, him who 'was crucified for us, that he might persuade all who be- 'lieve in him that all who suffer for his glory shall have 'everlasting communion with the living God. None of the 'wild beasts touching her at that time, she was taken down 'from the stake, and sent again to prison, being reserved for 'another combat; that having overcome in many encounters, 'she might render the condemnation of the crooked serpent 'inexcusable (Is. xxvii. 1); and that she might be an en- 'couragement to the brethren, when she, who was of little 'account, infirm, and despicable, being clothed with the 'great and invincible champion, having often overcome the 'enemy, obtained an incorruptible crown of glory, (1 Cor. 'ix. 25). Now Attalus was earnestly called for by the

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'multitude: for indeed he was an eminent person, and by 'reason of the clearness of his conscience came forth as a 'champion prepared for the combat; for he was well exer-'cised in the christian discipline, and was always a witness 'of the truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre 'with a board carried before him, upon which was inscribed 'in the Roman tongue: This is Attalus, the christian; the 'people all the while expressing great indignation against 'him. The president, understanding that he was a Roman, 'commanded him to be taken away, and to be carried to the 'rest who were in prison; concerning whom he had sent to 'Cæsar, and was in expectation of an answer. That inter-'val of time was not idly spent, nor unprofitable to them; 'but through their patience the boundless mercy of Christ 'was manifested. By the living the dead members of the 'church were revived. The martyrs obtained favour for 'those who were no martyrs. And there was great joy to the 'virgin mother, when she received those alive which had 'been cast out as dead. For by the holy martyrs many of 'those who had denied the faith were "formed again in the 'womb, and had their vital heat rekindled in them, and 'learned to confess themselves christians; (Gal. iv. 19), 'and having recovered life and strength, came before the 'tribunal, that they might be again interrogated by the pre-'sident. And God, who desireth not the death of a sinner, 'being propitious to them, put into them a better disposi-'tion: (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) The rescript of Cæsar was, 'That[q] they who confessed Christ should[r] be put to death; 'but that if any denied themselves to be christians they 'might be set at liberty. The public assembly of this 'place being now begun, at which there is a vast concourse 'of people from all parts, the president ordered the blessed 'martyrs to be brought before the tribunal, exposing them 'as a public show to the multitude. Having again inter-'rogated them, as many as were found to be Roman citi-'zens he ordered to be beheaded; the rest he sent to the 'wild beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified in those 'who before had denied the faith; but now, contrary to the 'expectation of the Gentiles, confessed themselves to be 'christians. They were interrogated apart, as being now to 'be dismissed, and set at liberty; but, making confession, 'they were added to the number of the martyrs. However,

[q] Επιστειλαντος γαρ τυ Καισαρος, τυς μεν αποτυμπανισθηναι· ει δε τινες αρνοιντο, τυτυς απολυθηναι. p. 162. D.

[r] 'Should be put to death.' Ut confitentes quidem gladio cæderentur. Vales. And see his notes, and Gataker. Miscell. cap. 46. p. 912.

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'they remained without, who never had the principle of 'faith, nor a regard to the wedding garment, not having the 'fear of God in them, but were sons of perdition, and by 'their conversation had caused the way of truth to be blas-'phemed: all the rest were added to the church. And, 'when the question was put to them, Alexander, a Phrygi-'an by nation, and by profession a physician, who had lived 'in Gaul many years, and was known to almost all men for 'his love of God and boldness in preaching the word, en-'couraged them: for he was not destitute of apostolic grace. 'He, standing near the tribunal, and by nods encouraging 'them to confess the faith, appeared to those, who stood round 'about the tribunal, as if he endured the pangs of child-'birth. But the multitude being greatly incensed that they, 'who before had denied the faith, should now be admitted 'to make confession, cried out against Alexander as the oc-'casion of it. Whereupon the president caused him to be 'set before him, and asked him who he was. He confessed 'himself to be a christian, the president in a great rage con-'demned him to the wild beasts. The day following he 'came into the amphitheatre, together with Attalus: for the 'president,[a] to gratify the people, delivered up Attalus again 'to the wild beasts. Which two having undergone all the 'instruments of torture in the amphitheatre, which were 'invented to torment them, and having endured a great 'combat, were run through with a sword. Alexander nei-'ther sighed, nor said any thing at all, but in his heart con-'versed with God. Attalus, when he was set in the iron 'chair, and was scorched all over, and an offensive stench of 'burnt flesh proceeded from his body, spake to the multi-'tude in the Roman tongue:—This, says he, is to devour 'men, which is your practice. As for us, we neither devour 'men, nor do we commit any other wickedness whatever.— 'Being asked what is the name of God, he answered: God 'has not a name as men have. After all these, on the last 'day of the shows, Blandina was again brought in with a 'young man named Ponticus, about fifteen years of age; 'who also had been every day successively brought in to 'see the sufferings of the others. Now they were required 'to swear by their idols; but, as they remained firm, and 'set their gods at nought, the multitude was greatly incens-'ed against them, so that they had no compassion on the 'age of the young man, nor any respect for the sex of the 'other; but exposed them to all manner of sufferings, and

[a] Και γαρ τον Ατταλον, τῳ οχλῳ χαριζομενος, ὁ ἡγεμων εξεδωκε παλιν προς θηρια. p. 163. C.

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'made them go through the whole circle of tortures, at 'times calling out to them to swear, without being able to 'effect it. For Ponticus, animated and established by his 'sister, as the Gentiles also perceived, after having cou- 'rageously endured every kind of torment, expired. But 'the blessed Blandina, the last of all, having, like a good 'mother, encouraged her children, and sent them before her 'victors to the king; after having again measured over the 'same course of combats that her sons had passed through; 'hastened to them, rejoicing and exulting at her departure, 'as if she had been invited to a wedding supper, and not 'cast to wild beasts. After she had been scourged, after 'she had been exposed to wild beasts, and after the iron 'chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull: 'having been often tossed by the beast (though she was all 'the while insensible, by reason of hope, and a firm assent 'to what she believed, and familiarly conversing with 'Christ,) she also was run through with a sword. The 'Gentiles themselves acknowledged that there never had 'been any woman among them who had undergone so 'many and so great sufferings: nevertheless, their cruel 'rage against the saints was not yet satiated.—Their abuses 'began again in a new and peculiar manner against the 'bodies of the saints. They were not ashamed that they 'had been vanquished by them. And, as if destitute of 'human reason and understanding, their rage was farther 'inflamed: and the governor, and the people, like a wild 'beast, manifested a like degree of hatred against us, that 'the scripture might be fulfilled which saith, Rev. xxii. 11, '"He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he that is 'righteous let him be righteous still." Those who had been 'suffocated in prison they cast to the dogs, carefully watch- 'ing them day and night, lest any of us should inter them. 'Then they laid out the remainders of the bodies left un- 'consumed by the fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, and 'the heads of the rest, with the trunks of their bodies: all 'these they kept unburied with a guard of soldiers many 'days. Some were filled with indignation, and gnashed 'with their teeth at the dead, as if desirous to be farther 'revenged upon them. Some insulted over them and de- 'rided them, at the same time extolling their idols, and 'attributing to them the punishment that had been inflicted 'on the martyrs. Some, who were more mild, and seemed 'in some measure to sympathize with us, nevertheless up- 'braided us, saying: Where is their God? and of what be- 'nefit has their religion been to them, which they have

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'preferred above their lives? In the mean time we were 'greatly concerned that we could not bury the bodies in 'the earth: for neither did the darkness of the night afford 'us any assistance, nor would money persuade, nor entrea-'ties prevail; but they continued to watch the bodies very 'carefully, as if some great matter were to be gained by 'their not being buried.' After interposing here some things, says Eusebius, they proceed. 'The bodies there-'fore of the martyrs having undergone all manner of igno-'miny, and having laid exposed in the air six days, were 'burnt: and, having been reduced to ashes by those impi-'ous men, were by them thrown into the river Rhone, which 'runs hard by, that no remains of them might be any longer 'visible on this earth. Thus they acted, as if they could 'be too hard for God, and prevent their reviviscence; or, 'as themselves said, that they might have no hope of a re-'surrection: trusting[t] to which they have brought in among 'us a strange and new religion, and, despising the heaviest 'sufferings, are ready to meet death with cheerfulness. Let 'us now see whether they will rise again, and whether their 'God is able to help them, and to deliver them out of our 'hands.'

'Such things,' adds Eusebius, at the beginning of the next chapter, 'befel these churches of Christ in the reign of the 'forementioned emperor; whence it may be reasonably con-'cluded what happened in the other provinces.'

By which we are led to believe that Eusebius supposed there was a general persecution of the christians throughout the Roman empire at that time.

Eusebius goes on, and I shall continue to transcribe him; hoping that my readers may not be unwilling to admit of some prolixity upon this occasion.

'But,' says [u] Eusebius, in the words next following, 'it 'may be worth the while to take somewhat more from that 'epistle, wherein the meekness and humanity of the fore-'mentioned martyrs is described, and in these words: 'Who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ, 'who, being in the form of God, did not covet to appear 'like God; Phil. ii. 6: that though they were in so great 'glory, having suffered as martyrs, not once only, or twice, 'but often; although they had been tossed by wild beasts, 'and then committed again to prison; although they had 'the marks of fire and scars and wounds all over them, they 'did not declare themselves to be martyrs, nor allow us to

[t] ——εφ' ᾧ πεποιθοτες, ξενην τινα και καινην ἡμιν εισαγουσι θρησκειαν. p. 165. D.

[u] Ib. cap. 2. p. 166

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'call them by that name. But if at any time any one of us, 'either in a letter, or in discourse, termed them martyrs, 'they reproved us sharply. But they readily ascribed the 'honour of martyrdom to Christ,—the faithful and true wit-'ness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of 'the life of God; Rev. i. 5. They also commemorated the 'martyrs who were already departed out of this life, and said '—These now are martyrs whom Christ has vouchsafed to 'take to himself in the midst of their confession, sealing 'their martyrdom by their death; we are mean and hum-'ble confessors. And with tears they besought the bre-'thren, entreating that earnest prayers might be made for 'them that they might be perfected. And they demon-'strated the power of martyrdom in fact, using great free-'dom of speech in all their answers to the Gentiles, and 'manifesting[v] a greatness of mind in their patience, fear-'lessness, and undaunted courage under all their sufferings. 'But they refused the appellation of martyrs from the 'brethren, being filled with the fear of God. Again, after 'some few things, they say:—They humbled themselves 'under the mighty hand, by which they are now exalted; '1 Pet. v. 6: they apologized for themselves to all, but ac-'cused none. They loosed all, but they bound none. 'They prayed for those who grievously treated them, as did 'Stephen the perfect martyr: Lord, lay not this sin to their 'charge; Acts vii. 60. And if he prayed for those who 'stoned him, how much more for the brethren? And again, 'after a few other things, they say: for that was the great-'est encounter which they had with the enemy, proceeding 'from their genuine love. And the beast being strangled 'brought up again alive those whom before he supposed he 'had digested. They did not proudly glory over those that 'fell. On such as were indigent they bestowed those good 'things with which themselves abounded: having motherly 'bowels of compassion, they poured out many tears for 'them to the Father: They asked life, and he gave it them; 'Psal. xxi. 4; which also they imparted to their neighbour: 'and, having been in all things conquerors, they went to 'God. They always loved peace, they always recommend-'ed peace, and in peace they went to God: leaving no grief 'to their mother, nor contention and war among the bre-'thren, but joy and peace and concord and love.'

Eusebius still goes on in another chapter, which I shall likewise here transcribe.

[v] ———*και την ευγενειαν δια της ὑπομονης και αφοβιας, και ατρομιας φανεραν εποιειν.* p. 166. D.

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'Moreover,' says[w] he, 'in the same epistle there is another 'thing well deserving to be taken notice of. It is to this 'purpose: "For Alcibiades, one of the martyrs, who led 'a very austere course of life, and hitherto had fed upon 'bread and water only, and still observing the same course 'of life in prison; it was revealed to Attalus, after his first 'combat in the amphitheatre, that Alcibiades did not do 'well in not using the creatures of God, and was an occa-'sion of scandal to others; 1 Tim. iv. 4: and Alcibiades 'submitted, and after that partook of all sorts of food pro-'miscuously, and gave God thanks." For,' adds Eusebius, 'they were not destitute of the grace of God, but the Holy 'Spirit was their director.'

IV. I shall now make some remarks.

1. The fierceness of the persecution at Lyons must have continued for some good while, several months at least. This must be manifest to all, so that I need not add any thing to show it.

2. Here is a proof of the great progress of the christian religion in a short time. There were now two churches in that part of Gaul; one at Lyons, the other at Vienne. Pothinus, bishop of the church of Lyons, was a venerable man, of great age. The number of christians in those two places must have been very considerable. There were among them men of distinction for their knowledge and understanding. Attalus, and divers others, were Roman citizens. Alexander was by profession a physician. There were among them men of substance, who had a number of slaves, some of which were heathens, others christians, one of whom was the admirable Blandina.

As it may be of use to cast some light upon this remarkable story, and upon the epistle which we have just seen, I shall now transcribe some[x] observations of Valesius: 'Here 'ariseth,' saith he, 'a twofold question. The first is, Why 'was this epistle written jointly by the two churches of 'Vienne and Lyons? The other is, Why these Gauls wrote 'in Greek, and to the churches of Asia and Phrygia? As 'for the first, I suppose the reason to be, that the churches 'of Vienne and Lyons were joined together, not only by 'vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual love. 'And since they had suffered together in the same persecu-'tion, they joined together in an account of their martyrs. 'And both the provinces seem to have been under the ju-'risdiction of one and the same president; for these rea-'sons they joined together in this account. For whereas

[w] Ib. cap. 3. p. 167. [x] Annot. in Euseb. p. 85, 86.

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'some have supposed that there was but one bishop only of 'these two cities, they are confuted by the epistle itself, 'which calls Pothinus bishop of Lyons, not of Vienne. 'Moreover, they of Lyons out of respect name those of 'Vienne first: forasmuch as they of Lyons wrote the epistle, 'and gave an account of what was done in their own city. 'As for the second question, we perceive from the epistle 'itself that there were many Greeks in the church of Lyons. 'Attalus and Alexander were Phrygians: and Alcibiades 'also, as I suppose, came from Phrygia. Irenæus likewise 'was born in Asia, and when young, conversed with Poly-'carp. The name of Pothinus denotes it to be of Greek 'original. It is no wonder therefore that they, who came 'into Gaul from Asia, should write to their brethren in 'Asia; from whom also, as may be supposed, they had be-'fore received an epistle concerning the death of Polycarp 'and others.' So writes Valesius.

Sulpicius Severus, referring to this persecution, says, 'And[y] now first of all martyrdoms were seen in Gaul.' It is manifest that there were now two churches, one at Vienne, another at Lyons; though the bishop of the former city is not expressly named. These words are very remarkable: 'However,[z] from day to day such were taken up as were 'worthy to supply the number of such as had gone off. So 'that the most eminent men of the two churches, by whom 'good order had been settled among us, were picked out 'and brought together.' We cannot hence conclude when conversions were first made in this country: but we can hence reasonably infer that these two churches had been for some while in a flourishing condition; and that the eminent men, who had been the authors of the good order among them, were still living, and several of them 'now suffered 'martyrdom.'

And we have reason to believe that though these two societies underwent a severe shock at this time, they were not shattered or broken to pieces. They may have recovered themselves and flourished again. For Irenæus, who was now[a] presbyter, succeeded Pothinus in the episcopate, and lived and wrote with great reputation after[b] this. His large and excellent work against heresies in five books is a work

[y] Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa; serius trans Alpes Dei religione susceptâ. Sul. Sev. l. 2. cap. 46.

[z] ——ωστε συλλεγηναι εκ των δυο εκκλησιων παντας τους σπουδαιους, και δι' ων μαλιστα συνεστηκει τα ενθαδε. p. 156. C.

[a] Euseb. l. 5. cap. iv.

[b] See in this work, Vol. i. p. 363, &c.

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of leisure, and must have been written in a time of peace and tranquillity.

3. The sufferings which the christians now underwent were various and very grievous; they need not to be here particularly rehearsed. We might have been apt to think that the accounts of the christians' sufferings, which we meet with in Lactantius, and other ancient apologists, are oratorical exaggeration. But here is an authentic account of eye-witnesses and fellow-sufferers which assures us that it is all matter of fact.

Such things may be thought to be a reflection upon the Roman government. But we are to consider that the Romans, and many other people at that time, were accustomed to the inhuman spectacles of gladiators, and that excessive cruelty was then practised upon many occasions. Since which time the farther progress of the christian religion has in a great degree corrected and mollified the tempers of men in this part of the world. We ought likewise to consider that the sufferers, whose history we have been reading, were christians, whom many then thought to be the most contemptible of all men, and not entitled to the common rights of the human kind.

The excessive and repeated sufferings of Blandina were very extraordinary: but she was a slave, and therefore despised. And in the eye of prejudiced idolaters the provocation was very great, that she, a woman, and a slave, should withstand all attempts to induce her to pay homage to their deities.

Attalus was a Roman citizen, and should have been beheaded; but being a christian this privilege was not allowed. The multitude demanded that he should be tortured, and thrown to wild beasts; and the president granted their request, relying undoubtedly upon impunity, though he acted contrary to law. Such was the hard condition of the christians at that time!

The persecution at Lyons was very severe. The tortures made use of were grievous and various, and the sufferers were numerous. By the edict of Trajan, such christians as were brought before a governor's tribunal, and were convicted, were to be punished. 'But they are not to be 'sought for,' says that emperor. But 'the[c] president at 'Lyons issued out public orders, that strict searches should 'be made for them.'

4. The sufferings of these Christians in Gaul cannot but

[c] ——*επει δημοσιᾳ εκελευσιν ὁ ἡγεμων αναζητεισθαι παντας ἡμας.* p. 156 D.

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be[d] a disparagement to the emperor Marcus Antoninus. He could not be unacquainted with them, though he had not been applied to about them. But he was applied to. The governor wrote to him for direction. And he wrote back that 'they who confess themselves christians should be put to death; but that they who denied it might be set at liberty.' Certainly Marcus deserves to be put in the number of persecuting emperors. If he had only connived at the sufferings, (as he may have done in some places,) that would not exculpate him, when he might have restrained and forbid them by his imperial authority. But here is a rescript, with an order that all who, upon examination, confessed themselves to be christians, 'should be put to death.' And such rescripts may have been sent by him to other governors, and to other provinces.

Some may think that[e] this emperor was hardened by the principles of his sect. Nevertheless, I think that will not fully account for his cruel treatment of the christians: it was owing to want of equity to them; and he was a bigot to his religion, as well as to his philosophy; and he had been so from his childhood; for he could show tenderness enough for some men. As Tillemont said some while[f] ago: 'there were many instances of mildness in the reign of this 'emperor, and very few of severity, excepting against the 'christians, who the least deserved it.'

However, it must be owned that[g] the beginning of this persecution at Lyons was not owing to any new edicts, or to any express orders from the emperor; for when the president perceived that Attalus was a Roman citizen, he sent him back to those who were in prison, and wrote to the emperor for directions how to act toward those prisoners; and he deferred to proceed any farther till he had received an answer from him; which answer was such as we have just taken notice of. Indeed the persecutions in many places were very much owing to the clamours of the common peo-

[d] Hic finis suppliciorum in Lugdunensi provinciâ fuit, quæ mirum est Marci Aurelii temporibus de innocentibus potuisse sumi eâ tantum de causâ, quod Ethnicorum sacra suscipere nollent.—Hæc ergo erit macula, quæ boni alias viri vitæ inusta, infamem eum, crudelis superstitionis causâ, omnibus seculis faciet, et philosophiæ Stoïcæ contemtum merito creabit. Cleric. H. E. ann. 167. n. xv.

[e] Igitur tragice christianos mori, non philosophice, censebat. Hinc etiam malis, quibus afficiebatur, parum movebatur, imo ex præscripto sectæ, cui parebat, moveri nullo modo debebat. Moshem. ubi supra. p. 246.

[f] See before, p. 144.

[g] Inde collige, hanc persecutionem sine novis Imperatorum edictis motam esse. Ruinart. Acta Mart. sincera. p. 67.

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ple. So Eusebius, as we may remember, says in the preface to his fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, and to his account of the persecutions in this reign; 'At[h] which 'time,' says he, 'the persecution against us raged with 'great violence in several parts of the world, through the 'enmity (or instigation) of the people.'

5. I presume it may be hence apparent that the emperor and the governor at Lyons were persuaded of the innocence of the christians; or that they were not guilty of the crimes sometimes imputed to them by the credulous, ignorant, and spiteful vulgar. If they had believed that the christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, and that they killed and ate little children, they would not so readily have set at liberty all who renounced christianity: which we see they did, or were willing to do. And with great regret they saw any who had once renounced christianity return to the profession of it. It is manifest that they envied them the honour of it. Moreover, we plainly see, throughout this narrative, that they who suffered, suffered as christians. When Vettius Epagathus would have apologized for them, the governor refused to grant his request: and, upon his owning himself a christian, he committed him to prison with this character, 'The advocate of the christians.' The title carried before Attalus was: 'This is Attalus, the christian.' Other things might be added to show that the contest between the accusers and the accused was of a religious kind. Pothinus was asked by the governor, 'who was the God of 'the christians.' And Attalus was asked, 'what was God's 'name.' When Blandina and Ponticus were brought in, they were required to swear by the heathen deities. And under their tortures they were again and again called upon to swear: that was all that was wanted; and they not complying, neither the governor, nor the multitude, had any compassion upon them. When the executions were over, the heathens insulted the bodies of the martyrs, and ascribed the victory, which they had obtained, to their deities. And they did all they could to defeat the hope of a resurrection, as knowing it to be a principle that had greatly contributed to the resolution and fortitude of the christians under all the sufferings which they had seen them endure.

6. The fortitude of the christians at Lyons was truly admirable and heroical. The sufferings set before them were very grievous. But neither death itself, nor all the preceding tortures inflicted upon them, could terrify them, or in-

[h] ———*αναρριπισθεντος τυ καθ' ἡμων δωγμυ εξ επιθεσεως των κατα τας πολεις δημων*—p. 153.

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duce them to depart from their stedfastness. The number[i] of these patient sufferers was very great. Many were suffocated in prison, none of whom are expressly mentioned by name, beside Pothinus. The mistress of Blandina was among the confessors or martyrs, but her name is not mentioned. Several Roman citizens were beheaded, as is expressly said in the narrative; but none of their names are mentioned. Attalus was a Roman citizen; but he had not the privilege of the city allowed him. Moreover, among the remains of the dead were heads and trunks of bodies, which must have been the remains of Roman citizens, no others having been put to death by separating the head from the body. Some gave way: but a great part of these afterwards recovered themselves, and made a right confession, in defiance of the sufferings by which they had been once terrified, and which they might now again justly expect: the rest were all along stedfast in their confession; and these were by much the majority of such as were publicly examined at the governor's tribunal.

The testimony of these men is very valuable: they are not such witnesses as the apostles, and others, who were eye-witnesses of Christ and his miracles; but they lived at a time when the evidences of the truth of the christian religion might be easily traced to the first original. Irenæus, now a presbyter in the church of Lyons, afterwards bishop of the same church, in his younger days was[k] well acquainted with Polycarp, disciple of St. John. Pothinus, now bishop of Lyons, who was older than Irenæus, and now suffered martyrdom when he was ninety years of age, may be well supposed to have been acquainted with some of the first succession of bishops, or christians, next after that of the apostles.

All these martyrs must have been firmly persuaded of the truth and divine original of the christian religion, and all the principles of it. They had embraced it upon the ground of such evidence as appeared to them sufficient and satisfactory: and, as their enemies themselves saw and acknowledged, 'they preferred their religion above their lives.' They believed, as they supposed upon good ground, that Jesus Christ was a divine teacher sent from God. They were, in particular, firmly persuaded of the truth of his doctrine concerning future rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked, and were thereby engaged to the

[i] ——*ιδιᾳ μεν των αποτμησει κεφαλης τετελειωμενων· ιδιαν δε των θηρσιν ωσβοραν παραβεβλημενων· και αυθις των επι της ειρκτης κεκοιμημενων.* Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 168.

[k] See Vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 94.

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sincere profession of the truth and the abhorrence of falsehood. Their knowledge of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and their respect for them, are manifest from their frequent allusions to them, or quotations of[l] them.

7. They seem to have had among them gifts of the Spirit. Eusebius says, 'they were not destitute of the grace of God, 'and the Holy Ghost was their director.' Of Alexander, the writers of this epistle say, 'he was known to almost all 'men for his boldness in preaching the word; for he was 'not destitute of apostolic grace.' They likewise say of Attalus, 'that after his first combat it was revealed to him 'that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the creatures 'of God; and Alcibiades acquiesced, and thenceforward 'partook of all sorts of food promiscuously.' And it may deserve to be considered that Attalus was a Roman citizen, and not a mean person. To me those expressions likewise appear remarkable, where they say of these confessors: 'They 'demonstrated in fact the power of martyrdom, using great 'freedom of speech in all their answers to the Gentiles, and 'manifesting a greatness of mind in their patience, fear-'lessness, and undaunted courage, under all their suffer-'ings.' Certainly the christian sufferers had the presence of God with them. All men around them were adversaries; but God did not forsake them; he strengthened and supported them.

8. Finally, by the example of these patient and victorious confessors and martyrs, let us be animated and encouraged to steadiness in the cause of truth; humbly depending upon God, and earnestly praying that we may have strength from above, equal to the trials which we may meet with: for it is better to suffer for truth and virtue, though we should be put into the iron chair with Attalus, or be hung upon a stake like Blandina, than to be a persecuting judge upon a tribunal, or a persecuting emperor upon a throne.

What is above was intended for the conclusion of this article: but some may be of opinion that, to my own thoughts upon this subject, I ought to add the observations of that fine writer, and good christian, Mr. Joseph Addison: 'Under this[m] head,' says he, 'I cannot omit that which 'appears to me a standing miracle in the three first cen-'turies; I mean, that amazing and supernatural courage or 'patience which was shown by innumerable multitudes of 'martyrs, in those slow and painful torments that were in-'flicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the

[l] Their testimony to the scriptures makes a distinct chapter, Vol. ii. ch. xvi. [m] Addison of the Christian Religion, sect. vii. num. iv. p. 314.

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'burning iron chair at Lyons, amidst the insults and mock-
'eries of a crowded amphitheatre, and still keeping his seat:
'or stretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and
'breathing out his soul among the exquisite sufferings of
'such a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion,
'or blaspheme his Saviour. Such trials seem to me above
'the strength of human nature, and able to overbear duty,
'reason, faith, conviction, nay, and the most absolute cer-
'tainty of a future state. Humanity, unassisted in an extra-
'ordinary manner, must have shaken off the present pressure,
'and have delivered itself out of such a dreadful distress
'by any means that could have been suggested to it. We
'can easily imagine that many persons, in so good a cause,
'might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the stake,
'or the block; but to expire leisurely among the most ex-
'quisite tortures, when they might come out of them, even
'by a mental reservation, or an hypocrisy, which is not
'without the possibility of being followed by repentance
'and forgiveness, has something in it so far beyond the
'force and natural strength of mortals, that one cannot but
'think that there was some miraculous power to support the
'sufferer.' So Mr. Addison.

SECTION III.

A REMARKABLE DELIVERANCE OF THIS EMPEROR IN HIS WARS IN GERMANY, AND THE HISTORY OF THE THUNDERING LEGION CONSIDERED.

I. *A general account of the deliverance obtained by Marcus Antoninus in Germany, in the year* 174. II. *The account given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, where that deliverance is ascribed to the prayers of a legion of christians in the emperor's army.* III. *Observations upon that history.* IV. *A summary of the argument.*

I. THERE is yet one thing more relating to this emperor, which must be taken notice of. If, upon enquiry, it should appear to be of small importance, some may be of opinion that it might have been passed by in silence, or but slightly mentioned. On the other hand, since some have judged it to be of great moment, and there have been many controversies about it, in which learned men of great eminence on each side have been engaged, it may be justly supposed to deserve particular consideration.

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When Marcus Antoninus was engaged in a difficult war with the Quadi, a people in Germany,[a] in the fourteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 174, he was reduced to great straits, his army being in want of water. Whilst they were in that distress, there came a very seasonable and plentiful shower of rain, which refreshed him and his soldiers, and he obtained a victory over his enemies. This deliverance has been thought by many to have been miraculous, owing to the prayers of the christians, who were in the Roman army. And it has been supposed that thereupon the emperor wrote a letter to the senate which was very favourable to the christians.

II. I shall begin with reciting what Eusebius says of this matter in his Ecclesiastical History.

'It[b] is said, that when Marcus Aurelius had drawn out 'his forces against the Germans and Sarmatians, his army 'was brought into a great strait by reason of drought, so 'that he knew not what course to take: that the soldiers of 'the legion, called the Melitenian Legion, which still sub-'sists as a reward of their faith, when the armies were going 'to engage, falling down to the earth upon their knees, ac-'cording to our usual custom in prayer, offered up requests 'to God: that the enemies were greatly surprised at that 'wonderful sight; and that, as is[c] said, there soon after fol-'lowed a thing more wonderful, a violent lightning, which 'put the enemies to flight, and destroyed them; and also a 'shower, which fell upon that army which had prayed to 'God, and refreshed it when they were all ready to perish 'with thirst. This is related by such writers as are far 'from embracing our religion, but were concerned to record 'the events of those times: it is also related by our authors. 'By other writers who were averse to our religion the[d] 'wonderful event is recorded: but they do not acknow-'ledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people: but 'by our authors, who were lovers of truth, what happened 'is related in a plain and ingenuous manner. One of them 'is Apollinarius, who says, that from that time the legion, by 'whose prayers that wonderful deliverance was obtained, 'was by the emperor's order called[e] in the Roman lan-'guage, the Thunderbolt Legion, a name suited to the event. 'Tertullian is another witness worthy of credit; who in his

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 174. n. ii. Basnag. 174. n. i. &c. et Cleric. Hist. Ec. ann. 174.
[b] ——— λογος εχει. κ. λ. H. E. l. 5. c. 5. p. 169. &c.
[c] ——— αλλο τι λογος εχει. p. 169. B.
[d] ——— τεθειται μεν το παραδοξον. p. 169. C.
[e] ——— κερανυοβολον τῃ Ῥωμαιων επικληθεισαν φωνῃ. p. 169. D.

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'apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate in 'the Latin tongue, (of which we also before made mention,) 'strongly confirms the truth of this history; saying, that 'there is still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Mar-'cus, in which he testifies that, when his army was in great 'danger of perishing in Germany for want of water, it was 'saved by the prayers of the christians. He likewise says 'that the same emperor threatened the punishment of death 'to such as should accuse them. But[f] of these things let 'every one judge as he sees fit. We now proceed in the 'course of our history to other matters.'

III. I now intend to make some observations for clearing up this history.

Obs. 1. It seems that Eusebius did not rely upon the truth of this history. For, as we have seen, he begins the account in this manner: 'It is said.' And in the end he leaves every one to judge of it as he sees good. A like observation has been already made by[g] divers learned men.

Obs. 2. Eusebius quotes Apollinarius, as saying that, by Marcus's order, there was a legion called the thundering, or thunderbolt legion, in memory of the wonderful event here spoken of. But[h] he does not quote the words of Apollinarius, nor name the book in which he said it. And, moreover, it has been observed by learned men of late times that[i]

[f] Αλλα ταυτα μεν ὁπῃ τις εθελῳ τιθεσθω. Μετιωμεν δε ἡμεις επι την των ἑξης απολυθιαν. Ib. p. 170. A. B.

[g] Sed et verba, quibus totam hanc narrationem concludit, satis indicant, ipsum de veritate rei dubitâsse. Sic enim ait: Αλλα ταυτα μεν ὁπῃ τις εθελῳ τιθεσθω. Id est, sed de his quisque pro abitrio suo judicet. Vales. in loc. p. 93.

Equidem, si certum fuisset, et a legione christianorum advocatum fuisse imbrem, et Marcum hoc scripsisse senatui, nunquam narrationi suæ colophonem ejusmodi imposuisset Eusebius: 'Sed de his quisque pro suo arbitratu statuat: indicio, Eusebium ipsum eâ de traditione dubitâsse, etsi Tertulliani verba immutârit, omisso forte adverbio, quod habet Tertullianus. Basnag. ann. 174. n. viii.

[h] Qui et in eo peccat, quod Apollinaris locum non protulit, nec librum ipsum, in quo hæc Apollinaris scripserat, indicavit. Vales. ib. Le premier de ceux qu' Eusèbe allégue sur ce sujet est S. Apollinaire Evêque d'Hiéraple, dont le temoignage est d'autant plus authentique, qu'il vivoit au même temps que ce miracle arriva. Mais il seroit à souhaiter, qu' Eusèbe nous eût rapporté ses propres paroles. Tillem. L' Emp. M. Aurele. art. xvi.

[i] Jamdudum monuit Scaliger in Animadversionibus Eusebianis, legionem fulminatricem ab hoc miraculo cognominatam non fuisse, quippe quæ diu ante tempora M. Antonini ita vocata fuerit. Docet id manifeste Dio Cassius in libro 55, ubi legiones omnes enumerat. Vetus quoque inscriptio, a Scaligero probata, id ipsum confirmat. Quamobrem de ipso quidem miraculo pluviæ a christianis militibus impetratæ, et Apollinari et Tertulliano testantibus, facile credimus legionem vero Melitinam ob id fulminatricem esse dictam a M. Antonino Imp. nondum mihi persuasit Apollinaris. Dicet fortasse aliquis, fulmi-

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there had been a legion with that denomination long before the times of Marcus Antoninus.

Obs. 3. Eusebius calls it the Melitenian legion, or the legion of Melitene, *τον δε επι της Μελιτινης ουτω καλουμενης λεγεωνος στατιωτας.* If there was any legion so called, it is likely that it had its denomination from Melitene in Cappadocia, where the soldiers, of which it was composed, had been enlisted, or where it had resided. And it appears from writers of good authority,[k] that the twelfth legion, called the thunderbolt legion, was sometimes quartered in Cappadocia. However, Valesius denies that[l] there was any legion called the Melitenian legion.

Obs. 4. Eusebius seems to have supposed that the legion, of which he speaks, consisted chiefly, or entirely, of christians; whereas it is not easy to think so of any legion at that time. There[m] may have been christian soldiers in Marcus's army: but it is altogether improbable that there should then have been an entire legion of christians, or near it.

Obs. 5. Eusebius quotes Tertullian as of great weight in this matter. 'Tertullian,' says he, 'is another witness 'worthy of credit: who, in his apology for our faith, ad-'dressed to the Roman senate in the Latin tongue, strongly 'confirms the truth of this history, saying that there is still 'extant the letter of that worthy emperor Marcus, in which 'he testifies that when his army was in great danger of 'perishing in Germany, for want of water, it was saved by 'the prayers of the christians————'

Now I shall transcribe below[n] the passage of Tertullian from his Apology, in his own words.

natricem quidem legionem fuisse ante tempora M. Antonini, sed Marcum ob acceptum a Melitinâ legione beneficium, ei quoque fulminatricis cognonem indidisse. Verum, si ita esset, secunda fulminatrix dici debuerat. Dio tamen nullam ejus mentionem facit, quamvis omnes legiones a superioribus principibus conscriptas accurate recenseat. Vales. ib.

[k] *Και το δωδεκατον το εν Καππαδοκιᾳ, το κεραυνοφορον.* Dio Cass. l. 55. p. 564. al. 795. Vid. ibid. Annotata a Reimaro. Et conf. Gruter. p. cxciii. 3.

[l] Itaque quod de Legione Melitinâ tradit Eusebius, parum mihi probabile videtur. Adde quod Rufinus hoc legionis nomen consulto, ut arbitror, prætermissit; quippe qui nôsset, Melitinam nomen esse oppidi minoris Armeniæ, in quo legio 12 fulminea, adhuc suâ ætate prætenderet. Vales. ib. p. 92. et conf. Basn. ann. 174. n. v.

[m] Cæterum, ut ingenue dicam quod sentio, parum mihi probabile videtur, totam legionem militum Romanorum eo tempore christianam fuisse; quod tamen affirmare videtur Eusebius. Vales. ut supr.

[n] At nos e contrario edimus protectorem. Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requitantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjectâ etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Ap. cap. 5. p. 6. D.

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In English they are to this purpose: 'Nero and Domitian 'have been our enemies. But among good emperors we 'can allege a patron. If the epistle of that worthy emperor 'Marcus Aurelius be sought for, it will perhaps be seen 'that he ascribes his deliverance from a great drought in 'the German war to the prayers of christian soldiers.' I shall put below also[o] the account which we find in Eusebius's Chronicle, as we have it in Jerom's Latin translation. And now it will be proper to make some remarks upon what we have just seen.

(1.) Hence it seems that Eusebius chiefly relied upon Tertullian for the truth of this relation. He quotes him with the character of an author of good credit. He also mentions the name of his work, whereas he omits the title of the work of Apollinarius, to which he refers.

(2.) Eusebius never saw any letter of the emperor in which he ascribed his deliverance in Germany to the prayers of christian soldiers. If he had met with it, he would have inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History. So[p] says the great Joseph Scaliger.

(3.) Nor had Tertullian seen any such letter. He does not say that he had seen it. And in the Latin original of Tertullian's Apology, and also as cited in the Latin edition of Eusebius's Chronicle, there is an unlucky *forte*, or 'perhaps:' wherein he seems to express a doubt whether the emperor did in his letter to the senate expressly acknowledge that his deliverance in a time of great drought was owing to the prayers of christians—quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. This does not appear in Eusebius's Greek translation of Tertullian, which he inserts in his Ecclesiastical History—εν αις αυτος μαρτυρει—ταις των χριστιανων ευχαις σεσωσθαι. Possibly some may think that we ought not to lay much stress upon this observation. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that if this *forte*, 'perhaps,'

[o] Imperator Antoninus multis adversum se nascentibus bellis sæpe ipse intererat, sæpe duces nobilissimos destinabat; in quibus semel Pertinaci, et exercitui, qui cum eo in Quadorum regione pugnabat, siti oppresso, pluvia divinitus missa est; quum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina persequerentur, et plurimos eorum interficerunt. Exstant literæ M. Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussum contestatur. Euseb. Chron. p. 170.

[p] Non igitur illam epistolam vidit, [Orosius,] non magis quam Tertullianus. Quinetiam ea non exstabat tempore Eusebii. Eam enim Græce a se conversam in suâ Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ posuisset, quæ est ejus diligentia, nulla ejusmodi prætermittere, ne Latina quidem, quæ ipse convertere solet, ut multa ex Tertulliano. Scal. in Euseb. p. 222. fin.

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has no meaning, it comes in here very unhappily. Nor am I the first who have mentioned it. Basnage[q] also supposeth it a proof that neither Tertullian, nor Jerom, who so allegeth it in the Chronicle, had seen the emperor's letter.

Before I proceed any farther, it may be observed that, in his book to Scapula, Tertullian speaks again of this matter, where he says: 'And[r] Marcus Aurelius in a German war, 'where he was in danger by a great drought, obtained rain 'by the prayers which the christian soldiers offered to God.' But here he says nothing of the emperor's letter.

We now proceed to some other observations.

Obs. 6. There is little notice taken of this event in the most ancient christian writers.

It would be without reason for any to allege here so late writers as[s] Nicephorus Callisti, and Zonaras.[t] I now intend early writers of the second, third, and fourth century. If indeed Marcus Antoninus had obtained a signal deliverance in a hazardous war, and had acknowledged the benefit to be owing to the christian soldiers in his army, we might expect to see particular notice taken of it in christian apologies, and other writings of christian authors, published not long afterwards. I allow that there is a reference to this story in one[u] of Gregory Nyssen's homilies, near the end of the fourth century. But[v] I think that if an heathen emperor, and his

[q] Si Marci literæ exstitissent de impetrato a christianis imbre, vix ac ne vix quidem magnum Eusebium in conquirendis ejusmodi monumentis diligentiam effugissent. Atqui in has literas christianorum nemo est qui se conjecisse oculos scripto prodiderit. Non Tertullianus, non Eusebius, imo non Hieronymus, cujus hæc verba sunt———Dixisset ne 'christianorum forte militum 'precationibus,' si literas perlegisset? Siccine Marcus Senatui scripsit? Basnag. ann. 174. n. viii.

[r] Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanicâ expeditione, christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illâ impetravit. Ad Scap. c. iv. p. 87. D.

[s] Niceph. Cal. l. 4. c. 12. p. 297, &c.

[t] Zon. Ann. Tom. 2. p. 207.

[u] De Quadr. Martyr. Or. 2. T. 3. p. 505.

[v] Cum igitur ostensum sit, neque Romano in exercitu christianam fuisse legionem, neque Marci animum id subiisse cogitationis, quod a christianis pluvia sit impetrata, consentaneum est, nullas Patribus Conscriptis a Marco literas datas esse, quibus hoc maximi beneficii christianis ascriberet. Quæ res aliunde non pertenuibus patefit argumentis. Post exhaustum bellum Marcomannicum scripta est Melitonis apologia, consorte jam imperii Commodo. Quo potius argumento uti Melito debuit, exstinguendæ persecutioni, quam beneficio, quo Marcus a christianis effectus fuerat, dum unâ cum exercitu pene siti conficiebatur? Quod tamen argumenti non attulit—At immerito negatur, Athenagoræ apologiam Marcomannico bello fuisse posteriorem. Quid, meminitne Athenagoras pluviæ a christianis impetratæ, ut, eo beneficio Marci in memoriam revocato, miseris undique vexatis, benevolentiam conciliaret? At qui certe certoque meminisset. Imo eâ de re scriptas ad Senatum literas memorâsset. Basnag. ann. 174. n. vii.

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army, had obtained a very extraordinary deliverance by the prayers of christian soldiers in the year of Christ 174, and he had ascribed it to their prayers in a letter to the senate, it would have been mentioned by many christian writers, both Greek and Latin, before the end of the fourth century. This argument is largely insisted on by Basnage, whose words I have just now transcribed below. And this is also one of Mr. Moyle's arguments. It is his fifth proposition, that 'the christians[w] in general did not believe this 'miracle, notwithstanding the testimony of Apollinaris and 'Tertullian.'

'For this,' says he, 'no better argument can be alleged 'than the silence of all the christian writers of the third 'century: not one of whom, except Tertullian, that I ever 'read or heard of, has made the least mention of this mira-'cle. Is it possible that so signal a testimony in favour of 'christianity could escape the knowledge and industry of 'so many able apologists as wrote after Tertullian? Could 'they have failed to urge so strong an argument against the 'heathens, as a miracle so publicly avouched and attested 'and owned, as is pretended, by imperial edicts: No other 'rational account can be given to this silence but that they 'gave no credit to the story, and were too wise to expose 'their religion to the scorn of the heathens by employing so 'mean an artifice to defend it.'

'Eusebius, though he has given a full relation of the mi-'racle in all its circumstances, yet it appears plainly, by 'the close of his narration, that he did not believe it, as Va-'lesius rightly observes: so that the whole credit of this 'miracle rests on the authority of Apollinaris and Tertullian. 'As for the first, I know little of his character, his works, I 'think, being all lost. But it is remarkable that the only 'particular which is preserved of his relation is undoubtedly 'false. Tertullian wanted neither wit nor learning; but he 'must be allowed to be a very credulous writer, and an er-'rant enthusiast.' So Mr. Moyle.

Obs. 7. Paulus Orosius, a christian historian, who flourished not far from the beginning of the fifth century, and is placed by Cave at the year 416, gives a particular account of this emperor's war with the Marcomans, Quadians, and other people in Germany. He says that 'the Roman army[x]

[w] Moyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 97.

[x] Hoc quidem bellum [Marcomannicum] providentiâ Dei administratum fuisse, cum plurimis argumentis, tum præcipue epistolâ gravissimi ac modestissimi Imperatoris apertissime declaratum est. Nam cum insurrexissent gentes immanitate barbaræ, multitudine innumerabilis, hoc est, Marcomanni, Quadi,

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'was in a great strait, and likely to be overpowered by the 'enemy, and that the greatest danger was owing to a 'drought which oppressed the Romans; that by the prayers 'of a few and illiterate soldiers, who openly, and with a 'lively faith, invoked the name of Christ, a plentiful shower 'was obtained from heaven, by which Antoninus's army 'was refreshed; at the same time lightning and hail fell 'upon the Germans, by which they were greatly annoyed, 'and many of them were killed: whereupon the Romans 'fell upon them, and cut them almost all off, and gained a 'very glorious victory. And it is said that there still is in 'the hands of many persons a letter of the emperor Anto-'ninus, in which he acknowledgeth that the drought was 'removed, and the victory obtained, by means of an invoca-'tion made of the name of Christ by christian soldiers.'

Whence it is evident that Orosius had never seen such a letter of Marcus Antoninus. And it may be argued that there was not then extant any such a letter: for, if there had, Orosius, a learned and inquisitive man, and a writer of history, would not have failed to procure it. It is also very observable that Orosius mentions not any legion by name, neither the Melitenian legion, nor the thunderbolt legion. Nor do any such expressions proceed from him as should lead us to think there was then a legion of christians in Marcus's army. Nay, he plainly supposeth that they were few in number. Finally, we may from all these particulars be disposed to think that Orosius took the account entirely from Tertullian; for he omits divers things which are in Eusebius. And there is a great resemblance in their expressions; both say the drought[y] was removed 'by the 'prayers of christian soldiers.' Tertullian[z] calls Antoninus 'a

Vandali, Sarmatæ, Suevi, atque omnis tunc Germania, et in Quadorum usque fines progressus exercitus, circumventusque ab hostibus, propter aquarum penuriam, præsentius sitis quam hostis periculum sustineret; ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito magnâ fidei constantiâ quidam milites effusi in preces palam fecerunt, et tanta vis pluviæ effusa est, ut Romanos quidem largissime, ac sine injuriâ refecerit, barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus perterritos, præsertim cum plurimi eorum occiderentur, in fugam coegerit. Quorum terga Romani usque ad internecionem cædentes gloriosissimam victoriam et omnibus pene antiquorum titulis præferendam, rudi parvoque militum numero, sed potentissimo Christi auxilio, reportârunt. Exstare etiam nunc apud plerosque dicuntur literæ Imperatoris Antonini, ubi invocatione nominis Christi per milites christianos, et sitim depulsam, et collatam fatetur fuisse victoriam. Oros. l. 7. cap. 15.

[y] ———quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum precationibus—discussam—Tertull. Ubi invocatione nominis Christi, per milites christianos, et sitim depulsam, &c. Oros.

[z]. Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur. Tertull.——— tum præcipue epistolâ gravissimi ac modestissimi Imperatoris. Oros.

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'worthy emperor;' so does Orosius in the same or like words. And they both speak at the same time with a like assurance, and a like diffidence and uncertainty, about the emperor's letter, which neither of them had seen.

Obs. 8. Undoubtedly Marcus Antoninus sent a letter to the senate of Rome, giving an account of his deliverance, and of the victory which he had obtained over the Quadians, and others in Germany: which letter,[a] as is reasonably supposed, was written in the Latin tongue; but we do not meet with any ancient authors who appear to have seen it.

However,[b] there is extant a letter, both in Greek and Latin, which I shall now produce in an English version, without being very solicitous about exactness in my translation: it is to this purpose.

'The emperor Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, high-priest—— to the people of Rome, and to the sacred senate greeting. I gave you an account of the greatness of the enterprize which I had undertaken, and what great difficulties came upon me in Germany; how I was surrounded and besieged in the midst of it, and afflicted with heat and weariness: at which time I was overtaken at Carnutum by seventy-four regiments, who were not more than nine miles off from us. Now when the enemy was come near us, our spies gave us notice of it: and Pompeianus, my general, informed me also of what I knew before. In our army we had only the first, the tenth, the double, and the Fretensian legions, to contend with an innumerable company of barbarians. When I had computed my own numbers with those of the enemy, I addressed our gods in prayer; but not being regarded by them, and considering the distress we were in, I called for those whom we call christians; and upon examination I found that they were a great multitude, at which I was much displeased, though I should not have been so; for afterwards I understood how powerful they are. For which reason they began, not by preparing their darts, or other weapons, or their trumpets, inasmuch as such things are disagreeable to them on account of God, whom they bear in their consciences: for it is reasonable to believe that they, whom we call atheists, have God within them for a bulwark. As soon therefore as they had cast themselves down upon

[a] ——Latinæ scilicet, quarum meminit Tertullianus, cap. quinto Apolog. Non enim aliâ linguâ, quam Latinâ, ad Senatum scribebat. Scalig. in Euseb. p. 222. fin.

[b] Ad calcem Justini Mart. Ap. i. [al. ii.] Vid. et Fabr. Lex Evang. p. 228. et Fr. Balduin. Edict. Prin. Roman. de Christianis. p. 87.

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the ground, they prayed, not for me only, but also for the whole army, for relief under our great thirst and hunger. For it was the fifth day that we had no water, because there was none in that place. For we were in the midst of Germany surrounded by their mountains. But as soon as they had cast themselves upon the ground, and prayed to a God, who was unknown to me, water came down from heaven immediately. Upon us it was very cool, but upon our enemies it was fierce hail. And immediately after their prayers we found God to be present with us, as one that is impregnable and invincible. Beginning here, therefore, let us permit these men to be christians, lest they should pray for the like weapons against us and obtain them. And I declare that no man who is a christian is to be called in question as such. And if any man accuse a christian, because he is a christian, I declare that the christian who is accused may appear openly; and that if he confesseth himself to be so, but showeth that he is accused of no other crime but that he is a christian, let his accuser be burnt alive. And as to him that confesseth himself to be a christian, and gives full evidence of the same, let not the governor of the province oblige him to renounce his religion, nor deprive him of his liberty. I will that this be confirmed by the decree of the senate. And I command that this my edict be set up in Trajan's forum, that it may be read by all. Vitrusius Pollio, præfect of the city, will take care that it be sent into the provinces; nor is any one, who desires to have it and make use of it, to be hindered from taking a copy of this our edict which is publicly set up by me. Farewell.'

Upon this letter Joseph Scaliger[c] made such critical remarks as have quite disparaged it in the opinion of most learned men. Even they who are willing to assert the miraculous deliverance of the emperor's army, and that it was obtained by the prayers of christians, give up[d] this letter as spurious. The Greek letter, as Scaliger says, was not composed before the sixth century. And it is generally thought

[c] Nam illa epistola, quæ nomine Marci Aurelii Antonini super hac re ad calcem Apologetici posterioris apud Justinum legitur, tantum abest ut ab ipso Imperatore Græce dictata, aut ex Latino ipsius in Græcum sermonem translata sit, ut infra seculum Justiniani Imp. ab imperitissimo Græculo confictam fuisse manifeste appareat, &c. Jos. Scaliger. in Euseb. p. 222, 223. Conf. Salmas. in notis ad Capitolin. Marc. Antonin. cap. 24.

[d] Habetur harum Marci literarum ad Senatum exemplar apud Justinum, ad calcem Apologiæ secundæ: sed ejus falsitatem et suppositionem, tum etiam novitatem, quod Justiniano recentius sit, tot argumentis approbaverunt viri eruditi, criticæ artis principes, Josephus Scaliger, et Salmasius, ut nihil contra opponi possit. Heut. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. p. 40.

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that the Latin edition of the same letter is taken from the Greek, and is not more[e] authentic.

Without alleging here any abstruse critical observations, it must be obvious to all that an edict so favourable to the christians could not come from Marcus Antoninus, in whose reign, from the beginning to the end of it, the christians were persecuted in some of the provinces by the tumults of the people, and put to death by governors, without any control from this emperor. And there were some edicts, or orders of his particularly in Gaul and Asia, for putting them to death.

And if this letter had been set up in Trajan's forum at Rome in the time of Marcus Antoninus, and had been sent to all governors of provinces, with leave also for men to read it, and to take copies from those which were published by authority, copies of this letter would have been very common among christians; whereas we cannot now find that it was seen by any of them in the second, or third, or fourth, or even fifth century.

Obs. 9. Eusebius, in the passage above transcribed, says that the heathen historians of those times had mentioned this extraordinary event, but did not acknowledge it to be owing to the prayers of christians. We cannot say who are the heathen writers intended by him: but I shall now take notice of such as we have.

(1.) Dion Cassius flourished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, not finishing his history long before the year 230. Of Marcus Antoninus's wars in Germany he writes to this purpose: 'Marcus[f] therefore, 'having met with many difficulties, subdued the Marcomans 'and Jazugæ; after[g] which he had war with the Quadians, 'and obtained a wonderful victory over them, or rather had 'it given him by God; for, when the Romans were in great 'danger, the Divine Being delivered them in a wonderful 'manner. The Quadians having surrounded them in a place 'that was much to their advantage, the Romans fought very 'valiantly; at the same time the barbarians relaxed the 'combat, expecting to see them wasted by heat and drought. 'They therefore carefully secured every place around them,

[e] Non dissimulabimus tamen, a viris doctis esse productum exemplar Latinum hujus epistolæ, quasi e Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, quod paullo melius conceptum videtur. Sed tamen, si propius inspiciatur, satis liquebit, e Græcâ epistolâ suppositâ translatum fuisse. Cleric. H. E. ann. 174. num. xvii.

[f] Dio. Cass. l. 71. p. 805, 806. al. p. 1182, 1183.

[g] ——— *και πολεμος αυτῳ συνετη μεγας· και νικη παραδοξος εντυχηθη, μαλλον δε παρα Θεου εδωρηθη. Κινδυνευσαντας γαρ εν τῃ μαχῃ τους Ῥωμαιους παραδοξοτατα το Θειον εξεσωσε.* p. 1182.

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'that they might come at no water: which was easily done 'by them, as they were much superior in number. The 'Romans were then in a great strait, wounded, and fatigued 'with labour, oppressed with the heat of the sun and with 'thirst: and for that reason neither able to fight nor to es-'cape. They only stood still in their ranks consumed with 'heat. On a[h] sudden there appeared a gathering of clouds, 'which was soon followed, not without divine appointment, 'with a plentiful shower of rain, for it is said that Arnu-'phis, an Egyptian magician, who was present with Marcus, 'invoked the aerial Mercury, and other dæmons with magi-'cal rites.'

Upon which Xiphilinus, a christian author of the eleventh century, who abridged Dion, says: 'So this affair is related 'by Dion. But he lies, as seems to me, either knowingly 'and wilfully, or through ignorance. But I rather think 'wilfully. And how should it be otherwise? For he was 'not unacquainted with the legion of soldiers, called the 'thunderbolt legion, which himself has mentioned in his 'catalogue of the other legions. Nor has it been ever said 'that it obtained that denomination for any other reason than 'upon account of what happened in that war; when it was 'the cause of deliverance to the Romans, and of destruction 'to the barbarians, and not Arnuphis the magician. Nor is 'it any where related that Marcus was fond of magicians, or 'their tricks. The truth is, that Marcus had a legion, the 'soldiers of which were brought from Melitene, and were 'all christians. At that time the præfect of the prætorium, 'being in great perplexity, and apprehensive of the loss of 'the whole army, is said to have come to the emperor, tell-'ing him that there is nothing which christians are not able 'to perform by prayers, and that there was in the army a 'whole legion of that sort of men. When Marcus heard 'that, he desired them to pray to their God: when they 'prayed, God immediately heard them, and beat down their 'enemies with lightning, and refreshed the Romans with 'rain. At which Marcus, being greatly astonished, favour-'ed the christians with an edict, and ordered that the legion 'should be called the thundering legion. It[i] is also said 'that there is an epistle of Marcus concerning these things. 'The Gentiles know very well, and bear witness, that there 'is a legion with that name, but they do not mention the 'reason of it.'

[h] ——νεφη πολλα εξαιφνης συνεδραμε, και υετος πολυς ουκ αθεει κατερραγε. p. 1183.

[i] Λεγεται δε και επιστολην τινα περι τυτων ειναι τυ Μαρκυ. p. 1184

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And now Dion proceeds again: 'When the rain began to 'fall,' says he, 'all looking up, at first received it in their 'mouths. Afterwards they caught it, some in their shields, 'others in their helmets: out of which they drank greedily, 'and also gave to their horses to drink. And when the bar-'barians fell upon them, they drank and fought at the same 'time: and some who were wounded drank water and blood 'together, which fell from their wounds into their helmets. 'And indeed they would have suffered greatly from the 'enemies who attacked them, when the greatest part of the 'army were employed in satiating their thirst, if a violent 'storm of hail, with lightning, had not fallen upon them; 'so that at the same time, and in the same place, might be 'seen water and fire coming down from heaven; whereby 'some were refreshed with drink, and others were burnt and 'consumed. Nor did the fire reach the Romans: or if it 'did it was presently extinguished. Nor did the rain help 'the barbarians, but rather increased the flame, like oil: so 'that, though they were rained upon, they called for water: 'and some wounded themselves, that they might put out the 'fire with blood: and others went over to the Romans, as 'being the only people who had wholesome water: where-'fore Marcus had pity upon them. And he was, for the 'seventh time, proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. And, 'though he had not been wont to admit such a thing to be 'done before it had been decreed by the senate, he did not 'refuse it now, it seeming to come from heaven. About 'this he wrote to the senate, and Faustina was declared 'mother of the camps.'

So writes Dion Cassius. We may therefore rely upon it that Marcus Antoninus was in a great strait, and was delivered, and obtained a victory over the Quadians. And from the pompous style of Dion upon this occasion it may be inferred, that the heathen people were very willing to magnify this event, and the circumstances of it, as very extraordinary.

Dion, in his account of this matter, above quoted, writes: 'For it is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who 'was present with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and 'other dæmons, with magical rites.' I therefore shall observe that in Suidas, the article of Arnuphis is in these words: 'He was an Egyptian philosopher, who, being present with 'Marcus the philosopher, emperor of the Romans, when the 'Romans laboured under a great drought, is said to have 'caused a gathering of black clouds, which on a sudden 'poured down great rain with thunder and lightning. This

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'[k] Arnuphis is said to have effected by a certain art. Others 'say it was Julian, a Chaldæan, who performed this won-'derful work.' For whom likewise Suidas has another article, which may be consulted by such as are curious.

There is no need to make many remarks upon Xiphilinus, after what has been already said upon the passage of Eusebius. Notwithstanding what is said by him, learned men are persuaded that before this time there was a legion called the thunderbolt legion, from a thunderbolt engraved upon the soldiers' shields. Xiphilinus also supposeth that there was in Marcus's army a whole legion of christians: which, as before shown, is very unlikely. He also says that after this, 'Marcus 'published an edict favourable to the christians:' which we are not assured of. He likewise adds: 'It is said there is an 'epistle of Marcus concerning these things.' Nevertheless, Xiphilinus had not seen that letter, or did not think it authentic, or to his purpose; as is evident from his manner of speaking.

(2.) Julius Capitolinus, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished near the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, in his Life of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, says: 'When[l] his army was in a 'great strait, and in danger of perishing by thirst, he by his 'prayers obtained from heaven lightning against his ene-'mies, and rain for his own people.'

(3.) Ælius Lampridius, another of those writers, who also flourished about the same time, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, is supposed to refer to the same thing in a passage[m] which I place below without translating it.

(4.) Themistius, in an oration spoken in the year 381, and the third of Theodosius, ascribes the victory now under consideration to the piety and prayers of Antoninus. 'When[n] 'that emperor's army was much incommoded by a drought, 'lifting up his hands to heaven he said: "By this hand, 'which has taken no life away, I desire to appease thee, and 'I pray to the giver of life." With which the Deity was so

[k] *Και τυτο σοφιᾳ τινι εργασασθαι Αρνυφιν· Οἱ δε φασιν ὑελιανον τον Χαλδαιον τυτο πεποιηκεναι το θαυμασιον.* Suid. V. *Αρνυφις.*

[l] Fulmen de cœlo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluviâ impetratâ, quum siti laborarent. Capit. Marc. A. Phil. cap. 24.

[m] Quum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quos Antoninus pulcherrime profligaverat, dictum est a quibusdam, per Chaldæos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni P. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factis carminibus et consecratione. Lampr. Anton. Heliog. cap. 9.

[n] *—ανασχων τω χειρε ὁ Βασιλευς προς τον υρανον, ταυτῃ εφη τῃ χειρι πρυτρεψαμην σε, και ἱκετευσα τον ζωης Δοτηρα, ᾗ ζωην υκ αφειλομην. Και υτω πατηδεσε τον Θεον τῃ ευχῃ, ὡτε εξαιθριας ηλθον νεφελαι ὑδροφορυσαι τοις ςρατωταις. κ. λ.* Them. Or. 15. p. 191.

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'well pleased, that the clouds presently poured down rain 'upon the soldiers. I have seen a representation of this 'event, in which was the emperor praying at the head of his 'army, and the soldiers receiving the rain in their helmets, 'and refreshing themselves with drink that was the gift of 'heaven. Of so great advantage is the virtue of a prince to 'his subjects.'

So speaks Themistius in an oration to a christian emperor. He ascribes all to the virtues and prayers of Antoninus, without any the least notice of the christians. He seems to refer to the Columna Antoniana: though we do not observe in that sculpture the emperor standing at the head of his army, as here intimated.

(5.) The poet Claudian, in his panegyric of the sixth consulate of Honorius, in the year 404, speaking of the victory of Marcus Antoninus over the Quadians, says: 'It[o] was not 'owing to the valour or conduct of the generals: the glory 'of this victory must be given by the Romans to heaven. 'There was a flaming shower which fell upon the enemies, 'and put to flight them and their horses: whether it was 'owing to Chaldæan magicians, who by their incantations 'brought the gods to the assistance of the Romans: or 'whether the piety of the emperor Marcus, as I rather think, 'engaged the favour of Jupiter the thunderer on their side.'

So he also, without taking any notice of the christians.

Eusebius, as we may remember, said: 'By other writers, 'who were averse to our religion, the wonderful event is 'recorded; but they do not acknowledge that it was owing 'to the prayers of our people.' Which indeed is true of all those heathen writers which we now have. One of whom, Dion Cassius, is older than Eusebius; but we cannot certainly say that Eusebius ever saw him.

Obs. 10. 'Antoninus never ascribed this miracle to the 'prayers of the christians.'

That is Mr. Moyle's[p] third observation, upon which he

[o] Clemens, Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cincta
Exuit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
Laus ibi nulla ducum. Nam flammeus imber in hostem
Decidit. Hunc dorso trepidum flammante ferebat
Ambustus sonipes: hic tabescente solutus
Subsidit galeâ, liquefactâque fulgure cuspis
Canduit, et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.
Tunc, contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
Pugna fuit. Chaldæa mago seu carmina ritu
Armavere Deos; seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.
Claudian. de Sexto Cons. Honor. ver. 340, &c.

[p] Vol. ii. p. 91.

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enlargeth in this manner: 'Had this miracle been publicly 'owned by the emperor, and ascribed by him to the prayers 'of the christians, it is incredible that all the pagan histo- 'rians should with one consent conspire to disown it in their 'writings, as Eusebius confesses they did. See Dio Cass. 'l. 71. p. 805. Capitolin. in Antonin. cap. 24, the name- 'less authors cited by Suidas in Αρνεφις. Nor would The- 'mistius [de Regiâ Virtute, ad Theod.] and Claudian [in vi. 'Cons. Honor.] have dared to ascribe the honour of it to 'heathen gods, in panegyrics to christian emperors.'

'That Antoninus thought himself obliged to his own gods 'for this miracle, we have a testimony beyond exception in 'his own pillar, which is still extant at Rome; of which I 'have seen a cut in Baronius's Annals, to whom I refer you 'for farther[q] satisfaction. The same is confirmed by a medal 'in the French king's cabinet, published by Morelli, which 'was struck the very year in which this miracle is said to 'be wrought, viz. 174. On one side is the head of Antoni- 'nus crowned with laurel: on the reverse is a Mercury with 'this inscription: Religio Augusti. Which exactly agrees 'with Dion's account of the miracle.'

A like cut or print of the sculpture, or bas relief, in Antoninus's pillar, may be seen in Havercamp's edition of Tertullian's Apology, and in[r] Colonia. Where is Jupiter Pluvius, the giver of rain, sending down rain and thunder and lightning; by which the soldiers on one side are refreshed, and the others annoyed and terrified.

And Montfauçon, in his Antiquities, has exhibited an exact representation of this Jupiter. I shall transcribe him in his own[s] words: 'Jupiter, giver of rain, was honoured by

[q] At the top of the sculpture, to which Mr. Moyle refers, appears Jupiter Pluvius, sending down rain and lightning upon the two armies. Says Baronius: Visitur adhuc in eâ [Antonini columnâ] imago expressa rei gestæ; sed iis plane signis, ut Jovis, imbres dantis, et illis fulgura admiscentis, repræsentet effigiem; quam, ex eâ graphice incisam, hac tibi formâ exprimendam curavimus. Baron. Ann. 176. num. xxiii. [r] Colon. Tom. i. ch. vii. p. 110.

[s] Jupiter le Pluvieux, Pluvius, appellée par les Grecs Ζευς Ομβριος, et par Lucien Ὑετιος, étoit honoré par les Athéniens, qui lui avoient dressé un autel sur le mont Hymette. Nous le donnons d'une manière bien extraordinaire, tel qu'il est représentée dans la Colonne Antonine. C'est un veillard à longe barbe, qui a des ailes, et qui tient les deux bras étendus, et la maine droite un peu élevé. L'eau sort à grands flots des ses bras, et de sa barbe. Les soldats Romains de l'armée de M. Auréle, que la sécheresse et la soif avoient reduits à une extrême nécessité, reçoivent cette eau dans les creux de leurs boucliers. Les Romains, plongéz encore dans le Paganisme, attribuèront ce prodige à leur Jupiter Pluvieux. Mais ce furent, dit avec plus de raison Baronius dans ses Annales, les soldats Chrétiens, qui obtinront cette pluie, qui sauva l'armée. L'Antiquité Expliquèe, Tom. i. Liv. 2. ch. iii. Pl. xiii. á la p. 44. The concluding words of the Latin, in Montfauçon, are these: Romani, multiplicium

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'the Athenians, who erected an altar to him on the hill Hy-
'mettus. We give an extraordinary figure of him as he is
'represented in the pillar of Antoninus. It is that of an old
'man with a long beard, who has wings: [the wings are
'upon the upper part of the arms:] with two arms stretched
'out, the right hand raised somewhat higher than the other.
'The water flows in large streams from his arms and from
'his beard. The Roman soldiers in Marcus's army, whom
'the drought and thirst had reduced to the utmost ex-
'tremity, received the water in the hollow of their shields.
'The Romans, still plunged in paganism, ascribed this pro-
'digy to their Jupiter Pluvius. But they were, as Baro-
'nius with more reason says, the christian soldiers who ob-
'tained this rain, which saved this army.'

So says Montfauçon, overpowered, as it seems, by the authority and credulity of his church.

Obs. 11. I must be allowed to add, that other like things are recorded in the Roman history. One instance is mentioned as happening in the time of the emperor Claudius, in the year of Rome 795, of Christ 42. 'The[t] Moors
'had rebelled, and were reduced by Suetonius Paulli-
'nus, a man of prætorian rank, [several times mentioned
'by Tacitus,[u] upon account of his government and suc-
'cesses in Britain,] who wasted their country as far as
'Mount Atlas——There being fresh disturbances in that
'country afterwards, Cneius Hosidius, a man of the like
'rank, made an expedition against them, and obtained se-
'veral victories over their general Salabus. The Moors
'fled into a sandy country. And Hosidius pursued them
'with a part of his army; having beforehand furnished him-
'self with such supplies of water as he was able to get.
'But when that was spent he was reduced to great straits,
'the barbarians being better able to endure thirst than the
'Romans, and being also better acquainted with the places
'where water might be had. It[v] was impossible for the
'Romans to proceed; nor was it easy for them to retreat, so
'that they knew not what course to take. At that time an

numinum errore adhuc obruti, id prodigii Jovi Pluvio adscripserunt. At Baronius in Annalibus aquam a militibus christianis a Deo impetratam affirmat.

[t] Dion. l. 60. p. 670, 671. al. p. 947, 948.

[u] Vid. Tacit. Ann. l. 14. cap. 29. et alibi.

[v] *Τοις δε δη Ῥωμαιοις εκ των εναντιων, αδυνατον μεν προχωρησαι, χαλεπον δε και ὑποστρεψαι την· απορουντα ουν αυτον ὁ, τι χρη πραξαι, ανεπεισε τις των επιχωριων των ασπονδων, επῳδαις τε τισι και μαγγανειαις χρησασθαι, λεγων, πολλακις σφισιν εκ του τοιουτου πολυ ὑδωρ δεδοσθαι. Και αυτῳ παραχρημα τοσουτον εκ του ουρανου ερρυη, ὡστε και αυτο διψος εξακεσασθαι, και τους πολεμιους προσκαταπληξαι, νομισαντας το Θειον οἱ επικουρειν.* p. 948.

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'inhabitant of the country, who was friendly to the Romans, 'came to Hosidius, and advised him to make use of magical 'incantations; assuring him that, by that means, he had 'often obtained rain. The Roman general having followed 'that advice, there fell on a sudden great quantities of rain, 'which refreshed the Romans and terrified their enemies. 'For they concluded that the gods favoured them. They 'therefore submitted, and accepted of the terms of peace 'proposed to them.' So[w] writes Dion Cassius.

There was another like shower in the contention between Niger and Septimius Severus, particularly in the last and decisive action, as related also by Dion Cassius. 'For[x] a 'while,' he says, 'the battle was fought with doubtful and 'almost equal success. Afterwards the army of Niger, by the 'superiority of their numbers and the advantage of their 'situation, prevailed very considerably, and[y] the victory had 'been complete, were it not that on a sudden, when the sky 'was clear, nor a puff of wind blowing, there appeared clouds, 'and a violent shower of rain followed, with terrible thunder 'and lightning, which beat upon the faces of Niger's men. 'At the same time the army of Severus was not at all annoyed, 'as the storm was at their backs. This circumstance ani-'mated the army of Severus, esteeming themselves favoured 'by the Deity. But the army of Niger was dispirited, and 'gave way, thinking that heaven fought against them. In 'a short time the victory became complete: and not less 'than twenty thousand men were slain on the side of Niger.' So writes Dion[z] again. But I do not here see any notice taken of magical incantations. The storm therefore happened in the usual course of nature; though it was sudden and unexpected, (as such things frequently are,) and it was favourable to the army of Severus. This is supposed to have happened in the year of Rome 947, of Christ 194.

I add no more observations.

IV. It may be reasonably expected that this long argument should be now summed up, and reduced to some propositions. This summary shall be now made according to the sentiments, and almost in the very words, of the late[a] Mr. Mosheim.

[w] Loco citato. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 42. num. i.

[x] Dion. lib. 74. p. 843. al. p. 1248, 1249.

[y] *Και παντελως εκρατησαν, ει μη νεφη εξ αιθριας, και ανεμος εκ νηνεμιας, βρονται τε σκληραι και αστραπαι οξειαι μεθ' ὑετȣ λαβρȣ κατα προσωπον αυτοις προσεπεσον, κ. λ.* p. 1249.

[z] L. cit. et conf. Basnag. ann. Ch. 194. num. iii.

[a] Mosh. de Rebus Christianor. ante Constant. M. sec. 2. sect. xvii. p. 248—253.

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this: that Marcus did not openly confess and declare that the shower was obtained by the prayers of christian soldiers, but spoke doubtfully, 'that perhaps this great benefit was 'owing to the prayers of the christians.' This I pass by. But there are two other considerations by which this testimony is absolutely enervated and overthrown. First of all, what Tertullian says of the design of the emperor's letter, if I am not greatly mistaken, manifests that when he wrote this he had in his eye the edict of Antoninus the pious,[d] (who is often confounded with Marcus,) which he sent to the community of Asia, of which we spoke formerly. For so he says: 'Who,[e] though he did not openly abrogate the laws 'against the christians, yet in another way he openly broke 'their force, appointing also a penalty to their accusers, 'and of the severest sort.' Let us now attend. First of all, Tertullian says, that 'Marcus did not openly abrogate the 'laws against the christians,' that is, he did not openly forbid christians to be punished. Then he adds, 'but in another way 'he openly broke the force of the laws,' that is, he made a wise provision that the christians should not be easily punished by the judges. Lastly he says, 'that he appointed 'a punishment for the accusers of the christians.' All these three things exactly suit the edict of Antoninus the pious to the common council of Asia. There, indeed, he does not absolutely forbid the punishing of christians: nevertheless, when he appoints that no christian should be punished, unless he be convicted of some crime, he very much restrains their punishment, and contracts their sufferings in narrow limits. Lastly, he requires that the accusers of the christians, who could not convict them of some crime, should undergo the punishment of their own temerity. In this therefore, as I think, Tertullian was certainly mistaken, in ascribing the edict of Antoninus the pious to his successor Marcus Antoninus. And when he had been told that Marcus and his army had been saved in a time of imminent danger by the prayers of the christians, he imagined that this benefit had induced Marcus to pass that law in their favour. The other consideration, which invalidates this testimony of Tertullian, is the persecution of the christians at Lyons and Vienne, of which we spoke formerly. It happened in the year of Christ 177, three years after the victory obtained over

[d] I also think that edict, sent to the community of Asia, to be rightly ascribed to Antoninus the pious. It may be seen at length above, at p. 126, 127.

[e] Sic nempe loquitur: sicut non palam ab hujusmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit; adjectâ etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Apol. cap. 5.

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the Quadians and Marcomanni. For who can believe that the emperor, who, in a public letter to the senate, in the year 174, had extolled the christians, and appointed a heavy punishment to their accusers, should in the year 177 deliver them up into the hands of their enemies, and order them to be capitally punished, unless they renounced their religion?

9. There still remains one point to be considered: 'Whether[g] the shower, by which the Romans were saved 'in the war with the Marcomanni, ought to be placed in 'the number of miracles. But this question, in my opinion, 'may be solved without much difficulty. Learned men are 'now agreed that nothing ought to be placed among mira-'cles, which may be accounted for by the ordinary powers 'of nature. But in this shower, though it happened unex-'pectedly, there is nothing beyond the power of nature, or 'which needs a divine interposition. For it is a very com-'mon thing, according to the laws of nature, for long 'droughts in the summer season to be followed with plen-'tiful showers of rain, joined with terrifying thunder and 'lightning. Nor ought it to be esteemed miraculous that 'the lightning fell upon some of the enemies, and put their 'army to flight; forasmuch as all the people of Germany 'supposed that lightnings came from God, and they would 'form their judgment accordingly.'

So writes Mr. Mosheim; and, as seems to me, judiciously and plausibly. I have transcribed him here, as summing up my argument, and making also some valuable additions to it.

I shall take this opportunity to correct a mistake common among learned foreigners—that Mr. King, who had a debate with Mr. Moyle about the thundering legion, was Sir Peter King, afterwards Baron of Ockham, and Lord High Chancellor of England. So thought Mr. Mosheim,[h] who trans-

[g] That observation of Mr. Mosheim answers to what is the sixth observation of Mr. Moyle, p. 99, &c. 'That the deliverance of the Roman army, though 'undoubtedly true, was no miracle.' Whereupon the same ingenious writer proceeds: 'I see nothing supernatural in this deliverance of the Romans. 'Thunder and rain are no miracles; and they are nevertheless natural for hap-'pening in so critical a season. There are examples enough in the Greek and 'Roman story of such casual events, which, because they were a little uncom-'mon and surprising, and fell out in seasonable junctures of time, have been 'styled miracles by the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar,' &c.

[h] Post hos Petrus Kingius, Magnæ Britanniæ Cancellarius, et Gualther. Moylius, Eques Anglus imprimis acutus et eruditus, de hac re epistolis quibusdam egerunt; quas ex Anglico Latine conversas Syntagmati Dissertationum ad disciplinas sanctiores pertinentium cum observationibus nonnullis adjeci. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 249.

Walterus Moyle. Diss. contra Petrum Kingium, inserta tomo secundo ejus Operum, editorum Anglice. Londin. 1726. 8. Fabric. Lux Evangel. p. 139.

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lated these letters into Latin, and in the main embraced Mr. Moyle's sentiments. But I am assured, by those who are likely to know the truth, 'that Mr. King, who disputed 'with Mr. Moyle, was a clergyman, and minister of 'Topsham near Exeter; which last was the place of his 'nativity, as well as Sir Peter's. He is the same King to 'whom Mr. Locke wrote some letters, which are in the post-'humous collection of his letters, published by Mr. Col-'lings. He is there styled the Reverend Mr. King.'

It is pity that the person who corresponded with Mr. Moyle, upon so curious a subject, should be so little known. Mr. King and Mr. Moyle must have been intimate friends; for Mr. Moyle's Dissertation upon the age of the Philopatris was sent to the same person in several letters.

Since writing what is above, I have received an authentic account from a gentleman personally acquainted with Mr. Moyle. It is in these words: 'Mr. Moyle's correspondent 'in the affair of the thundering legion was Mr. Richard 'King, vicar of Topsham. Mr. Moyle died in 1721; Mr. 'King survived him many years.'

CHAP. XVI.

APULEIUS OF MADAURA IN AFRICA.

I. *His history, time, and works.* II. *Passages relating to the christians.* III. *Miracles ascribed to him.* IV. *The design of his metamorphosis, or golden ass.*

I. LUCIUS APULEIUS[a] of Madaura in Africa, a Platonic philosopher, flourished in the times of the emperors Antoninus the pious and M. Antoninus the philosopher. Madaura was a Roman colony, and his family was[b] considerable. He[c] appears to have had an insatiable thirst for

[a] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii. T. i. p. 514, &c. Apuleii Vita et Scripta, ex Wowero, ap. Apul. in usum Delphin. Basnag. Ann. 163. n. v. Tillemont L'Emp. Marc. Aurèle. sect. 32. Bayle Dictionnaire, Apulée.

[b] In quâ coloniâ patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem, cunctis honoribus perfunctum. Apol. p. 444. And farther see Bayle, as above, note [a].

[c] Vid. Apul. Ap. p. 442. et Florida. l. 4. num. 18. p. 813. et num. 20. p. 831.

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knowledge, and studied at Carthage, Athens, and Rome. He was the author of many works, divers[d] of which still remain monuments of great learning and ingenuity.

He had married a rich widow, named Prudentilla, against the will of her first husband's relations, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. They accused him of the practice of magical arts to gain her consent. He pleaded for himself before Claudius Maximus, proconsul of Asia, who had been consul of Rome in the year of Christ 144: which has induced learned men to place Apuleius as flourishing about the year 163.

II. Apuleius seems to have had some knowledge of the christians and their affairs.

The first place which I shall quote will be taken from his Metamorphosis, or the Ass, or the Golden Ass, as it is sometimes called; which is a fabulous story, wherein are represented many events observed by him, and disasters that befell him, whilst in the shape of an ass, enjoying human understanding. He[e] could see, and hear, and observe; but[f] he could not speak with human voice.

1. Among his many adventures in this state one is this: 'He[g] was sold to a baker; who,' as he says, 'was a very good sort of a man, but he had a very bad wife, who so abused her husband, that he could not but lament his unhappy condition as well as his own. She had every vice without any thing agreeable. She was perverse, ill-natured, obstinate, given to drinking, she robbed her husband, was

[d] Metamorphosis, sive Lusus Asini. Pro se apud Cl. virum, Cl. Maximum Proconsulem Apologia. De Habitudine Doctrinarum Platonis Philosophi. De Deo Socratis. De Mundo. Florida. [e] Ego vero, quanquam perfectus asinus, et pro Lucio jumentum, sensum tamen retinebam humanum. Metam. l. 3. p. 95. [f] ——sed jam humano gestu simul et voce privatus. Ibid.

[g] Pistor ille, qui me pretio suum fecerat, bonus alioqui vir, et apprime modestus, pessimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam sortitus conjugem, pœnas extremas tori larisque sustinebat; ut, hercule, ejus vicem ego quoque tacitus frequenter ingemiscerem. Nec enim ullum vitium nequissimæ illi feminæ deerat: sed omnia prorsus, ut in quandam cœnosam latrinam, in ejus animum flagitia confluxerant. Scæva, sæva, vitiosa, ebriosa, pervicax, pertinax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in sumtibus turpibus profusa, inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiæ. Tunc spretis, atque calcatis divinis numinibus, in vicem certæ religionis, mentitâ sacrilegâ præsumtione Dei, quem prædicaret unicum, confictis, observationibus vacuis, fallens omnes homines, et miserum maritum decipiens, matutino mero et continuo stupro corpus manicipârat. Talis illa mulier miro me persequebatur odio. Nam et anteluculo recubans adhuc, subjungi machinæ novitium clamabat asinum; et statim, ut cubiculo primum processerat, insistens jubebat incoram sui plagas mihi quamplurimas irrogari; et cum tempestivo prandio laxarentur jumenta cætera, longe tardius applicari præsepio jubebat. Metam. l. 9. p. 282.

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profuse in her expenses, and unchaste; and moreover, slighting the immortal gods and their worship, instead of the true religion she adopted a false and sacrilegious opinion concerning the Deity, which she said was one only, and practised vain observances, deceiving all men, and especially her miserable husband, and devoting herself to drinking and lewdness from morning to night. The mistress being such a woman, she was very severe to the new-bought ass. She took care he should be early put to the mill; nor would she let him be released when the other cattle were at noon. And what follows.'

There can be no doubt that Apuleius here designs to represent a christian woman. And, as he was pleased to prolong his fiction with a great variety of incidents, we are not to wonder that he brought in this character. The christians at that time, being under persecution, often had their religious solemnities, and particularly the eucharist, early in the morning. Therefore Apuleius charges this woman with 'getting up early to drink.' And as their assemblies for divine worship were then private, and sometimes in the night season, he charges her with lewdness. It is also very likely that christian people were often charged with 'robbing their husbands'—to give to poor christians or their ministers. It cannot be thought very strange that, in such a work as this, Apuleius should gratify his own malice, and divert his reader with the character of a christian, dressed up agreeably to the common reports which prevailed among their enemies.

2. I now proceed to another place, which is in the apology; where Apuleius, having mentioned his own initiations into the mysteries of several deities, he goes on: 'But[h] I know some, and especially that Emilian, (brother of Prudentilla's first husband, by whom the present accusation was carried on,) who laughs at all these things and derides them; for, as I hear, from the accounts of those who know them well, he has never yet made supplication to any god,

[h] Atqui ego scio nonnullos, et cum primis Æmilianum istum, facetiæ sibi habere res divinas deridere. Nam, ut audio, percensentibus iis qui istum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit: si fanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet, adorandi gratiâ, manum labris admovere. Iste vero nec Diis rurationis, qui enim pascunt ac vestiunt, segetes ullas, aut vitis aut gregis primitias impartit. Nullum in villâ ejus delubrum situm, nullus locus aut lucus consecratus. Et quid ego de luco et delubro loquor? Negant vidisse se, qui fuere, unum saltem in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum. Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, ut jam dixi, ob oris et animi diritatem: sed alterum, quod libentius audit, ob Deorum contemtum, Mezentius. Quapropter facile intelligo, hasce ei tot initiorum enumerationes nugas videri, &c. Apol. p. 496, 497.

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nor worshipped in any temple. When he passes by a consecrated place, he esteems it a crime to put his hand to his mouth, by way of adoration; nor does he consecrate to the gods of agriculture, who feed and clothe him, any first-fruits of grain, or of the vine, or of his flocks. Nor is there in his country seat any chapel, nor indeed any consecrated grove or other place whatever. But why do I talk of groves and chapels? They who have been there say they never saw in his territories so much as a stone anointed with oil, or a crowned bough. Insomuch that there are two surnames given him; Charon, as I said before, because of the fierceness of his look and temper; the other is Mezentius, upon account of his contempt of the gods; which last-mentioned name, possibly, he likes the best of the two.'

There is very little here that needs explication. But it may be proper to observe that Mezentius is the name of a king of the Tyrrhenians, who is several times spoken of by Virgil as[i] a contemner of the gods.

The place first alleged by me has been taken notice of by all commentators upon Apuleius in general. But this other was first observed by the learned Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester; [k] who, from what Apuleius had said, concludes that Licinius Æmilianus, his wife's brother-in-law, was a christian; and that the accusation of magic, brought by him before the proconsul of Africa, did not a little contribute to inflame our author's bigotry for Gentilism, and increase his aversion to christianity.

3. I shall allege one place more in the same apology, where he wards off the charge of magic in procuring the marriage with Prudentilla in this manner: 'If,'[l] says he, 'they can show any particular advantage which I could propose to myself in this marriage, let me then be esteemed Carinondas, Damigeron, or that Moses, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or Dardanus, or any other, who since Zoroaster and Hostanes have been most celebrated among magicians.'

[i] Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris,
Contemtor divûm Mezentius, agminaque armat.
Virg. Æ. l. 8. ver. 647, 648.
Contemtorque Deûm Mezentius. Ib. l. 8. ver. 7.

[k] See the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated. B. 4. sect. 4. p. 120. in the notes, the second vol. edit. 1741.

[l] Si una causa, vel minima, fuerit inventa, cur ego debuerim Pudentillæ nuptias, ob aliquod meum commodum, appetere; si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sim Carinondas, vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicumque alius, post Zoroastrem et Hostanem, inter magos celebratus est. Apol. p. 544.

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In 2 Tim. iii. 8, mention is made of "Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses." I do not say that Apuleius had read this text, or any book of the New Testament; but the passage is a proof that Moses was well known in the world as a person of great eminence; and doubtless he[m] was esteemed the Jewish lawgiver.

III. I have not observed any more passages in Apuleius relating to the christians. In the fourth and fifth centuries miracles were ascribed to him; of which I say nothing now; but I propose to consider that point hereafter in the chapter of Hierocles.

IV. But, if it might not be reckoned too presuming, I would now consider the judgment passed upon the Metamorphosis, the principal remaining work of this author, by Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester; who supposes that 'his[n] design was to recommend the Pagan religion as 'the only cure for all vice in general.'

Against that interpretation, it seems to be no small objection that the author himself calls it a[o] Milesian tale, and a[p] Greek fable; and the ancients always so understood it, as our great author himself acknowledges.

'The Metamorphosis,' says he, p. 117, 'even from its 'first appearance, hath had the character of a trifling fable. 'Capitolinus, in Clodius Albinus, tells us that Severus 'could not bear with patience the honours which the senate 'had conferred on Albinus, especially the distinguishing 'title of learned, who was grown old in the study of old-'wives' fables, such as the Milessian Punic tales of his 'countryman and favourite Apuleius. Major fuit, (says 'Severus in his letter to the senate on this occasion,) dolor, 'quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique duxistis, quum 'ille nœniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias 'Punicas Apuleii sui et ludicra literaria consenesceret. That 'poor, modern-spirited critic Macrobius, talks too of Apu-'leius in the same strain, lib. 1. cap. 2.' Again, p. 118, 'The 'ancients, who stuck in the outside, considered it without 'refinement as an idle fable.' And p. 123, 'The author in-'troduces his Metamorphosis in this manner: At ego tibi ser-'mone isto Milesio varius fabulas conferam, auresque tuas be-

[m] Vid. Strabon. l. 16. p. 760. [al. 1103.] Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. 4.

[n] See the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, book iv. sect. 4. vol. 2. p. 117, &c. in the notes, ed. 1741. [o] At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conferam, auresque tuas bibulas [al. benevolas] lepido susurro permulceam. Apul. Met. lib. i. p. 1. [p] Fabulam Græcam incipimus. Lector intende, lætaberis. Ib. p. 4.

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'nevolas lepido susurro permulceam—And his kind readers 'took him at his word: and from that day to this never 'troubled themselves about any farther meaning.'

And why should not 'his readers take him at his word,' and accept of his own account of the design of his work? And why should we trouble ourselves farther? Why may not we understand him as the ancients did?

One reason against that is taken from the character of the writer, p. 117, 'However, Macrobius seems to wonder that 'Apuleius should trifle at this rate; and well he might; 'for the writer of the Metamorphosis was one of the gravest 'and most virtuous philosophers of his age.'

I do not know what assurance we have of this. I am not able to reconcile that character with the many horrible obscenities of that work, not inferior to the most offensive things of that kind in any of the works of Lucian. A grave philosopher may, for the sake of diversion, propose in conversation, or writing, a tale, 'a Milesian tale,' if you please: but not such a story as that of Apuleius's ass. Marcus Aurelius was a philosopher of the same age; no man can believe him capable of such an obscene performance as this, notwithstanding his aversion to christianity. I own that Apuleius must have been studious; otherwise he had not attained to such learning as appears in his writings; and he had the character of a philosopher: but his obscenity is a strong objection to his virtue and gravity. And his apology also manifests great gaiety of temper; nor is it entirely free from obscenity.

P. 123, 124, 'The fable opens with the representation of 'a young man, figured in his own person.' For certain, it is Lucius Apuleius himself throughout, who speaks, and acts, and suffers, in his fable.

P. 125. 'Matters growing still from bad to worse, his 'affairs come to a crisis; for being now about to perpetrate, 'in the ninth book, (it should be said the tenth,) one of the 'most shocking enormities,—he abhors the idea of his pro-'jected crime, evades his keepers, and flies to the sea-'shore.'

I must take the liberty to say I do not perceive that to be the truth of the case; for[q] he had before perpetrated that shocking enormity, and has related the commission of it with shameful particularity; but[r] he scorned to repeat it in public, and made his escape from his keepers.

At the end, in the eleventh book, he recovers his original

[q] L. 10. p. 336, &c. [r] Ib. p. 343, &c.

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form; and he undergoes three initiations into the mysteries of Isis, and then of Osiris, and lastly the Roman rites.

'All this considered,' says the venerable and laborious author before named, p. 130, 'who can any longer doubt 'but that the true design of this work was to recommend 'initiation into the mysteries, in opposition to the new re-'ligion?' meaning the christian religion.

I do not yet perceive the certainty of that conclusion. Supposing a man by some means to have been transformed into an ass, and in that state to have been treated as a beast of burden, and to have undergone many hardships; it was natural for him, upon his recovering the human shape, to make acknowledgments to heaven, in a way agreeable to the religion of which he makes profession, or as best suited to his own temper. Lucian, whose regard for the gods is not reckoned to have been very extraordinary, having been transformed, as Apuleius is represented to have been, upon the recovery of human shape, 'sacrifices[s] to the gods his 'saviours, and makes offerings to them.' Apuleius, who was more accustomed to religious rites, is initiated, as just shown.

I must therefore still understand this to be a Milesian fable, as the ancients did. And I cannot but consider the allegorical interpretation as a fiction without foundation.

But, though I am not able to discern that deep and hidden design which our author sees in this work, it may be allowed to be (what[t] divers learned and ingenious men have supposed) a perpetual satire of the tricks and irregularities of magicians, priests, debauchees, cheats, and sharpers, with which the world was then filled.

Crevier's[u] character of Apuleius is absurd and unac-

[s] *Ενταυθα, θεοις σωτηρσιν εθυον, και αναθηματα εθηκα.* Lucian. Asin. p. 117. T. 2. Græv.

[t] Tota porro hæc Metamorphosis Apuleiana et stylo et sententiâ satyricon est perpetuum, (ut recte observavit Barthius, Adv. l. 51. cap. 11.) in quo magica deliria, sacrificulorum scelera, adulterorum crimina, furum et latronum impunitæ factiones differuntur. J. Florid. Annot. in Apul. in usum Delphin. p. 2.

See likewise Bayle in Apulée, note [s].

[u] 'Apuleius ought to be ranked with the philosophers who pretended to join 'magic to philosophy. He was an Apollonius Tyanæus in miniature. Mira-'cles were ascribed to him and a supernatural commerce with the gods. In 'the main, all he did was mere imposture, by which he proposed to raise his 'character for knowledge, and to make himself a subject of admiration.' Crevier's Hist. of the Emperors, vol. vii. p. 344.

So says that learned modern. Had he never read the Apology of Apuleius? And did he suppose every thing said in the Metamorphosis, or Fable of the Ass, to be real matter of fact?

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countable. I put it below with a remark or two; and perhaps it may be remembered when we come to the chapter of Hierocles.

Since writing what is above, upon reviewing the chapter, I have observed that[v] Mr. Mosheim had seen and examined the argument of the bishop of Gloucester. But, after expressing just tokens of respect for his lordship, he declares himself not to be fully satisfied with his representation of the design of the fable of the ass.

CHAP. XVII.

A general account of the early adversaries of the christians, who wrote against them: Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, Fronto, and some others.

THE next author to be quoted by me, is Celsus, who in the second century wrote professedly against the christians. And I shall now give a general account of all our ancient adversaries, or such heathen authors, who designedly opposed the christian religion.

Doubtless, all the heathen authors, hitherto quoted, were, in a sense, enemies to christianity. For though they had heard of it, they did not embrace it, but rejected it: and usually they manifest ill-will and aversion, in their manner of speaking of christians, and their principles. But now I intend such as on set purpose wrote against it, and endeavoured to confute it. In these it is reasonable to expect more particulars concerning christianity, than in others, who only speak of it by the by. We might at least expect this if their treatises were now entire; or if there remain some considerable fragments of them. We might expect to see there the best reasons which heathens had to offer against it, and the arguments deduced at length, and the defects of the evidences of our religion, if indeed there are any. And if those adversaries employ only weak and inconclusive arguments, or make use of ridicule and calumny, we may be thence farther confirmed in the persuasion of the

[v] De consilio vero fabulæ de Asino, quod commendationem mysteriorum, et christianæ religionis contemtionem, vir doctissimus esse conjicit, dubitare mihi liceat; quum nihil afferri videam ex eâ quod difficulter in aliam partem accipi possit. Moshem. de Reb. ante C. M. p. 563.

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truth of our religion. And it is very likely, that we should see fresh reason to admire the steadiness and perseverance of the christians of those times, who bore up, and held out, against the virulent pens of keen and witty adversaries, as well as against the sword of the magistrate, and the clamours of the common people.

The most noted adversaries of the christian religion, in the first four centuries, are Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and Julian. The three former wrote within the compass of the first three centuries, and before the establishment of christianity in the Roman empire by Constantine; the last, not till after the middle of the fourth century, and after the reigns of several christian emperors, Constantine and his sons. But, beside them, there were some others, not so considerable, of whom I shall take some notice here.

The principal adversaries were Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian; as may be inferred from the distinct and frequent mention made of them by ancient christian writers; who, when they are speaking of the enemies of our religion, sometimes mention those three only, without taking notice of any others. So Jerom[a] in the preface to his book Of Illustrious Men; and also in another[b] place where he likewise particularly mentions those learned christians who had published answers to them. I transcribe both those places below.

It is evident from a letter of[c] Constantine, that in his time the memory of Porphyry was made infamous, and that his books against the christian religion were by edict ordered to be burnt. There was afterwards another edict of[d] Theo-

[a] Discant igitur Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus; discant eorum sectatores, qui putant ecclesiam nullos philosophos, et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, quanti et quales viri eam fundaverint, exstruxerint, adornaverint: et desinant fidem nostram, rusticæ tantum simplicitatis arguere, suamque potius imperitiam agnoscant. De Vir. Ill. in Procem.

[b] Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. Priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinarius fortissime responderunt. Quorum Origenes octo scripsit libros; Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versuum; Eusebius et Apollinarius viginti quinque et triginta volumina condiderunt.—Julianus Augustus septem libros in expeditione Parthicâ adversus Christum evomuit, et juxta fabulas poëtarum suo se ense laceravit. Hieron. ad Magn. ep. 83. [al. 84.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 655. [c] Ap. Socrat. H. E. l. i. cap. 9. p. 32.

[d] Sancimus igitur, ut omnia, quæcunque Porphyrius suâ pulsus insaniâ, aut quivis alius, contra religiosum christianorum cultum conscripsit, apud quemcunque inventa fuerint, igni mancipentur. Omnia enim provocantia Deum ad iracundiam scripta, et pias mentes offendentia, ne ad aures quidem hominum venire volumus. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. i. l. iii. in. Vid. et. Justinian. Nov. 42. cap. i.

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dosius the younger, in 449, for abolishing the writings of Porphyry, and of every one else, who had written against the christian religion.

In that edict Porphyry only is expressly mentioned. It is a proof of the great aversion which christians had for his memory.

I do not by any means justify such proceedings; which have been often blamed by learned moderns,[e] who regret the loss of those writings. However, I do not entirely ascribe the loss of them to imperial edicts; but rather to the general contempt which they soon fell under. There is a remarkable passage in Chrysostom, in which he says, 'that[f] the books written against christianity were so contemptible, that they had been all in a manner lost long ago. Many of them perished almost as soon as they appeared. But if they are still to be found any where, it is among the christians.'

Lactantius[g] makes particular mention of two persons in his own time, (though he does not name them,) who wrote against the christian religion; and he supposeth, that there might be others who did the like about the same time, as well as in former times. One of the two above mentioned is supposed to be Hierocles, who wrote, as is computed, in the year of Christ 303, and was confuted by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Of him we shall be obliged to take particular notice hereafter.

But beside them, I think, there were some others of an earlier age, possibly, about the same time with Celsus, or before him. Minucius Felix published his excellent apology for the christian religion[h] about the year 210. It is in the form of a dialogue, or conference, between Cæcilius Natalis a heathen, and Octavius Januarius a christian, in which Minucius sits as judge.

Cæcilius, the heathen interlocutor, arguing against the

[e] Hinc Porphyrius, Syrus sive Tyrius,———vir imprimis subtilis et acutus, longum in christianos opus componebat, quod Imperatorum christianorum legibus periisse dolendum est. Moshem. de Reb. Chr. ante Const. M. p. 561.

At facile aliquis subscripserit virorum doctorum judicio, qui optent exstare, et christianorum potius gloriæ futurum putarent, si ad nos Porphyrii opus pervenisset. Verum non minus ego vehementer optem exstare opera, quæ Porphyrio opposuerant christiani doctores antiqui, Eusebius, Methodius, Apollinarius, et Philostorgius. Fabr. Lux Evangel. cap. 8. p. 155.

[f] *Αλλα τοσουτος εστι των υπ' αυτων γεγραμμενων ὁ γελως, ωστε αφανισθηναι και τα βιβλια παλαι, και ἁμα τῳ δειχθηναι, και απολεσθαι τα πολλα. Ει δε που τι και εὑρεθειη διασωθεν, παρα χριστιανοις τουτο σωζομενον εὑροι τις αν.* De S. Bab. Or. 2. Tom. ii. p. 539. Bened.

[g] Inst. l. v. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5.

[h] See Vol. ii. p. 386—389

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christians, speaks to this purpose. 'As[i] for the feast, it is 'a well-known thing. Every body talks of it. They come 'together, upon an appointed day, with all their children, 'their sisters, and mothers; persons of each sex, and of every 'condition. And after feeding plentifully, when the lights 'are put out, they practise promiscuously incest, and all 'manner of uncleanness.'

To this Octavius refers, when it comes to his turn to speak. 'The story,' says[k] he, 'of the incestuous mixtures 'is a mere fiction, a lie invented by demons. Nor does 'your Fronto attest it as a positive witness; but he flings 'it out in the way of reproach as an orator.'

It hence plainly appears, that one Fronto had published an oration against the christians, in which was that odious calumny, particularly taken notice of by Tertullian, and other ancient christian apologists. Several learned men[l] have been of opinion, that this Fronto is the same, who was master in the Latin tongue to Marcus Antoninus the[m] philosopher. If so, we may the less wonder at that emperor's antipathy to the christians; for[n] Fronto was one of his masters, for whom he had a high respect. As Antoninus's master was a professed orator and rhetorician, the conjecture that he is the same who published the oration here mentioned, is very probable.

But beside this Fronto, who was of Cirtha in Numidia, expressly mentioned both by Cæcilius and Octavius in their

[i] Et de convivio notum est. Passim omnes loquuntur. Id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas solemni die coëunt, cum omnibus liberis, sororibus, matribus, sexûs omnis homines, et omnis ætatis. Illic, post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit, et incestæ libidini ebrietatis fervor exarsit, canis, qui candelabro nexus est, jactu ossulæ ultra spatium lineæ, quâ vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur. Sic everso et exstincto conscio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis. Et si non omnes operâ, conscientiâ tamen pariter incesti; quoniam voto universorum appetitur, quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum. Min. Fel. cap. 9.

[k] Et de incesto convivio fabulam grandem adversum nos dæmonum coitio mentita est, ut gloriam pudicitiæ deformis infamiæ aversione [f. aspersione] macularet——Sic de isto et tuus Fronto, non, ut affirmator, testimonium fecit, sed convivium, ut orator, inspersit. Ib. cap. 31.

[l] Nam et ex eâdem Africâ prodibant hostes minime ignavi, neque improbi minus, quam vehementer calumniatores. Qualis, ne longius abeam, fuit ille, cujus jam memini, Fronto—Nollem hunc fuisse Papirium Frontonem jurisconsultum, qui in Pandectis laudatur. Suspicor potius fuisse Cornelium Frontonem rhetorem, quem Capitolinus narrat fuisse præceptorem M. Antonini Philosophi Imp.——Balduin. in Præf. ad Min. Felic. cap. iii. Vid. et annotata a Rigaltio, in cap. ix.

[m] Latinas autem literas eum Fronto orator nobilissimus docuit. Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 12.

[n] Sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui et statuam in Senatu petit. Jul. Capitol. M. Antonin. cap. 2.

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conference, there seem to be references to one or two more, who are anonymous. For before Octavius mentions Fronto, he says: 'And[o] he who tells against us the fiction of our 'worshipping the priest's secret parts, only strives to throw 'scandals upon us, which are his own, and belong to his 'own people.'

And soon afterwards: 'And[p] now,' says Octavius, 'I 'would willingly speak to him, who says, or believes, that 'we are initiated with the murder and blood of a child.'

Here seem to me to be two different writers, who had aspersed the christians, beside Fronto. But whether they were professed adversaries, who wrote a book against the christians, as Fronto did; or whether they only occasionally flung out reflections upon the christians in some work, the principal part of which was some other subject, does not clearly appear. But they are authors. And as they are both taken notice of by Octavius, before he comes to Fronto, it is not unlikely, that they were at least as ancient as he; and probably not very remote in time from Celsus, of whom we are now to speak more distinctly.

I have not particularly mentioned Autolycus, to whom Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, near the end of the second century, addressed three books in the way of apology for the christians.

Nor Demetrian, to whom Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about the middle of the third century, wrote a letter, with the same view; because, though they were men of some learning, and of some consideration upon account of their worldly condition, it does not appear that they ever wrote against the christians, but only, so far as we can discern, cast reflections upon them in their discourses, and sometimes even in the presence of the above-mentioned bishops, to whom they were not absolute strangers.

[o] Etiam ille, qui de adoratis sacerdotis virilibus adversus nos fabulatur, tentat in nos conferre quæ sua sunt. Cap. 28.

[p] Illum jam convenire, qui initiari nos dicit, aut credit, de cæde infantis et sanguine. Cap. 30. in.

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CHAP. XVIII.

CELSUS.

I. *His time, and character, and his work against the christians.* II. *Passages in Celsus, representing the Jewish expectation of the Messiah.* III. *Passages of Celsus, containing references to the books of the N. T.* IV. *Passages of Celsus concerning christian facts, chiefly such as are recorded in the N. T.* V. *Passages of Celsus relating to the christian principles.* VI. *Passages relating to the progress of the christian religion.* VII. *Passages of Celsus, in which he chargeth the christians with magical practices.* VIII. *Passages relating to christian worship, and their religious assemblies.* IX. *Passages in Celsus concerning those called heretics.* X. *Passages in Celsus, containing calumnies, or injurious reflections upon the christians.* XI. *Remarks upon the work of Celsus against the christians, and upon Origen's answer to it.* XII. *A Recapitulation of the preceding extracts.* XIII. *Three summaries of the fragments of the work of Celsus preserved in Origen, made by three several learned men.*

SECTION I.

His time, and character, and his work against the christians.

THE book, which Celsus wrote against the christians, was[a] entitled 'The true Word.' Origen[b] says, he had understood, that there were two of this name, who were Epicureans: one lived in the time of Nero, the other in the time of Adrian, and afterwards. Him he takes to be the person who had written against us.

[a] ——Λογον Αληθη, ὡς επεγραψεν ὁ Κελσος. Orig. contr. Cels. in Pr. sect. 4. Bened. p. 3. Spencer. seu Cant.

Και περιεγραψαμεν εν οκτω βιβλιοις παντα, ὁσα πρεπον ειναι ενομισαμεν υπαγορευσαι προς τον επιγεγραμμενον Κελσῳ Αληθη Λογον. L. viii. sect. 76. p. 428. et passim.

[b] Contra Cels. l. i. c. 8. p. 9

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Concerning Celsus, and his work, divers learned moderns may be[c] consulted.

It was a time of persecution when he wrote; for he several times speaks[d] of the christians teaching their principles privately, and holding assemblies contrary to law, and hiding themselves, because they were sought for to be put to death. This leads us to the reign[e] of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher. It is also very probable, that this Celsus is the same, to whom Lucian inscribed his[f] Alexander or Pseudomantis, which was not written until after the death of the fore-mentioned emperor. He therefore reached to the time of Commodus. I choose, therefore, upon the whole, to place him with his friend Lucian, (who will be in the next chapter,) in the year of Christ 176, not far from the end of the reign of Marcus, who died in March, in the year 180.

Against this adversary of our religion, Origen, at[g] the desire of his friend Ambrose, wrote an answer. It was published, as some think, in the year 246, according to others in 249, an excellent work, greatly esteemed and celebrated, not only by Eusebius and Jerom, but also by many judicious moderns, particularly Du Pin; who says, 'it[h] is polite and methodical; not only the best work of 'Origen, but the completest and best written apology for 'the christian religion, which the ancients have left us.'

This apology of Origen consists of eight books, undoubtedly thus divided by that great master himself, that each

[c] Cav. H. L. p. 96. Fabr. B. Gr. l. iii. cap. 33. T. ii. p. 809. et Lux Evangel. p. 151. Tillem. Origene, art. 34.

[d] *Πρωτον τῳ Κελσῳ κεφαλαιον ετι βουλομενῳ διαβαλειν χριστιανισμον, ὡς συνθηκας κρυβδην προς αλληλους ποιουμενων χριστιανων παρα τα νενομισμενα.* L. i. sect. 1. Ben. p. 4. Cant.

Μετα ταυτα, περι του κρυφα χριστιανους τα αριστοντα ἑαυτοις ποιων και διδασκειν ειπων, και ὁτι ου ματην τουτο ποιουσιν, ἀτε διωθουμενοι την επηρτημενην αυτοις δικην του θανατου. L. i. sect. 3. p. 5.

Ὑμων δε καν πλαναται τις ετι λανθανων, αλλα ζητειται προς θανατου δικην. L. viii. sect. 69. p. 424.

[e] Ut ut est, Celsus, quem confutat Origenes, suum *Αληθη Λογον* scribere non potuit ante Marci Aurelii imperium, quandoquidem, teste Origene, l. v. n. 62, non solum in eo opere meminerat Marcionitarum, qui circa annum Christi 142 orti sunt, sed et Marcellianorum, qui nomen trahebant a Marcellinâ, quâdam ex Carpocratianorum sectâ muliere, quæ, teste Irenæo, lib. i. cap. 24, Romam venit sub Aniceto post annum Christi 157. Verisimile autem admodum est illum hoc opus composuisse ardente Marci Aurelii adversus christianos persecutione, siquidem, teste Origene, lib. viii. num. 69, christianos asserit ubique latere, ut mortis, ad quam quærebantur, periculum evaderent. Benedictin. Monitum ad libros Origenis contr. Cels. p. 313.

[f] Lucian. T. i. p. 746. edit. Gr. [g] Contr. Cels. in Pr. et sub fin. libri octavi et ultimi. [h] See Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

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book might be perused at a single reading, without disgust or weariness. But the Benedictines have now divided the books into sections; which is a very useful and acceptable service.

As Celsus undertook a laboured argument against the christians, and he wrote so late as the time of Marcus Antoninus, when too the christians were openly persecuted, and their affairs were rendered better known by the persecution itself, and by the apologies then made for them; we may reasonably expect to find in his work many things which may be now of great use to us; none, however, more valuable, than the testimony here given to the books of the New Testament. As Chrysostom says: 'Celsus[1] and Bataneotes, '(meaning Porphyry,) are sufficient witnesses to the an-'tiquity of our books. For, I presume, they did not op-'pose writings which have been published since their own 'time.'

As our collections from the remains of Celsus, preserved in Origen, will be large and various, it is very proper to divide them into several sections.

SECTION II.

Passages in Celsus, representing the Jewish expectation of the Messiah.

NOR ought it to be thought at all strange, that we find some things in Celsus concerning this matter, because in a large part of his work he personated a Jew.

I. 'But[2] my prophet said formerly at Jerusalem, that 'the Son of God will come a judge of good men, and a 'punisher of the wicked.'

Upon this Origen has divers observations, showing, that these words are improperly put in the mouth of a Jew. First, he says, that the Christ was not prophesied of by one, but by many. Secondly, if by 'my prophet' be meant Moses, here is another absurdity; for the name of Jerusalem was not known in his time. Thirdly, no Jew would say, that any prophet foretold the coming of 'the Son of

[1] Ἱκανοι δε και αἱ καθ' ἡμων ειρηκοτες την αρχαιοτητα μαρτυρησαι τοις βιβλιοις, οἱ περι Κελσον και τον Βατανεωτην τον μετ' εκεινον. Ου γαρ δη τοις μετ' αυτους συντεθεισιν αντελεγον. Chrys. in ep. i. ad Cor. hom. vi. T. x. p. 47.

[2] Αλλ' ειπεν ὁ εμος προφητης εν Ἱεροσολυμοις ποτη, ὁτι ἡξει Θεου Ὑιος, των ὁσιων κριτης, και των αδικων κολαστης. Contr. Cels. l. i. sect. 49. p. 38.

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'God,' but the coming of 'the Christ of God.' Not that we deny, says Origen, that the coming of the Son of God was foretold; but no Jew would allow of this.

2. 'There[b] are innumerable, says the Jew in Celsus, 'who confute Jesus, affirming, that of themselves were said 'those things which were prophesied of concerning him:' that is, concerning the person who was to come.

But those were impostors, as Theudas, and some others, who affirmed without proof; who neither said, nor performed such things as Jesus had done; as Origen[c] well shows.

3. 'And says he,[d] how could we, who had told all men, 'there would come one from God, who should punish the 'wicked, treat him injuriously when he came.'

4. 'But[e] the Jew in Celsus says: For what reason 'could we reject him, whom we had before spoken of. 'Was it, that we might be punished more severely than 'other men?'

5. 'The[f] Jew adds: The prophets say, that he who is to 'come, is great, and a prince, and lord of all the earth, and 'of all nations, and of armies.'

6. 'The[g] Jew in Celsus says: What god ever came to 'men, who did not obtain acceptance, especially if he came 'to them who expected him? Or, why should he not be 'acknowledged by them, who had long before expected 'him?'

7. 'Afterwards[h] the Jew, representing their sentiments, 'says: For we certainly expect a resurrection of the body, 'and eternal life: of which he who is to be sent to us, is to 'be a pattern: and thereby to show, that it is not impossi-'ble for God to raise up a man with a body.' But Origen makes a doubt, whether any Jews would say this of their expected Messiah.

8. 'Afterwards[i] Celsus in his own person says: That the 'contention between the christians and the Jews is very 'silly; and that all our dispute with one another about 'Christ, is no better than about the shadow of the ass, ac-'cording to the proverb. And he thinks, the whole ques-'tion is of no importance; both sides believing that it had 'been foretold by the Spirit of God, that a Saviour of man-

[b] Τινες δε και ελεγξουσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ παρα Κελσῳ Ιουδαιος, μυριοι τον Ιησουν, φασκοντες, περι ἑαυτων ταυτα ειρησθαι, ἁπερ περι εκεινου προεφητευετο. L. i. sect. 57. p. 44.

[c] Ibid. et l. ii. sect. 8. in. p. 61. med.

[d] Ib. l. ii. sect. 8. p. 61.

[e] L. ii. sect. 8. p. 62.

[f] L. ii. n. 29. p. 78.

[g] L. ii. n. 75. p. 106.

[h] L. ii. n. 77. p. 109.

[i] Lib. iii. sub in.

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'kind is to come. But they do not agree, whether he who 'has been prophesied of, is come, or not.'

9. There[k] are other places, where Celsus speaks of this same matter. Perhaps some of them may appear hereafter in our fourth section. Here is enough to show, that the Jewish expectation of a great person prophesied of, was a thing well known; and that this expectation was in being before the appearance of Jesus in the world. And indeed their having generally such an expectation in the time of Celsus, is an argument, that they had it before the coming of Jesus; for they would not have taken up such a notion from his followers.

10. I must not go from this section, without putting down a remarkable observation of Origen, that[l] the Jews did not join John (the Baptist) with Jesus, and made a difference between the death of each of them.

SECTION III.

Passages of Celsus containing references to the books of the New Testament.

1. IN some of these passages we shall observe our scriptures spoken of in general; in others there will be references to particular texts.

2. 'After that,'[a] says Origen, 'the Jew in Celsus goes 'on in this manner; I could say many things concerning 'the affairs of Jesus, and those too true, different from those 'written by the disciples of Jesus. But I purposely omit 'them.'

It is not easy to believe, that the Jew, or Celsus, would have done so, if he could have contradicted the disciples, upon good evidence, in any material points. This is only an oratorical flourish, as Origen well observes.

Celsus by 'disciples of Jesus' does not mean his followers in general; for them he calls christians, or believers, or the like. He therefore here useth that term in the most strict and proper sense, for those who had been taught by Jesus himself, that is, his apostles and their companions.

[k] L. iv. sub in. et alibi. [l] L. i. sect. 48. p. 38. And see before, Vol. vi. p. 486.

[a] ——ὅτι πολλα εχων λεγειν, και αληθη, περι των κατα Ιησυν γενομενων, και ω παραπλησια τοις ὑπο μαθητων τυ Ιησυ γραφεισιν, ἑκων εκεινα παραλειπω. L. ii. sect. 13. p. 67.

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We hence learn, that in the time of Celsus there were books well known, and allowed to be written by 'the disciples of Jesus:' which books contained a history of him, and his teaching, doctrine, and works. The books here intended, undoubtedly, are the gospels; and, possibly, there may be here also a reference to the Acts of the apostles.

3. 'Then,[b] says Origen, he accuseth the disciples, and 'says: It is a fiction of theirs, that Jesus foreknew and fore-'told all things, which befell him.'

He refers to our gospels, in which it is often related, that Jesus spoke of his sufferings before-hand, and likewise of the things that should befall his disciples, who were to be brought before kings and rulers for his name sake.

4. 'Afterwards[c] he says, that some of the believers, as if 'they were drunk, take a liberty to alter the gospel, from 'the first writing, three or four ways, or oftener, that when 'they are pressed hard, and one reading has been confuted, 'they may disown that, and flee to another.'

So that there was an ancient original account; but the believers, or christians of after-times, had altered it, he says, to serve a purpose. But that is only a general charge, which is of no value, without particular instances; which, so far as we can perceive from Origen, Celsus did not specify. Origen, by way of answer, says, he did not know of any who had altered the gospel, beside the followers of Marcion and Valentinus, and perhaps Lucanus; and that this is not the fault of the word itself, but of those who had been so daring as to corrupt the gospels; and that the fault of those men, who introduce new opinions, ought not to be laid to the charge of genuine christianity.

However, we hence perceive, that there were ancient written histories of our Saviour, composed by his own disciples. Nor is their genuineness disputed, but allowed of, as well known.

5. 'The[d] Jew in Celsus,' says Origen, 'shuts up that 'argument in this manner. These things, then, we have 'alleged to you out of your own writings, not needing any 'other witnesses. Thus you are beaten with your own 'weapons.'

[b] L. ii. n. 13. p. 67.

[c] *Μετα ταυτα τινας των πιστευοντων φησιν, ὡς εκ μεθης ἡκοντας εις το εφεσαναι αυτους μεταχαραττειν εκ της πρωτης γραφης το ευαγγελιον τριχη και τετραχη και πολλαχη.* κ. λ. L. ii. n. 27. p. 77.

[d] ——*ταυτα μεν ειν υμιν εκ των ὑμετερων συγγραμματων, εφ' ὁις ειδενος αλλε μαρτυρος χρηζομην.* κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 74. p. 106.

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6. Origen expressly says, 'That[e] Celsus quoted many 'things out of the gospel according to St. Matthew, as the 'star that appeared at the nativity of Jesus, and other won-'derful things.'

7. Celsus[f] says, the composers of the genealogies of Jesus, 'were very extravagant in making him to descend 'from the first man, and the Jewish kings. And he thinks 'he says somewhat very extraordinary, when he observes, 'that the carpenter's wife was ignorant of her high 'original.'

Celsus plainly refers to both St. Matthew's and St Luke's gospels; for he speaks of composers of the genealogy in the plural number; and St. Luke only has carried up our Saviour's genealogy to the first man. See Matt. ch i. and Luke iii.

8. 'They[g] have likewise such precepts as these. Resist 'not him that injures you; and, if a man strike thee, as his 'phrase is, on the one cheek, offer to him the other also. 'That is an old saying; but here it is expressed in a more 'homely manner.' Then he quotes a passage from Plato's Crito to the like purpose.

Celsus here refers to our Saviour's sermon upon the mount, as it is called, and particularly to Matt. v. 39, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." See likewise Luke vi. 29. Celsus says, the same thing had been said before, and better expressed. This is not a place to enter into controversy upon that head. But Origen answers very well: 'That[h] these precepts of Jesus thus 'expressed, as Celsus says unpolitely, *αγροικοτερον*, have 'been more beneficial in life than Plato's discourse in 'Crito, of which the vulgar have never heard, and hardly 'they, who have gone through a course of Greek phi-'losophy.'

9. 'He[i] finds fault with Jesus after this manner. He 'threatens, and feebly reproaches, when he says: "Woe 'unto you:" and "I foretell unto you:" For thereby he

[e] *Οτι δε κακυργων ο Κελσος εκ εξ εθετο την προφητειαν.* [Is. viii. 10—14. Matt. i. 22, 23.] *δηλον μοι γινεται, εκ τυ παραθεμενον αυτον πολλα απο τυ κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιυ, ὡσπερ τον ανατειλαντα αστερα επι τῃ γενεσει τυ Ιησυ, και αλλα των παραδοξων, μηδε την αρχην τυτυ εμνημονευκεναι.* L. i. n. 34. p. 27.

[f] *Φησι δε απηυθαδησθαι τυς γενεαλογησαντας απο τυ πρωτυ φυντος και των εν Ιυδαιοις βασιλεων τον Ιησυν· και οιεται τι εισφερειν γενναιον, ὁτι εκ αν ἡ τυ τεκτονος γυνη τηλικυτυ τυγχανυσα ηγνοει.* L. ii. n. 32. p. 80. [g] L. vii. n. 58. p. 370. [h] Ibid. n. 61. p. 373. [i] L. ii. n. 76. p. 107.

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'plainly confesseth his disability to persuade; which is so 'far below a god, that it is even unworthy a wise man.'

I need not say, that here are references to our gospels. But these are poor remarks.

10. 'Celsus[k] asks, why we may not worship angels, and 'demons, and heroes? Why, the only reason, he says, is, 'because "it is impossible to serve two masters."'

He refers to some text, where are those words, either Matt. vi. 24, or Luke xvi. 13. This maxim Celsus has endeavoured to expose,[l] several times.

11. 'O light,[m] O truth, says the Jew in Celsus; Jesus 'with his own mouth expressly declares these things, as you 'have recorded it, that there will come unto you other men, 'with like wonders, wicked men, and impostors.'

Undoubtedly, he refers to some of our Saviour's predictions concerning the coming of deceivers, and false prophets; as Matt. vii. 15; xxiv. 11, 24; Mark xiii. 22. And the genuineness of the evangelical histories is here clearly acknowledged; they are here alleged as containing our Lord's own words there recorded. And[n] in other places Celsus has taken notice of such like predictions of our Saviour.

12. In another place Celsus is arguing, that Moses and Jesus, though both are said to be sent from God, do not agree. 'Moses[o] encourageth the people to get riches; and 'destroy their enemies. But his Son, [meaning 'the Son of 'God,'] the Nazarean man, delivers quite contrary laws. 'Nor will he admit a rich man, or one that affects dominion, 'to have access to his Father. Nor will he allow men to 'take more care for food, or treasure, than the ravens; nor 'to provide for clothing, so much as the lilies; and to him 'that has smitten once, he directs to offer, that he may smite 'again.'

Beside the quotation from Matt. v. 39, or Luke vi. 29, which we had before, here are plain references to Matt. vi. 26, "Behold the fowls of the air. For they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns. Yet your heavenly Father feedeth them." And ver. 28, "Why take ye thought for raiment! Consider the lilies of the field——" or to Luke xii. 24, 27, "Consider the ravens. For they neither sow,

[k] L. vii. sect. 68. p. 376, 377. [l] L. viii. sect. 2, 3. p. 380, 381. et sect. 15. p. 388. [m] ——αλλ', ω φως και αληθεια τη αυτη φωνη διαρρηδην εξαγορευει νησους ταυτα, καθα και ὑμεις συγγεγραφατε——κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 53. p. 92. [n] Vid. l. vi. sect. 42. p. 303. [o] ——ὁ δε υἱος αρα αυτη, ὁ Ναζαραιος ανθρωπος, αντινομοθετει. κ. λ. L. vii. sect. 18. p. 343.

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nor reap. Which neither have store-house, nor barn. Consider the lilies, how they grow"——

As to what Celsus says of our Lord's discouraging the seeking of riches, power, honour; it is indeed the tenour of our Lord's doctrine in his discourses, that we are to "seek the kingdom of heaven, and its righteousness, in the first place," Matt. vi. 33. And he condemns the seeking, principally, that honour which comes from men, John v. 44. And in Luke vi. 24, he says: "Woe unto you that are rich: for you have received your consolation:" the very same chapter, in which he says, at ver. 29, "And unto him that smiteth thee on one cheek offer also the other." Which are the very words to which Celsus seems to refer.

And he calls our Saviour 'the Nazarean man,' or man of Nazareth, referring to some texts of the gospels, or the Acts, where Nazareth is mentioned, as the place of our Lord's education and abode, till he appeared publicly in the world. See Matt. ii. 23; iv. 13; Mark i. 9; Luke i. 26; ii. 4, 39, 51; iv. 16. And he is often spoken of as 'the Prophet of Nazareth,' as Matt. xxi. 11; Mark i. 24; x. 47; Luke xviii. 37; xxiv. 19; John i. 45; xix. 19; Acts ii. 22; iii. 6; and elsewhere. This character of Jesus, therefore, Celsus learned from the historical books of the New Testament, though he is pleased to mention it in the way of contempt.

13. 'Of that[p] saying of Jesus, "that it is easier for a 'camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich 'man to enter into the kingdom of God," he says, it was 'plainly taken from Plato; but Jesus had spoiled the ob-'servation of Plato, who says; To be very good and very 'rich is impossible.'

Here was in Celsus a reference to Matt. xix. 24, or Mark x. 25, or Luke xviii. 25, where that expression is recorded. Origen has several good remarks upon this passage of Celsus. He says, it must appear ridiculous, not only to the followers of Jesus, but likewise to all other attentive persons, to say, that Jesus had read Plato; when, according to the true records of his faithful disciples, he was a Jew, educated among the Jews, supposed to be the son of a carpenter, who had never been instructed neither in Greek, no, nor Hebrew learning. And he likewise asks, if that obser-

[p] *Μετα ταυτα την κατα των πλουσιων αποφασιν του Ιησου ειποντος, Ευκοπωτερον καμηλον—φησιν, Αντικρυς απο Πλατωνος ειρησθαι, τω Ιησου παραφθειροντος, το Πλατωνικον, εν οις ειπεν ὁ Πλατων οτι αγαθον οντα διαφεροντως, και πλουσιον ειναι διαφεροντως αδυνατον.* L. vi. sect. 16. p. 286.

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vation of Plato does not justify all that our Lord says in the gospels concerning moderating our regards for riches, and other worldly goods?

14. 'He[q] says, it is a saying of ours, that God was sent to 'sinners. And he asks; But why was he not sent to those 'who were free from sin? What harm is it not to have 'sinned? God accepts an unrighteous man, if he humbleth 'himself for his wickedness; but a righteous man, who has 'practised virtue from the beginning, if he looks up to him, 'he will not accept.'

Here is a manifest reference to what our Lord says in several of the gospels: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32, and likewise to the parable of the pharisee and the publican, which last "stood afar off, and would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, and went down to his house [from the temple,] justified rather than the other." Luke xviii. 9—14.

Origen makes good answers to these cavils, which well deserve to be perused; but I must not stay to transcribe them.

15. He also adds: 'But Celsus insinuates, that we give 'this encouragement to sinners, because we are not able to 'persuade any really good and honest men; and therefore 'we open the doors to the most wicked and abandoned.' 'But,' says[r] Origen, 'if any man will with a tolerable de-'gree of equity examine our conversions, he may see that 'we have among us more of such as were converted from 'no very bad life, than of such as were abandoned.'

16. 'Celsus,' says[s] Origen, 'omitting those things that 'show the divinity of Jesus, reproacheth him with those 'things that are written of him in the gospels, his "deriders, 'the purple robe, the crown of thorns, and the reed in his 'hand," Matt. xxvii; Mark xv; Luke xxiii; John xix. 'Whence[t] did you learn these things, Celsus, but from the 'gospels, says Origen, and tells him, that[u] instead of ridi-'culing these things, he ought to admire the veracity of 'those who wrote them, and the greatness of him, who 'voluntarily suffered such things for the good of men, and

[q] *Φησιν ἡμας λεγειν, αμαρτωλεις πεπεμφθαι τον Θεον. κ. λ.* L. iii. sect. 62. p. 148, 149.

[r] *Ἡμεις δε, ει τις κατανοησαι ἡμων ευγνωμονως το αθροισμα, πλειονας εχομεν παρατησαι τους εκ απο χαλεπου πανυ βιου, ηπερ τους απο εξωλεστατων αμαρτηματων επιστρεψαντας.* L. iii. sect. 65. p.

[s] L. ii. sect. 34. p. 81.

[t] *Ποθεν ειν, ω Κελσε, ταυτα μεμαθηκας, η απο των ευαγγελιων.*

[u] *Μαλλον ειν θαυμαζε αυτων το φιλαληθες—*

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'bore all with meekness and patience; for it is no where 'written, that he bemoaned himself, or that he said or did 'any thing mean and abject, when he was condemned.'

And just before Celsus had said: 'But[v] neither did he 'who condemned him suffer any thing like Pentheus, who 'ran mad, and was torn to pieces.'

'He does not consider,' says Origen, 'that Jesus was not 'so much condemned by Pilate, "who knew that for envy 'the Jews had delivered him," as by the Jewish people; 'for which cause they have been condemned by God, and 'have been dispersed and scattered over the whole earth 'more than Pentheus. And why does he designedly omit 'what is recorded concerning the wife of Pilate, who sent 'to him, "saying, Have nothing to do with that just man; 'for I have suffered many things this day in a dream, be-'cause of him,"' Matt. xxvii. 19. So writes Origen. But Eusebius says, that[w] Pontius Pilate met with many troubles, and at last made away with himself.

18. 'He[x] pretends,' says Origen, 'that christians argue 'miserably when they say, that the Son of God is the Word 'himself: and he thinks he makes good his charge, in that 'after we have affirmed the Son of God to be the Word, we 'do not show him to be a pure and holy Word, but a 'miserable man, condemned, scourged, and crucified.'

Where, as I apprehend, Celsus referred to St. John's gospel, in which, at the beginning, Jesus is spoken of as "the Word," and at the end, as indeed in all the gospels, his crucifixion is related.

19. By way of ridicule Celsus speaks 'of[y] the blood, 'which flowed from the body of Jesus when on the cross.' Referring, as Origen justly supposes, to John xix. 34.

20. The Jew, in Celsus, having referred to some heathen stories, or rather fables, turns himself to Jesus: 'But[z] you, 'what good or wonderful thing, either in word or deed, did 'you perform? You showed us nothing, though they called 'upon you in the temple to give some manifest sign, that 'you were the Son of God.'

Here is, I think, a reference to John x. 23, 24, "And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then

[v] L. ii. sect. 34. p. 81.

[w] H. E. l. ii. cap. 7.

[x] L. ii. sect. 31. p. 79.

[y] Ειτα, φησιν ο Κελσος. Τι, και ανασκολοπιζομενη τη σωματος, ποιος ιχωρ,

Οιος περ τε ῥεει μακαρεσσι θεοισιν,

Εκεινος μεν ην παιζει. L. ii. sect. 36. 81.

[z] L. i. sect. 67. p. 52.

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came the Jews round about him, and said unto him: How long doest thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." See also John ii. 18.

21. 'After[a] this he adds,' says Origen: 'To the sepul-'chre of Jesus there came two angels, as is said by some, 'or, as by others, one only. He had observed, I think, that 'Matthew and Mark mention one only, Luke and John two. 'But,' says Origen, 'those things are not contrary to each 'other: they are easily reconciled.' See Matt. xxviii. 2; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12.

Origen supposed, therefore, that Celsus had read all our four gospels; which, indeed, appears to me to be very probable, from the collections which we have made. And their genuineness is here acknowledged. These histories of Jesus were written by his own disciples, the apostles, and their companions, as we now say, and as has been said by all christians in general from the beginning.

22. 'But[b] Celsus, who has often derided a resurrection, 'which he did not understand, not contented with what he 'had already said, adds, that we expect a resurrection of 'the flesh from wood: perverting, as I suppose, what is 'figuratively said: "By wood [or by a tree] came death; 'and by a tree comes life. By Adam came death, but life 'by Christ," 1 Cor. xv. 22. Then playing upon the word, 'wood, he endeavours to expose it in two respects, and says, '"that wood is honoured by us, either because our master 'was fastened to a cross, or because he was a carpenter by 'trade."' In answer to which Origen says; 'That Jesus 'himself is no where called a carpenter in any of the gos-'pels received by the church.'

Whence it came to pass that Origen said this is not certain; whether it be a slip of memory, or whether the copies used by him had carpenter's son; for in all the Greek manuscripts in general Jesus is called a carpenter, in Mark vi. 3, as in our version.

I suppose, that this passage may afford good proof, that Celsus had seen and read St. Mark's, as well as the other gospels.

23. 'Some[c] of them say: "Do not examine, but believe;

[a] ——ετι και προς τον αυτȣ τȣ Ιησȣ ταφον ἱστορηνται εληλυθεναι ὑπο τινων μεν αγγελοι δυο, ὑπο τινων δε εἰς· ȣκ, οιμαι, τηρησας Ματθαιον μεν και Μαρκον ἑνα ἱστορηκεναι, Δȣκαν δε και Ιωαννην δυο· ἁπερ ȣκ ην εναντια. Lib. v. sect. 56. p. 268. [b] L. vi. sect. 36. p. 299.

[c] ——χρησθαι τω, Μη εξεταζε, αλλα πιστευσον· και, Ἡ πιστις σȣ σωσει σε· Και φησιν αυτȣς λεγειν· Κακον ἡ εν τῳ βιῳ σοφια, αγαθον δε ἡ μωρια. L. i. sect. 9. p. 8.

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and thy faith shall save thee; and the wisdom of this world is evil, and folly good." '

Afterwards Origen quotes from Celsus the same saying in this manner: 'Wisdom[d] in life is evil, and folly good.' In another place Celsus says, that we say: "Wisdom[e] in men is foolishness with God:" whereas, says Origen, Paul says: "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

Nor can it be questioned, that Celsus referred to St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. See 1 Cor. iii. 19. And compare 1 Cor. i. 19—31.

24. Here I may take a reflection of Celsus upon the christians, which is in these terms. 'These,[f] he says, are 'our institutions: Let not any man of learning come hither, 'nor any wise man, nor any man of prudence; for these 'things, he says, are reckoned evil by us: but if any man 'be unlearned, if he is ignorant, if he is silly, let him come 'without fear. Thus acknowledging, that these are the men 'who are acceptable to their God; and thereby manifesting, 'that they are neither willing nor able to gain any but the 'foolish, the vulgar, the stupid, slaves, women, and chil-'dren.'

To which, beside many other things, Origen answers: 'Celsus,[g] without reason, chargeth us, as if we said: Let 'not any man of learning, any wise man, and discreet per-'son come to us. Yea, let the learned, the wise, the dis-'creet come, if he will: but let him also come who is un-'learned, and uninstructed, and ignorant, and foolish; for 'such likewise the word undertakes to heal, (or promiseth 'to heal,) if they are willing, and will prepare themselves 'for the divine acceptance.'

'For it is false, that the foolish, the ignorant, the vulgar, 'and slaves, and women, and children, are the only persons, 'whom the teachers of the divine word are desirous to per-'suade. Such indeed the divine word calls, that it may 'improve them; but it calls also those who are of very dif-'ferent characters; for our Saviour Jesus Christ is "the 'Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe," 'whether they are wise, or simple.' 1 Tim. iv. 10.

For certain, that is a misrepresentation of the christian institution, wherein all who are willing, are called, and invited, to come, and learn, and partake of the blessings appertaining to it, as appears from Matt. xi. 22—30. See also Rev. xxii. 17. And presently afterwards Origen says,

[d] L. i. sect. 13. p. 11.
[e] L. vi. sect. 12. p. 283.
[f] L. iii. sect. 44. p. 137.
[g] L. iii. sect. 48, 49. p. 141.

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'there[h] is no harm in being learned; for learning leads to 'virtue.'

25. 'If,[i] says Celsus, those idols are nothing, what harm 'can there be to partake in their feasts? If they are demons, 'then no doubt they are of God; and they are to be be- 'lieved and honoured according to the laws, and to be 'prayed to, that they may be propitious to us.'

Origen, with good reason, supposeth, that Celsus here has an eye to 1 Cor. viii. 4—10, 11, "As concerning, therefore, things offered to idols, we know, that an idol is nothing in the world." And what follows.

26. 'Notwithstanding[k] the many divisions and conten- 'tions which there are among them, says Celsus, you may 'hear them all saying: "The world is crucified unto me, 'and I unto the world."' Which are the very words of Gal. vi. 14.

27. 'Some[l] of them, he says, will neither give, nor receive 'a reason of the things which they believe.'

It is St. Peter's advice, 1 ep. iii. 15, "And be always ready to give an answer to every one that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." Whether Celsus alluded to that place, we cannot say positively; though it is not improbable.

28. 'After[m] these things, says Origen, he speaks to us 'in this manner; Surely, you will not say, that when he 'could not persuade those that were here, he went to Hades, 'to persuade those who are there.'

St. Peter says, 1 ep. iii. 19, 20, "By which also he went, and preached to the spirits in prison, which some time were disobedient," and what follows. There seems to be a reference to this text. And Celsus was aware, they would say something like to what he says, 'surely you will not say:' and his apprehension might be built upon this text. And in Origen's next section there follows a quotation from Celsus, which may confirm this supposition; but it would be too prolix to enlarge farther here.

29. Celsus chargeth the christians with having gross apprehensions of God: 'He[n] says, we expect to see God

[h] Το μεν ον αληθως πεπαιδευσθαι ου κακον· ὁδος γαρ επ' αρετην εστιν ἡ παιδευσις. Ib. sect. 49.

[i] L. viii. sect. 24. p. 393.

[k] Παντων δε, φησιν, ακουσῃ——λεγοντων το, Εμοι κοσμος εσταυρωται· κἀγω τῳ κοσμῳ. L. v. sect. 64. p. 273.

[l] Φησι δε τινας, μηδε βουλομενους διδοναι ἡ λαμβανειν λογον περι ὧν πιστευουσι. L. i. sect. 9. p. 8.

[m] L. ii. sect. 43. p. 85.

[n] ——λεγων προσδεχεσθαι ἡμας οφθαλμοις σωματος Θεον οψεσθαι, και ωσι της φωνης αυτου ακουεσθαι, και χερσιν αισθηταις ψαυειν αυτου. L. vii. sect 34. p. 374.

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'with the eyes of the body, and to hear his voice with our 'ears, and to handle him with our sensible hands.'

St. John says, 1 ep. i. 1, "That which was from the beginning: which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life." And iii. 2, "We shall see him as he is." Whether Celsus referred to either of those places, I cannot say positively.

30. I shall allege no more passages from Celsus concerning the books of the New Testament; many more references to them will appear in the next section. In those already cited are plain references to the gospels, and to several of St. Paul's epistles, if not also to the epistles of St. Peter and St. John. We are assured by Celsus, that there were histories of Jesus, 'written by his disciples:' and that these books were well known, and in high esteem with christians. We have seen plain references to the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John; and probably, he had read, and was acquainted with Mark's also. Nor is there so much as a pretence or insinuation, that the later christians, of Celsus's age, had forged those histories to do honour to Jesus. He only says, that they had altered some things: but of that he produced no proof.

SECTION IV.

Passages of Celsus concerning christian facts, chiefly such as are recorded in the New Testament.

1. 'IT is but a few years, says[a] Celsus, since he [Jesus] 'delivered this doctrine, who is now reckoned by the chris-'tians to be the Son of God.'

Never the worse for that; if Jesus had not been acknowledged to be the Son of God, soon after his coming, he ought never to have been so acknowledged. But he was esteemed to be so, when the evidences, which he produced, might be examined. As there were many in divers parts of the world, who soon owned his divine mission and character, notwithstanding many outward discouragements, there is reason to believe, that they had good evidences of it. Origen answers very well: 'That Jesus had by his doc-'trine so affected many in different parts of the world,

[a] L. i. sect. 26. p. 21.

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'Greeks and barbarians, wise and unwise, that they had 'contended for christianity even unto death.'

2. In another place[b] Celsus calls Jesus 'the first author 'of this sedition.'

3. 'After this,'[c] says Origen, 'he brings in his Jew, ar-'guing against Jesus in this manner. First, that he pre-'tended, he was born of a virgin; then he reproacheth him 'with his birth in a Jewish village, and of a poor woman of 'that country, who[d] subsisted by the labour of her hands. 'And he says, she was put away by her husband, who was 'a carpenter by trade, he having found that she was guilty 'of adultery. Then he says, that having been turned out 'of doors by her husband, she wandered about in a shame-'ful manner, till she had brought forth Jesus in an obscure 'place, and that he, being in want, served in Egypt for a 'livelihood; and having there learned some charms, such 'as the Egyptians are fond of, he returned home; and then 'valuing himself upon those charms, [powers,] he set up 'himself for a God.'

4. Farther, Origen says, 'that[e] this fictitious person of a 'Jew says, that the mother of Jesus, being great with child, 'was put away by the carpenter, who had espoused her, 'he having convicted her of adultery with a soldier named 'Pantheras.' But Origen seems not to give us here the words of Celsus exactly. However, afterwards Celsus goes on: 'Was[f] the mother of Jesus handsome, that God should 'be in love with her beauty? It is unworthy of God, to 'suppose him to be taken with a corruptible body, or to 'be in love with a woman, whether she be of royal descent, 'or otherwise.'

5. In another place[g] Celsus says: 'But if God would 'send forth a spirit from himself, what need had he to 'breathe him into the womb of a woman? For, since he 'knew how to make men, he might have formed a body for 'this spirit, and not cast his own spirit into such filth.'

6. From all which we learn, that there did then obtain among christians such an account of the miraculous conception of Jesus, as we now have in the gospels; that he was born of a virgin, by the power of the Highest; that her husband was a carpenter, that Jesus was born in a village or town of Judea, which was not then of any great extent, and

[b] Ὁσπερ εστιν αυτοις της στασιως αρχηγετης. L. viii. sect. 14. p. 387.

[c] L. i. sect. 28. p. 22.

[d] Και απο γυναικος εγχωριας, και πενιχρας, και χερνητιδος. Ib.

[e] L. i. sect. 32. p. 25. Of this Pantheras see again, l. i. sect. 69. p. 54.

[f] L. i. sect. 39. p. 30.

[g] L. vi. sect. 73. p. 325.

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also that he was in Egypt, and returned thence; and that there were some extraordinary works related to be done by him afterwards; upon account of which he was in the highest veneration with many. See Matt. i. and ii; Luke i. and ii.

Origen[h] says very well, that the story of Pantheras is a silly and improbable fiction, the forgery of blind malice, to overthrow the credit of the miraculous conception of Jesus. And he appeals to Celsus, and all the Greeks and barbarians in general, whether it was at all likely, that a person, whose great design was to deliver men from the corruptions of this world, and who had succeeded to a great degree, in converting men from their vices, should not have so much as a legitimate birth? It was much more likely that it should be of an extraordinary kind, such as that received by christians.

However, it was no hard matter for malicious enemies, such as the Jews were, to whom Celsus had applied for scandal, to frame a different account from that of the disciples; concerning which I shall only say farther, that undoubtedly, at first, Mary only knew, that the child was conceived in her by a divine interposition, without the concurrence of a man. It is probable, that the account given by her is true, in that her husband was convinced of it, and fully satisfied about it, as appears from the evangelists. Their account is supported by all the great works done by Jesus, and by his resurrection from the dead, and by the miracles of his apostles, and by the wonderful success and great effects of his doctrine in the world. This is said for the truth of the miraculous birth of the Lord Jesus.

As to the fitness of it, I would observe, that there is no absurdity in the evangelists' account of this matter: and we may do Celsus the justice to own, that he does not deny the possibility of it.

7. 'After these things,' says[i] Origen, 'the Jew in Celsus, 'instead of the Magians in the gospels, says: It was given 'out by Jesus, that Chaldeans were moved at the time of his 'birth, to come, and worship him, as a God, when he was but 'a little child, and that[k] this was told to Herod the tetrarch;

[h] L. i. sect. 32, 33. p. 25.

[i] ——Χαλδαιους φησιν ὑπο τυ Ιησυ λελεχθαι κινηθεντας επι τη γεντσει αυτυ. κ. λ. L. i. sect. 58. p. 45.

[k] "And that this was told to Herod the tetrarch." Και Ἡρωδη τῳ τετραρχῃ τυτο δεδηλωκεναι. I would here make two remarks upon Celsus mistaking Herod king of all Judea, in whose time Jesus was born, for his son Herod the tetrarch of Galilee. First, We see the great difficulty of any writer's taking upon himself the character of a more early age than that in which he lives, without committing some great mistakes. This instance may confirm

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'who issued out an order to have all killed, who had been 'born there about that time, intending to kill him with the 'rest, lest if he should live to mature age, he should take 'the government.'

It cannot be questioned, but that here is a reference to the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. We are not to wonder, that Celsus, who was pleased to consider Jesus as an impostor, should say, that this, or some other things in the gospels, 'were given out,' or invented by Jesus himself, by whom therefore his disciples were deceived. But that is only said, not proved; for it is unreasonable to suppose, that the disciples should preach Jesus at the hazard of their lives, without any good evidences of his divine mission and character. There are many great things related of Jesus in the gospels, which the disciples must have certainly known, whether they were true, or not. Moreover, it would have been in vain for Jesus, or his disciples, at that time, to tell a story of Chaldeans, or Wise Men of the East, coming to Jerusalem to worship a new-born child, and of Herod's thereupon putting to death a great number of children in an adjacent village, unless it had been true, and matter of fact; especially with so many circumstances as are put into the narrative by St. Matthew.

8. 'Afterwards[1] the Jew in Celsus addresses Jesus, and 'says: "What occasion had you, when an infant, to be car-'ried into Egypt, lest you should be killed? A God has no 'reason to be afraid of death. And now an angel comes 'from heaven to direct you and your relations to flee into 'Egypt, lest you should be taken up and put to death; as 'if the great God, who had already sent two angels upon 'your account, could not have preserved you, his own Son, 'in safety at home."'

Here is another manifest reference to the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew; but there is nothing solid in this objection of Celsus. Jesus, being a man, born of a woman, he was exposed to dangers, as other men are. And it was more agreeable to divine wisdom and goodness, that Jesus should sometimes decline dangers, than that his enemies should be destroyed. See Matt. ii. 13, and compare ch. i.

the argument, so much insisted on for the credibility of the evangelical history, in the first part of this work: where the evangelists' freedom from all errors of this kind was largely shown. Secondly, Since so learned a man as Celsus, about the middle of the second century, has made such a blunder in history, the christian writers, of the same age, or later, ought not to be too severely treated for any mistakes of the like kind. [1] L. i. sect. 66. p. 51.

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In another place Celsus has these words: 'But[m] if he '[Herod] was afraid, that when you was come of age, you 'should reign in his stead; why did you not reign when 'you was of age? But so far from that, the Son of God 'wanders about, cringing like a necessitous beggar.' Or, as some may choose it should be rendered: 'Skulking 'from place to place, as if he was afraid of being taken up.'

These expressions are very irreverent; but they contain another testimony to the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

9.'But[n] that it may not be suspected,' says Origen, 'that 'we pass by any chapters because we have no answer at 'hand; I have thought it best, according to my ability, to 'confute every thing proposed by him; not so much ob-'serving the natural order of things, but the order which 'he has taken himself. Let us see therefore what he says, 'denying that the Holy Spirit was seen by our Saviour in 'the shape of a dove. It is the Jew, who still goes on, ad-'dressing himself to him, whom we own for our Lord. '"You say, that when you was washed by John, there 'lighted upon you the appearance of a bird." The Jew 'adds: "What[o] credible witness has said, that he saw 'this? or who heard the voice from heaven, declaring you 'to be the Son of God, excepting yourself, and, if you are 'to be credited, one other of those, who have been punished 'like yourself."'

This passage bears testimony to many things recorded in the gospels: our Saviour's baptism by John; that John, as well as our Saviour, had suffered a violent death; that according to the disciples of Jesus, who had written his history, when he was baptized, the Holy Ghost descended like a dove, and abode upon him; and there was a voice from heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God, or the Messiah. Celsus may have referred to several of the gospels, but, as it seems, more particularly to John i. 32, 33, "And John bare record, saying; I saw the Spirit descending from heaven, like a dove, and it abode upon him." And what follows.

Origen's answer to this is prolix; toward the conclusion of which he says: 'I[p] must add, that Celsus is mistaken,

[m] Ει δ' οπως μη συ ανεξηθεις αντ' εκεινου βασιλευσης, τι, επειδη γε ηνεξηθης, ου βασιλευεις, αλλ' ο του Θεου παις ουτως αγενως αγειρεις, κυπταζων [al. κρυπταζων] υπο φοβου, και περιφθειρομενος ανω κατω. L. i. sect. 61. p. 47.

[n] L. i. sect. 41. p. 31. [o] Τις τουτο ειδεν αξιοχρεως μαρτυς τοφασμα; η τις ηκουσεν εξ ουρανου φωνης εισποιουσης σε Υιον τω Θεω, πλην οτι συ φης, και τινα ενα επαιγη των μετα σου κεκολασμενων. Ibid. [p] L. i. sect. 48. p. 37.

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'when he thinks, that Jesus himself told these things, the 'opening of the heavens, and the descent of the Spirit at 'Jordan, in the shape of a dove; forasmuch as in no text 'of scripture it is related that he said this. Nor did this 'great author consider, how little this suited him, who of 'the vision in the mount said to the disciples, "tell this 'vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen from the 'dead," Matt. xvii. 9. It is not likely, that he who said 'this, should tell the disciples what had been seen and 'heard by John; and any may perceive from his whole life, 'how he declined speaking of himself. "If I bear witness 'of myself, [says he,] my witness is not true," John v. 31. 'He chose to show himself to be the Christ by his works, 'rather than by words; so far was he from boasting.'

10. 'Celsus[q] says, that Jesus, taking to himself ten or 'eleven abjects, vile publicans and sailors, went about 'with them, getting his subsistence in a base and shameful 'manner.'

There is no doubt, that Celsus means the twelve disciples of Jesus, by whom he was usually attended: but he so much disliked the truth of the gospels, that he could not endure to put down the right number, though that be a point so indifferent: for the same reason, I suppose, he calls the disciples 'sailors,' or mariners, instead of fishermen. Celsus gives ill language, and vilifies the disciples; but it does not appear, that he produced any instances of their wickedness. Publicans and sailors, or fishermen, are oftentimes bad men; but they are not all so. The original employments of the disciples show, that they were not men of much learning, or of great and wealthy families; but they might be very honest nevertheless. The more despicable they were, the more evidently does the success of the gospel, preached by them, appear to be owing to its truth and importance, and the power of God attending it. That Celsus produced no proof, nor credible account, that the disciples were bad men, is apparent; because Origen conjectures, he might found this character upon what is said of them in[r] the epistle of St. Barnabas, or else upon what St. Peter says to Christ, Luke v. 8, "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man." And though Jesus subsisted in a mean and humble manner, it was not shameful: but it is great and shameful perverseness, to censure the life of Jesus, who,

[q] ——*δεκα ειπεν η ἑνδεκα τινας εξαρτησαμενος τον Ιησουν ἑαυτω επιῤῥητους ανθρωπους, τελωνας και ναυτας τους πονηροτατους, μετα τουτων τηδε κακεισε αυτον αποδιδρακεναι, αισχρως και γλισχρως τροφας συναγοντα.* L. i. sect. 62. p. 47.

[r] Vid. Barnab. Ep. cap. v.

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without external pomp and splendour, "went about doing good," as it is justly said, Acts x. 38. And who was sometimes attended by thousands, whom he fed in desert places; who would have been his constant followers, with many others, if he would but have exerted his power for procuring to himself and them such worldly advantages, as they saw he was well able to do.

11. I must not omit, 'that[s] in another place the Jew in 'Celsus says, Jesus set out with ten profligate publicans 'and sailors.'

12. 'After this,'[t] says Origen, 'Celsus, well knowing what 'great works may be alleged to have been done by Jesus, 'pretends[u] to grant, that the things related of him are true, 'such as healing diseases, raising the dead, feeding multi-'tudes with a few loaves, of which likewise large fragments 'were left, and whatever other things the disciples, who, 'as he thinks, delighted in strange things, have written. 'And then adds: Well, then, let us grant, that all these 'things were done by you. After which he instanceth in 'the tricks of Egyptians, and other impostors: and then 'asketh this question: Because they do such things, must 'we therefore esteem them to be God's sons? or must we 'not rather say, that these are artifices of wicked and 'miserable men?'

Celsus here evidently refers to our gospels, and allows the histories of our Lord, in which those miracles are recorded, to have been written by 'his disciples:' and he knew, that those works were esteemed proofs that he was the Son of God. Upon which Origen observes: 'You[v] 'see,' says he, 'that Celsus in a manner allows there is 'such a thing as magic; though, possibly, he is the same 'who wrote several books against magic.' Origen speaks modestly; but I think it very probable, that he is the same person. Moreover Origen here answers very well, 'that[w] 'whatever things were performed by the jugglers, whom 'Celsus speaks of, were not done for the reformation of 'mankind, nor to form in them the fear of God, or other 'virtues; which was the great design of the life of Jesus; 'who did not perform great works to be wondered at; but

[s] *Ὅτι παρων δεκα ναυτας και τελωνας τυς εξωλεςατυς μονυς ἑιλε. κ. λ.* L. ii. sect. 45. p. 86. [t] L. i. sect. 68. p. 53.

[u] ——*προσποιειται συγχωρειν αληθη ειναι, ὁσα περι θεραπειων, η αναςασεως, η περι αρτων ολιγων θρεψαντων πολλυς αναγεγραπται, η ὁσα αλλα οιεται τερατευσαμενυς τυς μαθητας ἱςορηκεναι, και επιφερει αυτοις· Φερε, πιςευσωμεν ειναι σοι ταυτ' ειργασμενα.* Ibid. [v] *Ὁραις ὡς δια τυτων οἱονει παραδεχεται μαγειαν ειναι· κ. οιδα ει ὁ αυτος ων τῳ γραψαντι κατα μαγειας βιβλια πλειονα.* Ibid. [w] Ibid.

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'that the men of that and future times, might be induced, 'by his doctrine and example, to live well, and aim to 'please God in whatever they do.'

13. 'He asks[x] us,' says Origen, '"by what reasons are 'ye induced to think him the Son of God?" And he makes 'us answer: "because we know his death was undergone 'for the destruction of the parent of evil."' And soon after: 'Here[y] he makes us answer him, "that we there-'fore have thought him to be the Son of God, because he 'healed the lame and the blind, and, as you say, raised the 'dead."'

To which Origen makes this glorious answer: 'Undoubt-'edly, we do think him to be the Christ, and the Son of 'God, because he healed the lame and the blind; and we 'are the more confirmed in this persuasion by what is written 'in the prophecies. "Then shall the eyes of the blind be 'opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the lame 'man shall leap as an hart," Is. xxxv. 5, 6. But that he 'also raised the dead, and that this is not a fiction of those 'who wrote the gospels, is evident hence; That if it had 'been a fiction, there would have been many recorded to be 'raised up, and such as had been a long time in their 'graves. But it not being a fiction, few have been record-'ed: for instance, the daughter of the ruler of a synagogue; '(of whom I do not know why he said: "she is not dead, 'but sleepeth:" expressing something peculiar to her, not 'common to all dead persons:) and the only son of a widow, 'on whom he had compassion, and raised him to life, after 'he had bid the bearer of the corpse to stop: and the third, 'Lazarus, who had been buried four days.'

Witsius, quoting the words of Celsus above cited, in a dissertation upon our Saviour's miracles, observes, 'that[z] 'many learned men have understood Celsus to allow, that 'Jesus had healed the blind, and the lame. But,' he says, 'he apprehends that these words do not represent what 'Celsus allowed, but what christians affirmed.'

[x] L. ii. sect. 47. p. 87.

[y] ——ὅτι δια τυτ' ενομισαμεν αυτον ειναι Υιον Θευ, επει χωλυς και τυφλυς εθεραπευσεν. Προτιθησι δε και το, ὡς ὑμεις φατε, ανιςη νεκρυς. Ibid. sect. 48. p. 87.

[z] Simile quid in Celso deprehendere visi sunt viri eruditissimi, ut qui confessus sit, Jesum cœcos et claudos curavisse. Sed, ut verum fatear, dubitare licet, an non justo liberaliores hac in parte sint. Operæ pretium me facturum esse arbitror, si, ingenuitati litans, et ne juniores in fraudem inducantur, integrum Origenis contextum describam. L. ii. Contra Cels. p. 87. Cantabr. Quibus verbis contineri videtur, non quod Celsus dat, sed quod christiani assumunt. Ceterum perinde nobis est, quid Celsus vel negaverit vel fuerit fassus. Diss. vi. sect. xxiii. ap. Melitem. p. 372, 373.

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It appears to me somewhat difficult to determine, whether Celsus believed those great works of our Lord, or not. But it is not easy to see, how he could disbelieve them: and he was at a loss how to account for them. And, as Origen observed: 'You see, how in a manner he allows, that there 'is such a thing as magic.' I think Celsus could not, or would not allow our Lord's great works to have been done by the power of God, because he would not admit the consequence, which was, that Jesus had a divine commission, and acted by authority from heaven: and rather than admit that just and necessary conclusion, he has recourse to shifts and evasions, which are absurd and inconsistent. As Origen says, 'Celsus,[a] not being able directly to deny the great 'works which Jesus is recorded to have done, asperseth 'them, and calls them juggling tricks.'

However, we learn from Celsus, that christians did then believe Jesus to be the Son of God, because he had healed the lame and the blind, and raised the dead: and because after this he had voluntarily submitted to death for the destruction of sin, or of Satan and his works. And may we not now appeal to all mankind, if those christians did not act very rationally, in believing Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God, provided they had but good ground for the truth and reality of the great works ascribed to him? as they certainly had, and it is well shown by Origen in the passage before quoted.

14. Still it may be expected, that I should take some notice of the insinuation which we met with some while[b] ago, that Jesus, when he was in Egypt, might learn some charms and magical powers, whereby he obtained an ability to perform some works, that should appear surprising. To which it has been already well answered by learned christian writers: 'How[c] should Jesus learn magic in Egypt, 'when he was yet an infant, and not much more than two 'years of age? and if he had learned that art in his child-'hood, how came it to pass that he performed not any 'wonderful works before he was thirty years of age? To

[a] Πολλακις δ' ὁ Κελσος ηδη μη δυναμενος αντιβλεπειν οις αναγεγραπται πεποιηκεναι δυναμεσιν ὁ Ιησους, διαβαλλει αυτας ὡς γοητειας. L. ii. sect. 48. p. 87.

[b] See before, p. 225.

[c] ———opponimus Munsteri responsum——'Et quomodo, quæso, potu-'isset puer, et infans duorum annorum, discere magiam? Quod si in pueritiâ 'didicit artem illam, quare non fecit signa ante 30 vitæ suæ annum? Tunc 'enim cœpit coruscare miraculis. Sed numquid mortui possunt vivificari per 'magicam virtutem, ut Jesus Christus fecit?' Wagens. Confutatio Toldos. Jeschu, p. 44

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'which might be added, that it is beyond the power of 'magic to perform such works as were done by Jesus.'

This objection has been considered, and well answered by Grotius. I need only transcribe a part of what he says, referring my readers to the rest. 'That[d] Jesus was in 'Egypt, is known only from the writings of his disciples, 'who also say, that he returned thence when he was still 'an infant. And if in the time of Christ and his apostles, 'there had been in Egypt, or any where else, any magical 'art, by which the blind might be made to see, the lame to 'walk, the dumb to speak, and all kinds of maladies might 'be healed on a sudden, as they were by Jesus Christ; the 'emperors Tiberius and Nero, and others, who were very 'curious and inquisitive, would have spared no cost to ob-'tain it.'

15. 'The[e] Jew goes on: How should we take him for 'a God, who, as we have understood, performed none of 'those things which were promised? [that is, as I appre-'hend, did not accomplish the worldly deliverance which 'the Jews expected.] But when we had judged him guilty, 'and would bring him to punishment, though he shamefully 'hid himself, and fled away, yet was taken, being betrayed 'by those whom he called his disciples. But it became not 'a God to flee, nor to be taken, and executed; least of all 'did it become him to be deserted and betrayed by his 'companions, who knew all his secrets, who followed him 'as their master, who esteemed him a Saviour, and the Son 'and messenger of the Most High God.'

This passage assures us of many things, agreeable to the gospels which we now have, and from which Celsus manifestly takes his accounts, whilst he endeavours to form conclusions to the disadvantage of Jesus.

This passage, then, assures us, that the Jews disliked Jesus, because he did not answer their carnal expectations; that he met with unkindness from his disciples; by one of whom he was betrayed, and by the rest forsaken; that the Jews plotted against Jesus, and that he was taken and put to death by them. But what Celsus insinuates, that Jesus absconded, is false. He was apprehended, and died volun-

[d] Nam fuisse Jesum unquam in Ægypto, non constat, nisi ex discipulorum libris, qui addunt, infantem adhuc inde rediisse———Tum vero, si Christi et ejus discipulorum tempore, usquam aut in Ægypto, aut alibi, extitisset ars ulla magica, quâ possent fieri, quæ de Christo prædicantur, muti omnes subito sanari, claudis gressio, cæcis visus dari; Imperatores, Tiberius, [Tacit. ann. vi. 20.] Nero, [Sueton. ejus vita. cap. 56.] atque alii, qui ad inquirenda talia nullis impendiis pepercerunt, haud dubie eam deprehendissent. Grot. De V. R. C. lib. v. sect. 3.

[e] L. ii. sect. 9. p. 62.

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tarily; though he had at some times retired for safety, "his hour not being yet come:" and the garden, in which he was apprehended, was a place whither he often went with his disciples. We learn also, that the christian accounts of that time were, (agreeable to our gospels,) that the disciples had conversed intimately with Jesus, and that they owned him for their master, and Saviour, and the Son and messenger of the great God. We learn, finally, that the cross of Christ was matter of offence and scandal with many.

16. 'He[f] then finds fault with the disciples, as if it were 'their fiction, that he foresaw and foretold the things which 'befell him. But that this is true, we can show, whether 'Celsus will or not; for we can allege many other things 'foretold by our Saviour, which happened to the christians 'his followers in after times. Who can forbear to admire 'these words: "And ye shall be brought before governors 'and kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and the 'Gentiles?" Matt. x. 18.——For if any men were to be 'brought before governors and kings for their doctrine, 'who should be more likely than the Epicureans, who deny 'a providence?——And who, that shall in his mind place 'himself near Jesus, must not wonder when he hears him 'say: "And this gospel shall be preached in the whole 'world, for a testimony to them, and to the gentiles," '[Matt. xxiv. 14.] And yet it has been fulfilled; and the 'gospel of Jesus Christ has been preached to all men under 'heaven, Greeks and Barbarians, wise and unwise; for the 'word preached with power has subdued all mankind; nor 'is there any sort of men that has refused to accept of the 'doctrine of Jesus. And let the Jew in Celsus, who denies 'that Jesus foresaw what would happen to himself, consider, 'how it should come to pass, that when Jerusalem was 'standing, and the Jewish worship was performed in all its 'splendour, Jesus should foretell all that would happen to 'it from the Romans. Nor can they say, that the disciples 'preached the doctrine of the gospel by word of mouth 'only, and did not deliver to their disciples any written 'memoirs concerning Jesus; but in them it is written: '"When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, 'then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh," Luke xxi. '20. There were then no armies near Jerusalem, to sur-'round it, and besiege it; that first began to be done under 'Nero, and continued to Vespasian, whose son Titus levelled 'Jerusalem with the ground.'

[f] Εγκαλει δε τοις μαθηταις, ως πλασαμενοις. κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 13. p. 67.

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17. 'But[g] Celsus says, that the disciples of Jesus, the 'thing being too manifest to be denied by them, have be- 'thought themselves to say, that he foreknew all these 'things.——But[h] they are very weak in thinking to vindi- 'cate Jesus by writing these things of him. As if one 'should affirm a man to be righteous, and show him to be 'wicked; say, he is a good man, and show that he has 'committed murder; say, he is immortal, and show him 'dead; [This last is the point which he is arguing, the 'other instances are only for illustration;] prefacing, how- 'ever, continually, that he foreknew all these things. For 'neither do you say, that he seemed to wicked men to suffer 'these things, when he did not suffer; but you openly and 'expressly say, that he did suffer.'

It is certain, then, that Jesus died; otherwise his disciples would not have related it; and it is as certain, that he foretold both his death and his resurrection. And it may deserve to be taken notice of, that the christians of that time, with whom Celsus argued, did not say, that Jesus only seemed to die, or seemed to suffer; but, that he really suffered, and died. His attacks, therefore, were made upon the sounder part of the christians, not upon Docetæ, or any such like men.

18. 'What[i] god, or demon, or wise man, who foreknew 'that such things were to happen to him, would not have 'avoided them, if he could, and not fall under the evils he 'foresaw?'

We learn hence, that the disciples' account of Jesus was, that he foreknew his sufferings, and that he suffered, and died, as we now see in our gospels: and we may observe, that whereas some while ago Celsus pretended, the disciples had been deceived by Jesus, now he makes them designing men, who had contrived to say, that Jesus 'knew 'all these things.' And whereas just now he insinuated, that Jesus had fled, and absconded, but nevertheless was apprehended; here he endeavours to show the absurdity of coming in the way of sufferings that had been foretold. So that, after all, the account in the gospels, written by the disciples, was, as now, that Jesus had voluntarily submitted to the sufferings which he had foreseen: in which there is no absurdity. Origen reminds Celsus of Socrates, and other wise men, who underwent sufferings which they could have avoided.

19. 'The[k] Jew in Celsus still goes on, saying more

[g] L. ii. sect. 15. p. 69.
[h] L. ii. sect. 16. p. 70.
[i] L. ii. sect. 17. p. 74.
[k] L. ii. sect. 18. p. 71, 72.

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'foolish things. "If he foretold who should betray him, 'and who should deny him; how came it to pass, that they 'did not fear him as a God? so that the one should not 'dare to betray him, nor the other to deny him? But they 'betrayed him, and denied him: so little did they regard 'him."'

Here are more references to some of the material facts and circumstances attending the sufferings of Jesus, as recorded in our gospels; and they are all easily accounted for. Judas, the traitor, was a wicked, covetous man; and acted against his light and conviction. Peter, who denied Jesus, was exceedingly shocked by our Lord's being apprehended, and was overcome by fear, so as to disown his relation to Jesus. However, Judas soon afterwards was so sensible of the greatness of his guilt, as to fall into despair: and Peter soon after bewailed his weakness with many tears.

So long as these facts which Celsus cavils at are in the gospels, they will be thought credible histories: they who put down such things, so disadvantageous to themselves, or their friends, and seemingly so dishonourable to Jesus himself, their Lord and Master, did not forge a story to aggrandize him, or themselves; but they wrote the truth impartially, without fear or favour; as is admirably shown by Origen in this context.

20. 'How[l] frivolous and manifestly false is what Celsus 'says, that never any man betrayed another man with whom 'he sat at table; and how much less would any man, who 'was so favoured by a God, betray him?'

Origen treats this remark with indignation, and calls it a falsehood; there being many instances of such things, both among Greeks and barbarians.

It seems to me, that Celsus here not only argues from the intimacy of Christ and the disciples, but intends also to use some of the very expressions of the evangelists. Luke xxii. 21, "But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table." And see John xiii. 26, and 28.

21. But Celsus has pushed this argument still farther: which, perhaps, ought not to be omitted by me. 'It[m] was 'God, says he, who foretold these things; therefore there 'was a necessity that they should come to pass. God 'therefore compelled his own disciples and prophets, with 'whom he ate and drank, to be wicked and abominable,

[l] ——ὅτι ανθρωπῳ ὁ κοινωνησας τραπεζης εκ αν αυτῳ επιβουλευσειν. Ει δε ανθρωπῳ εκ αν επιβουλευσει· πολλω πλειον ὁ Θεῳ συνευοχωθεις εκ αν αυτῳ επιβουλος εγενετο. Lib. ii. sect. 21. p. 74. Vid. et sect. 20.

[m] L. ii. sect. 20. p. 72.

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'for whose welfare above all others he ought to have been 'concerned. Never did man betray another with whom he 'sat at table. Here he who sits at table with God betrays 'him; and, which is still worse, God himself lays snares 'for those who sit at table with him, making them impious 'traitors.'

To which Origen answers. 'Celsus thinks, that what 'has been foretold, comes to pass because it has been fore-'told; to which we can by no means assent. For we do 'not say, that he who foretold something future, is the cause 'of its coming to pass; but whatever is future will come 'to pass, though it was not foretold; and therefore he who 'has the gift of foreknowledge foretells it.'

22. 'If[n] he thought fit to undergo such things, and if in 'obedience to the Father he suffered death; it is apparent, 'that they could not be painful and grievous to him, he 'being a God, and consenting to them. Why[o] then does 'he lament, and bewail, and pray, that the fear of destruc-'tion may be removed, saying to this purpose: "O Father, 'if it be possible, let this cup pass away,"' Matt. xxvi. 39.

Here Origen observes, that Jesus is not said in the gospels 'to bewail.' But we plainly see, that Celsus had our gospels before him; and in them Jesus is represented suffering in obedience to the Father, himself willing, and consenting thereto. And yet he prayed, that "the cup might pass from him." I need not stay to show the consistence of these things.

23. 'Why[p] did he not now at last, [when condemned] if 'not before, deliver himself from this ignominy, and do 'justice upon them, who reviled both him and his Father?' Referring to the reproaches cast upon Jesus when hanging on the cross. Matt. xxvii. 39—44.

Origen says, that the same answer will serve here, which is given by all others, who hold a divine providence, in answer to the objection, taken from God's not presently punishing wicked men.

24. 'Celsus,[q] as Origen says, selecting some passages 'out of the gospels, with a design to expose them, re-'proaches Jesus with "the gall and the vinegar, as if he 'was mighty eager to drink, and was not able patiently to 'endure thirst, which common people often bear con-'tentedly."'

Celsus here plainly refers to Matt. xxvii. 34, "They gave

[n] L. ii. sect. 23. p. 75.
[o] L. ii. sect. 24. p. 75.
[p] L. ii. sect. 75. p. 81.
[q] Μετα ταυτα ὁ απο τυ ευαγγελιυ ειλαβων λεξεις. κ λ. L. ii. sect. 39. p. 82.

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him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall. And when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink." He also as manifestly refers to John xix. 28—30, "After this—that the scripture might be fulfilled, Jesus saith: I thirst." And when a spunge filled with vinegar was reached up to his mouth, it is said, he received the vinegar, and then said: "It is finished. And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost." So that Celsus, in this short passage, referred to St. John's account of the vinegar given to our Lord, at the conclusion of his crucifixion, as well as to the vinegar, and the gall, presented to him when they were going to crucify him: but in neither is there any just ground for reflections upon Jesus.[r]

25. Celsus, in a rude and abusive manner, says: 'What[s] 'difference can there be for a God to eat the flesh of lambs, 'and drink gall and vinegar, or to eat any other impurity?' It is likely, that Celsus here refers to our Saviour's eating the paschal lamb with the disciples. Origen answers: 'We[t] do not say, that God ate the flesh of lambs: but 'Jesus, being clothed with a body, might eat it.'

26. 'But,'[u] says Origen, 'what the Jew in Celsus affirms, 'is a downright lie: That he was put to death, and suffered, 'having convinced no man in his lifetime, not so much as 'his disciples.'

It is, however, very true, that few believed in Jesus then, in comparison of them who believed in him afterwards. Celsus pretends, that the disciples did not believe in Jesus, because they forsook him in the time of his last sufferings.

27. 'They[v] who conversed with him when alive, and 'heard his voice, and followed him as their master, when 'they saw him under punishment, and dying, were so far 'from dying with him, or for him, or being induced to 'despise sufferings, that they denied they were his disciples: 'but now-a-days you die with him.'

Celsus here refers to the timorousness of the disciples, and particularly to Peter's denying Christ. It is no great wonder, that they were all greatly shaken at the sight of the sufferings of Jesus: which, at that time, they could be hardly induced to think should befall the Messiah. But

[r] Concerning our Saviour's thirst upon the cross, see sermon on that subject in the ninth volume of this work, p. 290.

[s] Επει φησι, τι γαρ αλλο ην Θεῳ το προβατων σαρκας εσθιειν, και χολην, η οξος πινειν, πλην σκατοφαγειν. L. vii. sect. 13. p. 340.

[t] Θεος δε καθ' ἡμας προβατων σαρκας ουκ ησθιεν. Ἱνα γαρ και δοξη, ὁτι ἠσθιεν· ὡς σωμα φορων, ὁ Ιησους ησθιεν. Ibid.

[u] L. ii. sect. 35. p. 83.

[v] L. ii. sect. 45. p. 86.

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they afterwards preached him boldly, with the hazard of all that is dear in this world; which shows, that they had good evidence of his resurrection from the dead: otherwise, they would never have resumed their courage. And as the disciples were afterwards undaunted in professing and preaching the name of Jesus; so the christians in the time of Celsus were in the right to die with Christ, or for him, rather than deny him.

Celsus seems to have had an eye to one or more texts of St. Paul's epistles: as 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12, "It is a faithful saying. For if we die with him, we shall also live with him:" and what follows.

Celsus here bears testimony to the fortitude of the christians in his time. It is manifest from this passage, that many did then die for Christ, rather than deny him: and it is not a little strange, that a learned man, a man of extensive knowledge and understanding, should ridicule, and make a jest of the grievous and unrighteous sufferings of innocent men, and of their patience under them. But so it was. Such was the contempt which was then the lot of the followers of Jesus. And Celsus, having taken it into his head to enter into controversy with them, and thenceforward considering them as enemies, made no scruple to ridicule men, who according to his own confession, were arrived at such exalted virtue, as[w] to despise sufferings, and endure death patiently, rather than speak and act against conviction.

28. Having mentioned several Greek stories, generally, if not universally, allowed to be fables and fictions, Celsus says: 'But[x] let us consider, whether any one that has really 'died, ever rose again in the same body: unless you think, 'that the stories of others are indeed, as well as seem to be, 'fables; whilst your fable is probable and credible, be-'cause of his voice on the cross, when he expired, and the 'earthquake, and the darkness; and because that when he 'was living he could not defend himself, but after he was 'dead, he arose, and showed the marks of his punishment, 'and how his hands had been pierced. But who saw all 'this? Why, a distracted woman, as you say, and one or 'two more of the same imposture, and some dreamers, who 'fancied they saw things as they desired to have them; the 'same that has happened to innumerable people.' See Matt. xxvii. 50, 51; John xx. 10—18.

[w] ——ητε ὑπεραπεθανον αυτῳ, ωδε κολασεων καταφρονειν επεισθησαν—— νυν δε ὑμεις αυτῳ συναποθνησκετε. Cels. ibid. [x] L. ii. sect. 55. p. 94.

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The wonderful things attending the death of Jesus, here taken notice of by Celsus, his loud voice just[y] before he expired, Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 37, 39; Luke xxiii. 46. the earthquake, and the darkness, are proofs that Jesus was an extraordinary person. And I think that the showing of the prints of the nails in his hands, and appearing again alive to a woman, and others, who knew him, were good proofs that he was risen from the dead, and in the same body that had lived and died. There is no evidence that they were dreamers or governed by fancy; they saw Jesus awake, and by day-light, distinctly, again and again, after he had been publicly crucified, and died. And his resurrection from the grave is an argument that he suffered voluntarily, and that he was not destitute of power, as Celsus insinuates, to help himself in his life-time, if he had seen fit so to do.

Celsus says, Jesus showed himself to one woman. But he showed himself afterwards to several women, and to his disciples. Celsus knew this very well; but it was to his purpose, it seems, to use the singular rather than the plural number. That Celsus was well acquainted with the gospels, is apparent; he knows what seems to his disadvantage; and therefore he calls this woman, meaning Mary Magdalene, 'a distracted woman:' referring to the seven demons that were in her; but it should be considered, that these demons had been cast out long ago, and she was now very sober when she saw Jesus after his resurrection.

St. John, ch. xx. 11—18. gives the most particular account of Mary Magdalene's seeing our Lord, and conversing with him, after he was risen from the dead; indeed St. Mark, xvi. 9, 10, 11. says, "Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven demons." But whether Celsus had here an eye to St. Mark's gospel, I cannot determine; for he might refer only to St. John's account of our Lord's showing himself to Mary, and apply to her the character of a distracted woman, from a remembrance of what he had read concerning her in St. Luke's gospel, ch. viii. 1, 2.

Beside the texts already taken notice of, Celsus may be supposed to refer to Luke xxiv. 39, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself:" and to our Lord's showing himself to Thomas, as related, John xx. 24—29.

29. 'But[z] Celsus says; If he would make manifest his

[y] *Την επι τυ σκολοπος αυτυ φωνην, ον' απεπνυ.* Cels. ubi supr.
[z] L. ii. sect. 67. p. 101.

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'divine power, he should have shown himself to them 'that derided him, and to him that condemned him, and 'indeed to all; for surely he had no reason to fear any 'mortal now, after he had died, and, as you say, was a 'God.'

To which I would answer: It would have been very mean in Jesus to show himself to his judge, and to his deriders: it is unspeakably below the character of one, who had publicly wrought so many wonderful works, as Jesus had done, and who, after having been crucified, was really raised from the dead: it might likewise have been called insulting them. As for showing himself to all, it is absurd and preposterous: Jesus showed himself to the most proper persons, [and to as many as was fit,] by appearing to those who best knew him. To show himself to such as did not well know before, might have been reckoned officious, and impertinent, and vain-boasting. Finally, the works wrought in his name afterwards, by those who attested his resurrection and exaltation, were better evidences of his being risen from the dead, than showing himself to all the world would have been. They make out the most satisfactory, and most durable testimony to this important fact.

From the objections made by Celsus, we learn, however, that the history, which we now have in our gospels, is the same which the christians at that time had. Jesus, in our gospels, does not show himself to all, but to his disciples and acquaintance, of whom there were once "five hundred" together, 1 Cor. xv. 6, probably at a place in Galilee, where he was best known, and which he had before appointed, Matt. xviii. 16, 17.

Moreover, all Celsus's attacks, in his argument against the christians, are against our gospels: which manifests the great esteem they were in. If he confuted those books, he knew he overturned the faith founded on them.

30. He goes on. 'When[a] he was neglected in the body, 'he was continually preaching to all men: but when he 'should have given full assurance to all men, he shows him-'self privately to one woman, and his associates.'

He did once show himself to one woman only, and to his disciples, when met together privately. But that is not all, as Celsus would insinuate: for he also showed himself to several women, Matt. xxviii. 1—9, and to the disciples, and others with them, several times openly. And, as before said, he appointed a place in Galilee, where they might see him. Matt. xxviii. 16. And it cannot be doubted, but that there

[a] L. ii. sect. 70. p. 104.

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were great numbers who saw him there. From his appointing before hand a certain place for meeting his disciples and followers, it is manifest, that he was not shy of showing himself to those who had known him in his lifetime.

31. 'Again[b] he says; When he was punished, he was 'seen by all; but when risen, by one; the contrary to 'which ought rather to have been.'

Any one may perceive, that Celsus affects unfairly to diminish the number of those who saw Jesus after he was risen. He here pretends that Jesus appeared to one only; whereas before, he owned that he had appeared to his associates, or companions. I am glad, however, that Celsus owns, Jesus preached to all in his life-time, and that he died publicly before all the world; for there must have been some good reasons to induce men to believe in a person, who was himself well known, and his doctrine well known, and who had been publicly crucified.

32. 'If[c] he would be hid, why was there a voice from 'heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God? [Matt. xvii. '5.] And if he would not be hid, why did he suffer? why 'did he die?'

I imagine that in this place Celsus refers to our Lord's transfiguration in the mount, and to what our Lord says, Matt. xvii. 9, "And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till the Son of man be risen again from the dead." Some while ago Celsus referred to the voice from heaven at Christ's baptism: now he refers to the voice from heaven, when he was on the mount.

So that there were divers testimonies given from heaven, in favour of Jesus, in the beginning, and in the progress of his ministry; and in the end he died. I need not stay to show the consistence of these things. Nor was he left without witness during the time of his ignominious sufferings.

33. We have now traced, even in Celsus, the history of our Lord's nativity, baptism, preaching, miracles, death, and resurrection; all agreeable to our evangelists.

It will be next incumbent upon us to observe what he says of christian principles, and of the grounds and reasons upon which they acted.

[b] L. ii. sect. 70. p. 104. [c] L. ii. sect. 72. p. 105.

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SECTION V.

Passages of Celsus concerning christian principles.

1. 'LET[a] us now see,' says Origen, 'how he affects to 'lessen us with regard to our moral doctrine, saying, that[b] 'it is only the same with that of other philosophers, and 'contains in it nothing weighty and new.' He also says, 'That[c] others, as well as the christians, had disallowed the 'divinity of gods made with hands, forasmuch as oftentimes 'they were formed by wicked men.'

Whether there be here any reference to Acts xix. 26, I cannot say certainly: but it hence appears, that the christian moral doctrine had nothing in it to which any just exceptions could be made. Celsus, indeed, would not allow it to have any superior excellence above the doctrine of the philosophers; but he does not deny it to be like to their doctrine, and equal to that of the best sort of the philosophers.

2. 'He[d] says, the same things are better taught by the 'Greeks, and without the threatenings or promises of God, 'or his Son. And that[e] Plato did not pretend to come 'from heaven, and declare such things.'

Supposing, for the present, that the same things had been taught by others; they would not, and did not so effectually influence men, as when taught with authority from God, and with assurances of suitable recompences.

It would have been more material, if Celsus could have shown, where the heathen deities, or their priests with authority under them, had recommended sobriety and other virtues; adding likewise threatenings of misery to the refractory, and promises of happiness in a future state to such as feared the gods, and practised righteousness and mercy to their neighbours. Augustine, in his work of the City of God, observes, that[f] the gods of the pagans had never authorized the doctrine of virtuous living.

[a] L. i. sect. 4, 5. p. 6.

[b] Τῳ κοινον ειναι και προς αλλους φιλοσοφους ὡς ε υμνον τι και καινον μαθημα. sect. 4.

[c] ——λεγων, αυτους δια τουτο μη νομιζειν αυτους χειροποιητους θεους. sect. 5.

[d] φασκων, βελτιον αυτα παρ' Ἑλληνων εἰρησθαι. κ. λ.——L. vi. sect. 1. p. 275.

[e] L. vi. sect. 10. p. 281.

[f] Sed demonstrentur vel commemorentur loca, talibus aliquando conventicalis consecrata; non ubi ludi agerentur obscenis vocibus et motibus histrionum——sed ubi populi audirent, quid Dii praeciperent de cohibendâ

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3. 'Celsus[g] thinks, that we, by worshipping one that 'was apprehended, and died, do much the same thing with 'the Getæ, who worship Zamolxis, and the Cilicians, who 'worship Mopsus.' 'Again[h] he says of us, that we 'laugh at those who worship Jupiter, because his tomb is 'shown in Crete; nevertheless we worship one that was 'buried.'

The difference is manifest; the Cretans knew of no miracles done by Jupiter; whereas, the christians knew of many miracles done by Jesus in person, and by others in his name, after his resurrection.

A part of Origen's answer here is to this purpose. 'All[i] 'this we have been forced to say by way of answer to 'Celsus, who, little favourable to Jesus, believes it to be 'true which is written of him, that he died, and was buried; 'but esteems it a fiction only, that he was raised from the 'dead; although his resurrection had been foretold by the 'prophets, and there were many proofs of his being alive 'again after he had died.' Compare Acts i. 3.

4. 'But[k] the christians, according to Celsus, making 'some additions to the Jewish notions, say, that the Son of 'God has been already sent, because of the sins of the 'Jews; and that the Jews, having punished Jesus, and[l] 'given him gall to drink, have brought upon themselves the 'anger of God.'

'Which, Origen says, is a plain case; and if it is not 'so, let any man show it. For Jerusalem was destroyed 'within two and forty years after the crucifixion of Jesus, 'and ever since they have been in subjection to others, 'without their own proper rites and worship; which is one 'of those things, that manifests Jesus to have had in him 'somewhat divine and sacred; forasmuch as upon his ac-'count the Jews have suffered so many and so great ca-'lamities, and for so long a time.'

5. He argues against a resurrection in this manner. 'But[m] 'that is another absurdity of theirs, that when God shall 'throw a fire on the world, and all other things shall be 'destroyed, they alone shall remain: and that not only the 'living, but they also who have been ever so long dead,

avaritiâ, ambitione fragendâ, luxuriâ refrænandâ——Dicatur, in quibus locis hæc docentium Deorum solebant præcepta recitari, et a cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri. De Civ. Dei, l. ii. cap. vi. Vid. et cap. xix. et xxii.

[g] L. iii. sect. 34. p. 131.
[h] L. iii. sect. 43. p. 136.
[i] Ibid. sect. 43. p. 137.
[k] L. iv. sect. 22. p. 174.
[l] ——*και χολην ποτισαντες, επι σφας αυτους εκ Θεου χολον επεσπασαντο.* Ib.
[m] L. iv. sect. 14. p. 240.

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'shall come forth out of the earth in their own bodies, [or 'in the same flesh:] which is no other than the hope of 'worms. For what soul of a man would desire a putrified 'body? Nor is this doctrine of yours agreed to by all chris-'tians: for some among you reject it as impure, and abomi-'nable, and impossible. For how is it possible, that a body, 'which has entirely been corrupted, should return to its 'own nature, and to its own primitive constitution, which it 'has once lost? When they are able to make no answer to 'this, they fly to that absurd refuge, that all things are pos-'sible with God. But neither can God do any thing that 'is shameful; nor will he do what is contrary to nature. 'Nor because you perversely desire any thing, is God there-'fore able to do it, or is it to be supposed, that he will do 'it. For God is not the author of extravagant desires, nor 'of any unbecoming disorders, but of what is right and fit: 'God may give everlasting life to the soul; but dead bodies, 'as Heraclitus says, are more contemptible than dung. To 'make flesh, full of filthiness not fit to be named, eternal, is 'a thing so unreasonable, that God neither can nor will do 'it; for he is himself the reason of all things in nature; 'and, therefore, can no more do any thing contrary to rea-'son, than contrary to himself.'

I have transcribed this long passage, to show at once the heathen sentiments and reasonings, upon this point; but I do not intend a laboured confutation of them. Celsus affects to despise the body; but I presume he goes upon an ill-grounded principle, that the human soul may be as happy, or more happy, without the body, than with it; and, as Origen observes, the body, at the resurrection, is to be changed for the better, and made fit for the soul in a state of perfection. Which, I think, removes all these difficulties, in the reunion of the soul and body, which to Celsus appeared so formidable.[n]

What we are here to observe, is, that it hence appears, christians then expected a change or resurrection of the living and the dead at the end of the world, or the dissolution of the present state of things, according to what St. Paul writes, I Cor. xv. 51—54, and I Thess iv. 13—17.

[n] Says Dr. Cudworth, The true Intellectual System of the Universe, B. i. ch. v. p. 877, 'However, our christian faith assures us, that the souls of good 'men shall at length be clothed with spiritual and heavenly bodies, such as 'are, in Aristotle's language, αναλογα τῳ των ἀστρων στοιχειῳ analogous to the 'element of the stars. Which christian resurrection, therefore, "to life and 'immortality," is far from being as Celsus reproached it, σκωληκων ἐλπις, the 'mere hope of worms.'

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When Celsus says, that christians were not all agreed about the doctrine of the resurrection, it may be doubtful, whether he intends some of his own time, or whether he refers to 1 Cor. xv. 12, and the following context. "Now if Christ be preached, that he rose from the dead; how say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead?"

However that may be, none of my readers will omit to observe, that here is a reference to the above-mentioned texts of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the first to the Thessalonians.

6. It is, I suppose, with regard to the expectation of the resurrection of the body, that, as Origen says, Celsus[o] called the christians 'a sort of men that were very fond of 'the body.' And yet in another place he says: 'Is[p] it not 'exceeding absurd, that you should desire and hope for the 'resurrection of the same body, as if we had nothing more 'excellent, nor more precious; and yet to expose it to all 'manner of sufferings as a thing of no value?'

This needs no answer; but it ought to be observed, that Celsus here again lets us know, that christians were then in a suffering condition; and he bears testimony to their steadiness and fortitude under the tortures, and all the variety of sufferings, which they met with. This ought to be taken notice of.

7. 'But,'[q] says Celsus, 'omitting many things that might 'be alleged against what they say of their master, let us 'allow him to be truly an angel. Is he the first, and the 'only one, that has come? or, have there been others be-'fore? If they should say, he only: they are easily con-'victed of falsehood. For they say, that others have often 'come——And in particular, that there came an angel to 'his sepulchre: some say one, others, two, to tell the women, 'that he was risen: for the Son of God, it seems, could not 'open the sepulchre, but wanted another to remove the 'stone. And there came also an angel to the carpenter 'about Mary's pregnancy; and another angel to direct them 'to take the child, and flee. And what need is there to 'reckon up particularly all that were sent to Moses, and 'others?'

The design of this argument is to draw off christians from

[o] Λεγει δ' ἡμας ειναι και φιλοσωματον γενος. L. vii. sect. 39. p. 357.

[p] Ετι δε πως ουκ ατοπα ὑμων ταυτα, το μεν σωμα ποθειν, και ελπιζειν, ὁτι αυτο τουτο αναστησεται, ὡς ουδεν ἡμιν τουτου κρειττον ουδε τιμιωτερον· παλιν δ' αυτο ῥιπτειν εις κολασεις, ως ατιμον. L. viii. sect. 46. p. 409.

[q] L. v. sect. 52. p. 265, 266.

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their peculiar veneration for Jesus. He reminds them, therefore, that there had been, even according to themselves, many other messengers from God, whom they might respect as well as him.

From this passage we learn, that the main point with christians was a faith in Jesus, whom they esteemed their master: nor would they forsake him upon any account.

Beside the references to the conception of Jesus in the womb of his mother Mary, and his flight into Egypt, observed formerly, here are also references to many circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection, as related in the gospels. There was a stone at the door of the sepulchre: an angel came, and rolled it away: women came to the sepulchre, who saw there an angel: which also told them, that Jesus was risen. The resurrection of Jesus was recorded by more than one: for Celsus observes, that some said there was one, others two, angels, who told the women that Jesus was risen. So it is in our gospels. For St. Matthew xxviii. 5, Mark xvi. 5, mention but one angel. Luke xxiv. 4, and John xx. 12, speak of two angels.

But the angel did not remove the stone, as Celsus insinuates, because Jesus was not himself able to do it; but it was fit, that so great a person as Jesus, should have the attendance and service of angels upon so great an occasion, as his resurrection from the grave.

Finally, any one may now judge, whether Celsus was not well acquainted with our gospels, and whether he has not given a very valuable testimony to them.

8. I shall here take another passage, somewhat resembling that alleged just now.

'After[t] these things,' says Origen, 'he bespeaks us in 'this manner. How much better were it for you, since you 'affect novelties, to attend to some other of those who have 'died nobly, and to whom that fiction of deity might be 'better applied? For instance, if you did not like Hercules, 'nor Esculapius, nor others already consecrated, you had 'Orpheus, a man endowed with a holy spirit, as all allow, 'who likewise suffered a violent death. But, perhaps, he 'has been already taken by some others. Well then, you 'might have thought of Anaxarchus, who when thrown into 'a mortar, and cruelly pounded in it, despised it all, saying; '"Beat on, beat the case of Anaxarchus. For you do not 'beat him." Which is, indeed, the saying of a divine spirit. 'But here you are prevented by some naturalists, who have 'already followed him. Still, had you not Epictetus, who

[t] L. v i. sect. 53. p. 367.

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'when his master bent forward his leg, with a smile, and 'unmoved, said: "You will break it." And when he had 'broke it, said to him: "Did I not say, you would break 'it?" Did your God, when under punishment, say any 'thing like this? There is also the Sibyl, whom some of 'your people quote, whom you might as well, or better, 'have called the daughter of God. But instead of that, 'though you have inserted many impious things into her 'writings, you will have him to be God who ended an in-'famous life with a miserable death. Had it not been bet-'ter for you to take Jonas, who was in the whale's belly, 'or Daniel, who was delivered from the beasts, or some 'others more wonderful than they?'

To each of these instances Origen makes proper[s] replies. I shall take only a part of what he says.

'He also sends us to Epictetus, extolling his fine saying 'when his leg was broke; which yet is not to be compared 'with the wonderful works and words of Jesus, though they 'are so despised by Celsus; forasmuch as his words are 'accompanied with such a divine power, as to convert not 'only many of the simple sort of people, but also many of 'the more understanding.'

'Then after his catalogue of so many he says: Did your 'God, when under punishment, say any thing like this? To 'which we shall answer, that his silence under all the abuses 'and reproaches which he met with, showed more fortitude 'and patience, than any thing said by the Greeks under 'their sufferings, provided Celsus will but believe what 'has been written by men of the best credit; who, after 'they had truly related his miracles, have also related his 'silence under his sufferings; and when derided, and 'dressed in a purple robe, with a crown of thorns upon his 'head, and a reed in his hand instead of a sceptre, was per-'fectly meek, saying nothing mean, nor any thing pro-'voking, to those, who so many ways abused him.'

9. 'If[t] Celsus had alleged any kind of infamous actions 'in the life of Jesus, we would have done our best to answer 'every thing that seemed to him to be so. As for the 'miserable death of Jesus, the same may be objected to 'Socrates, and Anaxarchus, just mentioned, and many 'others. Was then the death of Jesus miserable, and theirs 'not? Or was theirs not miserable, but that of Jesus misera-'ble?' So writes Origen.

10. Again[u] Celsus argues: 'If you tell them, that it is

[s] Sect. 54, 55, 56, p. 368, 369. [t] Ibid. p. 369. fin.
[u] L. viii. sect. 14. p. 387.

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'not the Son of God, but he who is Father of all, whom men 'ought to worship, they will not be satisfied, unless you 'also worship him who is the author of their sedition: not 'that they exceed in the worship of God, but that they 'above measure worship this man.'

Celsus had said somewhat to the like purpose[v] a little before; in both which places Origen's answers may be seen.

11. 'Afterwards,'[w] says Origen, 'Celsus speaks to this 'purpose. But if God at last, like Jupiter in the comedy, 'awaked out of a long sleep, will deliver mankind from the 'evils under which they labour, why did he send this spirit, 'whom you speak of, into one corner only? He should 'have breathed in the like manner into many bodies, and 'sent persons all over the world——And do you not think 'it ridiculous to maintain, as you do, that the Son of God 'was sent to the Jews?'

This then was the christian account, that Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, came among the Jewish people. Nor is there any absurdity in this. A messenger from the true God is fitly sent, where God is known and worshipped, as he was by the Jews. To them also this special messenger, the Messiah, had been promised. And among them, by many wonderful appearances, God had preserved, for many ages, the knowledge of himself, and the expectation of that great person. And though the Christ came in person to them only, by him others were commissioned, and fully furnished to teach all the world: which was sufficient, and was the wisest method.

At the beginning of this passage Celsus hints an objection to the christian religion, taken from the late appearance of Jesus in the world. The same objection appears[x] in some other places of his argument; but I need not transcribe them.

God never neglected mankind; he was constantly teaching them in the works of creation, and in the ordinary methods of his providence. Extraordinary messengers are a favour; several such had been sent of old to the Jews, and before their time to the patriarchs; at last he sent Jesus Christ. We have certain proofs of his mission, and great character. The seasonableness of his coming, and the wisdom of sending him at the time he came, ought not to be disputed; but the favour should be thankfully received, and carefully improved, after due examination, and observing the evidences of his mission.[y]

[v] L. viii. sect. 12. p. 385.
[w] L. vi. sect. 78. p. 329.
[x] Vid. l. iv. sect. 7. p. 165.
[y] Hæc est igitur animæ liberandæ

12. 'The[u] Jew in Celsus,' says Origen, 'blames the 'christians for alleging the prophets, who had foretold the 'things concerning Jesus; whereas, he says, the prophecies 'may be applied to many others more probably than to 'Jesus.'

We hence learn, that the writers of the New Testament, (to whom Celsus has an eye in most of his arguments,) and the christians after them, did make use of the prophets in arguing for Jesus: though Celsus, or his Jew, would not allow their arguments to be valid.

13. Celsus, with great indignation, says: 'The[x] Pythian, 'the Dodonæan, the Clarian, the Branchidian, the Ammo-'nian oracles, and many others, by whose directions colonies 'have been successfully planted all over the world, must 'pass for nothing: but the obscure Jewish predictions, said 'or not said, the like to which are still practised in Phœni-'cia and Palestine, are thought to be wonderful, and im-'mutably certain.'

Certainly the christians had some benefit by this argument: or Celsus would not have been so much provoked. It deserves our observation also, that those heathens, and even the Epicureans, (for such was Celsus,) who had been wont to ridicule the most renowned oracles, were now willing to give them some repute. So hard pressed were they by the progress of christianity, that they were willing to set up again, as real and valuable, such things as they had before decried as cheats and impostures.

14. We have now seen what Celsus says of christian principles, and the grounds of them; as we had before seen what he says of their great facts. It may be worth the while, likewise, to observe some hints relating to the success of the christian doctrine.

SECTION VI.

Passages concerning the progress of the christian religion.

1. 'At[a] first,' says Celsus, 'they were few in number, and 'then they agreed, [or were of one mind.] But being in-

universalis via, id est, universis gentibus divinâ miseratione concessa——Nec debuit, nec debebit ei dici: Quare modo, et quare tam sero? quoniam mittentis consilium non est humano ingenio penetrabile. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. x. cap. 32. n. 2. [u] L. vii. sect. 1, 2. [x] L. vii. sect. 3. p. 333.

[a] Αρχομενοι μεν, φησιν, ολιγοι τε ησαν, και ἐν εφρονην· ες πληθος δε σπαρεντες, αυθις αν τεμνονται, και σχιζονται, και τασεις ὁδας εχειν ἑκαστοι θελωσι. κ. λ. L. iii. sect. 10.

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'increased, and spread abroad, they divide again and again, 'and every one will have a party of his own; which is what 'they were disposed to of old.'

I cannot but think, that Celsus has an eye to some things in the Acts of the Apostles, where the wonderful unanimity of the first christians is recorded, as Acts ii. 44—47; iv. 32—37. In his time there were many sects and divisions among them, he says. He adds: 'Which is what they 'were disposed to of old,' or from the beginning, αρχηθεν. Here he may refer to the early divisions in the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. i. 11—17; iii. 3—6; xi. 17, 18, and, perhaps, to some of St. Paul's exhortations to concord and harmony. He may refer likewise to contentions about the method of receiving the Gentile converts, Acts xv. and other places. For it appears to me very probable, that he has here an eye to some things recorded in the New Testament.

However, he owns, that the christians were now much increased: and, with regard to the divisions which were then among them, it may be observed, that they were foretold by Christ's apostles. But such things are not the fault of the gospel itself, but of men: nor is perfection to be attained or expected in this world. Origen says very well, there never was any thing useful, and considerable, about which men have not differed. In medicine, in philosophy, among Jews, Greeks, and barbarians, there are different sects and opinions.

2. 'Celsus,' says[b] Origen, 'brings in his fictitious person 'of a Jew, bespeaking the Jewish believers in this manner: 'What ailed you, fellow-citizens, that ye left the law of your 'country, and seduced by him, to whom we spoke just now, 'you have deserted us, to go to another name, and another 'way of living?' Again, 'When[c] we had taken, and 'punished him, who led you about like brute beasts, you 'have notwithstanding forsaken the law of your country. 'How can you begin upon our sacred books, and afterwards 'disregard them? when you have no other foundation but 'our law?'

It was well known, therefore, that there were Jews who believed in Jesus, and that they fetched arguments for their belief from the Jewish scriptures; and why might not those Jews who believed in Jesus, understand their books, as well as they who rejected him?

It is to be observed likewise, that after Jesus was crucified, or punished, as he expresseth it, there were Jews who were persuaded to believe in Jesus, and to profess his

[b] L. ii. sect. 1. fin. p. 57. [c] L. ii. sect. 4. p. 59.

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religion. And I pray, how is that to be accounted for, but upon the supposition of some good proofs and evidences afforded of his great character after his crucifixion?

It appears to be very probable, that when Celsus wrote this, he had before him the books of the Acts of the Apostles; and there he might have seen sufficient grounds of a faith in Jesus after he was put to death by the Jews.

3. 'He[d] says, that the Hebrews were originally Egyp-
'tians, and owed their rise to a sedition from the rest of
'that people; so some Jews in the time of Jesus made a
'sedition against the body of the Jewish nation, and follow-
'ed Jesus.'

So that there was a good number of Jews who believed in Jesus, and followed him, though the body of the people did not, as we readily allow; but it was not a sedition, as Celsus calls it. Here again, I cannot but think, that Celsus had an eye to the book of the Acts.

4. In order the better to judge of the progress of the gospel, and the sincerity and steadiness of those who embraced it, it will be of use to observe what Celsus says of any difficulties and hardships which they lay under who professed these principles, and bore the name of christians.

5. 'The[e] first head of accusation with Celsus against
'christianity,' says Origen at the beginning of his work,
'is, that christians secretly hold assemblies together con-
'trary to law.'

Origen supposeth him to refer particularly to their agapæ, or love-feasts. I should think he might intend all their assemblies in general, for divine worship.

6. 'Afterwards,'[f] says Origen, 'he speaks of the christians
'performing and teaching those things which are agreeable
'to their sentiments privately; and that therein they did
'not act without reason, for avoiding the punishment of
'death hanging over them. And he compares their dangers
'to the dangers which men have been liable to on account
'of philosophy; and he instanceth particularly in the case
'of Socrates; he might have added Pythagoras, and other
'philosophers.'

[d] L. iii. sect. 7. p. 115. Conf. sect. 5, 6. p. 114.

[e] *Πρωτον τῳ Κελσῳ κεφαλαιον εστι, βουλομενῳ διαβαλειν χριστιανισμον, ὡς συνθηκας κρυβδην προς αλληλους ποιουμενων χριστιανων παρα τα νενομισμενα.* Orig. contr. Cels. L. i. sect. 1. Bened. p. 4. Cantab.

[f] *Μετα ταυτα περι του κρυφα τα αρεσκοντα ἑαυτοις ποιειν και διδασκειν ειπων, και ὁτι ου ματην τουτο ποιουσιν, ἀτε διωθουμενοι την επηρτημενην αυτοις δικην του θανατου· ὁμοιοι τον κινδυνον κινδυνοις τοις συμβεβηκοσιν επι φιλοσοφιᾳ, ὡς Σωκρατει, κ. λ.* L. i. sect. 3. p. 5.

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Does not this imply an acknowledgment, or at least a supposition, of the christians' innocence? Their dangers resembled those of the philosophers. But Socrates did not deserve the capital punishment inflicted upon him. The like may be said of many other of the philosophers: they did not deserve banishment or other like punishment. They recommended the principles of philosophy, or religion, in a peaceable manner, in the way of reason and argument.

7. We saw before[g] how Celsus ridiculed the christians, saying; 'But now you die with him.' Afterwards, in another place he thus insults them. 'Do[h] you not see, good 'Sir, how any man that will, may not only blaspheme your 'demon, but drive him away from the earth, and the sea, '[or from every quarter of the world under heaven:] and 'binding you, his sacred image, has you away, and crucifies 'you? And your demon, or as you say, the Son of God, 'gives you no help.' And afterwards. 'If[i] any one of 'you absconds, and hides himself, he is sought for to be 'punished with death.'

But these sufferings of christians are no objection against their faith, or the doctrine received by them. If the christians were good men, and alleged weighty reasons for their belief, their sufferings are no reproach to them; the dishonour falls upon those who oppose and abuse them. There might be good reasons for God's permitting the followers of Jesus to endure great trials for a while; the[k] truth of his religion is the more established by their patience and fortitude. And Celsus himself says, 'That[l] he 'who has once embraced the truth, ought not to forsake it, 'nor pretend to forsake it, or deny it, through fear of suf-'ferings from men.' Insomuch that, as Origen says, 'he 'might be understood to be a strenuous defender of those 'who persevere even to death in their testimony to chris-'tianity.'

What has been just alleged may be sufficient to satisfy

[g] See before, p. 238.

[h] L. viii. sect. 39. p. 803.

[i] L. viii. sect. 69. p. 424.

[k] Tunc enim Porphyrius erat in rebus humanis, quando ista liberandæ animæ universalis via quæ non est alia, quam religio christiana, oppugnari permittebatur ab idolorum dæmonumque cultoribus, regibusque terrenis, propter asserendum et consecrandum martyrum numerum hoc est, testium veritatis, per quos ostenderetur, omnia corporalia mala pro fide pietatis, et commendatione veritatis esse toleranda. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. x. cap. 32. n. 1.

[l] Εοικε δε μετα δεινοτητος συναγορευειν πως τοις μαρτυρσι τῳ χριστιανισμῳ μεχρι θανατου, λεγων· Και ω τυτο λεγω, ὡς χρη τον αγαθυ δογματος περιεχομενον, ει μελλει δι' αυτο κινδυνευειν παρ' ανθρωπων, αποστηναι τυ δογματος, η πλασασθαι ὡς αφεστηκεν, η εξαρνον γενεσθαι. L. i. sect. 8. p. 8.

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us, that the christians had very bad treatment, and had few or no worldly inducements to follow Jesus, and profess his name: they had therefore some other reasons, of a different kind; they were overcome by the force of truth, "and loved not their lives unto the death:" as it is said of some, Rev. xii. 11. They obeyed our Lord's command, Rev. ii. 10, "Be thou faithful unto death, in hope of receiving from him a crown of life." At this very time, when Celsus wrote against them, they underwent a grievous persecution; but they were able to endure and withstand his sharp-pointed pen, and also the sword of the magistrate.

8. We go on. 'The[m] Jews therefore,' says Celsus, 'being a distinct nation, and having the proper laws of their 'country, which they still carry about with them, together 'with a religion, such as it is, however those of their country 'act like other men; forasmuch as all follow the institu-'tions of their own country, whatever they are. And that 'is reasonable enough, because different laws have been 'framed by different people; and it is fit that those things 'should be observed which have been established by public 'authority; nor would it be just to abrogate those laws, 'which have been enacted from the beginning in every 'country.——But[n] if another appears, I should ask them, 'whence they came, and what country-laws they have for 'their rule? They will answer, None at all. For they de-'scend from the same original; and they have received 'their master and leader from the same country; and yet 'they have revolted from the Jews.'

Thus deplorable was the condition of the christians at that time! So obnoxious were they to the resentment and displeasure of their neighbours, above and beyond all other men, without any just reason! The Jewish people were very troublesome subjects of the Roman empire; the christians were the most peaceable subjects upon the face of the earth; and yet they were looked upon with a worse eye than the Jews themselves; and were judged unworthy of the common rights and privileges allowed to all other men! This was the disposition of Celsus himself toward them. It is not to be much wondered at, that many others were in the same way of thinking.

Celsus allegeth not, as a ground of this treatment of them, any crimes in action, or wicked principles in belief; but only a singularity of institution, not established by the laws of any country.

The reason of this particular enmity to the christians, be-

[m] L. v. sect. 25. p. 247 [n] L. v. sect. 33. p. 253.

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yond the Jews, though they were also worshippers of the one God alone, and condemned all idolatry, I suppose to have been this; christianity made much greater progress than judaism, and threatened the utter ruin and overthrow of Gentilism.

This is a passage which I would recommend to the consideration of those who deny men the freedom of judging personally for themselves in things of religion; and found all right of professing religious principles upon the consent and authority of the magistrate, and civil laws and constitutions. Such may observe, how exactly they agree with Celsus; and they may easily discern, that if they had lived in his time, they must, according to their own principles, have sided with him against christianity itself.

SECTION VII.

Passages of Celsus, in which he chargeth the christians with magical practices.

WE saw before[a] how Celsus says, that Jesus had learned the Egyptian arts, and valuing himself upon them, had set up himself for a god. And in some other places he has been ready to have recourse to magic, in order to account for the works said to have been done by our Saviour. Now I would observe what he says of christians to the like purpose.

'After[b] this,' says Origen, 'I do not know for what reason 'Celsus says, that the christians seem to be well skilled [or 'very mighty] in the names and invocations of certain 'demons.'

Origen supposeth, that Celsus there refers to those who exorcised, or expelled demons: but says, that in so doing christians made use of no other name but that of Jesus, and the rehearsal of some parts of his history.

'Celsus[c] says, he had seen with some presbyters of our 'religion, books, in a barbarous language, containing the 'names of demons, and other charms. And he says, that

[a] See before, p. 225. [b] *Μετα ταυτα εκ οιδα ποθεν κινουμενος ὁ Κελσος, φησι, δαιμονων τινων ονομασι και κατακληησισι δοκειν ισχυειν χριστιανους.* κ. λ. L. i. sect. 6. p. 7. [c] ——*εν οις εφησεν ἑωρακεναι παρα τισι πρεσβυτερους της ἡμετερας δοξης βιβλια βαρβαρα, δαιμονων ονοματα εχοντα, και τερατειας.* κ. λ. L. vi. sect. 40. p. 302.

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'those presbyters of our religion professed nothing good, 'but every thing hurtful to mankind.'

This, as well as somewhat else said before, Origen says, is downright fiction. And he says, that all those stories are confuted by all who have conversed with christians, who never heard of any such things practised by them.

However, this charge of magic against the christians may be reckoned an argument that there were some uncommon things done by them at this time, and is often affirmed by[d] Origen, as well as by other ecclesiastical writers; but not to the detriment of mankind, as Celsus insinuates, but for their benefit.

SECTION VIII.

Of christian worship, and their assemblies.

WE have just now seen mention made of christian presbyters, the only place, so far as I remember, where Celsus has taken any notice of them. But though there were then persons of that denomination, who taught the christian doctrine, and officiated in the worship of God, it does not appear that christians had at that time any temples, or sumptuous buildings for public worship. Celsus rather intimates that they had none. 'They[a] cannot,' he says, 'so 'much as endure the sight of temples, altars, statues.' However, he adds: 'Nor do the Persians erect temples.' In another place Origen observes; Celsus[b] says, 'we erect 'no statues, altars, or temples.'

And that christians declined joining with heathen people in their public worship, Celsus bears witness. 'God,'[c] says he, 'is the common Lord of all; he is good to all; he 'needeth not any thing, and therefore is free from envy. 'What then should hinder the most devoted to him from 'partaking in the public festivals?' And afterwards, says Origen, 'Celsus[d] endeavours to persuade us to eat things 'sacrificed to idols, and to join in the public sacrifices of 'the solemn festivals, saying; If these idols are nothing, 'what harm can there be to partake in the public solem-

[d] L. i. sect. 2. p. 5. L. i. sect. 46. p. 34. L. iii. sect. 24. p. 124.

[a] ——ουκ ανεχονται νεως ὁρωντες, και βωμους, και αγαλματα. L. vii. sect. 62. p. 373. [b] ——ἡμας βωμους, και αγαλματα, και νεως ἱδρυσθαι φευγειν. L. viii. sect. 17. p. 389. [c] L. viii. sect. 21. p. 392.

[d] L. viii. sect. 24, et 25. p. 393.

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'nities! If they are demons, then for certain they are gods, 'in whom we ought to trust; and sacrifices ought to be 'offered to them, and they ought to be prayed to, that they 'may be propitious to us.' To all which Origen makes a sufficient answer; but it needs not to be transcribed.

However, I am induced to take here a passage of Origen, in the third book against Celsus. He is speaking of the great benefit of the christian religion. 'And[e] God,' says he, 'who sent Jesus, having defeated all the artifices of 'demons, has so ordered it, that the gospel of Jesus should 'prevail every where for reforming mankind; and that there 'should be every where churches governed by different 'laws from the churches of superstitious, intemperate, and 'unrighteous men; for such are the manners of most of 'those who belong to the churches of the cities. But the 'churches of God, instructed by Christ, compared with the 'churches of the people among whom they live, are as '"lights in the world," Matt. v. 14; Phil. ii. 15. And 'who is there, who must not acknowledge that the worst of 'those who are in the church, and are inferior to the rest, 'are better than most of those who are in the churches of 'the people.'

'For instance, the church of God at Athens is quiet, 'mild, and well behaved, being desirous to approve itself 'to God who is over all. But the church of the Athenians 'is turbulent, and by no means comparable to the church 'of God there. The same you must also acknowledge of the 'church of God at Corinth, and the church of the people 'of the Corinthians; as you must also allow of the church 'of God at Alexandria, and the church of the people of the 'Alexandrians. Every one who is candid, and diligently 'attends to these things, with a mind open to conviction, 'will admire him who formed this design, and has accom-'plished it; that there should be every where churches of 'God, dwelling together with the churches of the people in 'every city. And[f] if you will observe the senate of the 'church of God, and the senate in every city, you will find 'some senators of the church worthy to govern in the city 'of God, all over the world, if there were such a thing. And 'on the other hand, you will find, that the senators of the 'cities have nothing in their behaviour to render them 'worthy of the distinction allotted to them. And if you

[e] L. iii. sect. 29, 30. p. 128, 129.

[f] *Οὑτω δε και βȣλην εκκλησιας Θεȣ βȣλη τῃ καθ' ἑκαστην πολιν συνεξεταζων, εὑροις αν τινες μεν της εκκλησιας βȣλευται αξιοι εισιν, ειτις εστιν εν τω παντι πολις τȣ Θεȣ, εν εκεινῃ πολιτευεσθαι.* Ibid. num. 30.

'should compare the presidents of the churches of God with 'the presidents of the people in the cities, you will find the 'senators and governors of the churches, though some may 'be inferior to others who are more perfect, nevertheless 'you will find them to excel in virtue the senators and 'governors of the cities.'

SECTION IX.

Passages in Celsus concerning those called heretics.

CELSUS was not unacquainted with those particular opinions called heresies, which arose early in the world under the christian name.

1. I shall transcribe at length a part of what Origen says upon this subject. 'Then[a] he says; Let not any man 'think me ignorant, that some of them will allow that 'their God is the same with the God of the Jews; whilst 'others believe in another, and contrary to him, and by 'whom, as they say, the Son of God was sent.'

Here, I think, Celsus must mean the Marcionites, though Origen does not expressly say so.

2. 'He[b] adds, that some are Sibyllists. Perhaps he 'had heard of some, who blamed those who accounted the 'Sibyl a prophetess, and who therefore called them Sibyl-'lists.'

3. Origen goes on. 'Then[c] heaping up the names of 'many among us, he says, "he knows of some, who are 'Simonians, who following Helena, or a master called Hele-'nus, are called Helenians." But,' says Origen, 'Celsus 'does not know that the Simonians do by no means confess 'Jesus to be the Son of God, but say, that Simon is the 'power of God. Many strange things are told us of that 'man, who thought, that if he could perform some wonders 'like to those which Jesus had done, he should be honour-'ed in the like manner that Jesus was. But neither Celsus, 'nor Simon, were able to comprehend, how Jesus, as a good 'husbandman of the word of God, ὡς καλὸς γεωργὸς λόγῳ Θεοῦ 'was able to sow a great part of Greece, and a great part 'of the Barbarian world, and fill them with words, which 'convert the soul from every evil, and lead them to the 'Creator of all. Celsus was also acquainted with the Mar-'cellians, so called from Marcellina, and the Harpocratians

[a] L. v. sect. 61. p. 271. [b] Ibid. [c] L. v. sect. 62, p. 272.

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'who had their rise from Salome, and others from Mariamne, 'and others from Martha; though I, who have made it 'my business to acquaint myself with the different sects 'among us, as well as among the philosophers, never met 'with any of these, *ουδεποτε, τουτοις ωμιλησαμεν.* Celsus has 'also made mention of the Marcionites, so called from 'Marcion.'

4. 'And[d] then, that he may seem to be acquainted with 'others, beside those already named, he adds, after his ac-'customed manner: "and others form to themselves 'another master and demon, walking in the greatest dark-'ness, and practising more shameful and impious things 'than the associates of Antinous in Egypt."'

5. In another place Origen observes, that[e] the Simonians never were persecuted; and says, he believes, there could not at that time be found thirty Simonians in the world.

Celsus also brings in the Ophians, or Ophitæ, who, as[f] Origen says, were no more christians than himself. He[g] likewise seems to refer to the Valentinians, and[h] to some other obscure people, whom Origen knew nothing of; and borrowing their sentiments, he forms an objection from them against all christians in general.

However, the main dispute of Celsus is with our gospels, and those christians that followed them, as is manifest from the whole of his work; so far as we can judge of it by those fragments that remain; and there are enough of them in Origen to give us a just idea of it.

6. It is not at all surprising, that Celsus should endeavour to make an advantage of the absurd opinions of those called heretics, for loading christians in general, or christianity itself, with the reproach of them; or by setting them up against the more prevailing sentiments of the sounder part of the christians, from which indeed proceeded all the fears and apprehensions of heathen people.

[d] Ib. sect. 63. p. 272. [e] L. vi. sect. 11. p. 282. Et conf. l. i. sect. 57. p. 44. [f] L. vi. sect. 28, et 30. p. 294, &c.

[g] L. vi. sect. 34, &c. p. 298. [h] *Και εν τουτοις δη παλιν, ως οιδ' απο ποιας υφεσεως ασημοτατης, ταυτα λαβων, πασι χριστιανοις απ' αυτων εγκαλει. κ. λ.* L. viii. sect. 15. p. 388.

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SECTION X.

Passages in Celsus, containing calumnies, or injurious reflections upon the christians.

HE objects after this manner. 'That[a] I say nothing more 'severe than truth obliges me to say, is manifest hence: 'when others invite men to the mysteries, they invite men 'after this manner: "Whoever has clean hands and a good 'understanding: or, Whosoever is pure from vice, whose 'soul is conscious of no evil, and lives according to the law 'of righteousness, let him come hither." Now let us see 'whom they invite. Whoever, say they, is a sinner, who-'ever is ignorant, whoever is silly, and, in a word, whoever 'is miserable, these the kingdom of God receives. Whom 'do you mean by "sinners." Do you not thereby intend 'thieves, house-breakers, poisoners, sacrilegious, and the 'like? And what else could men say who aim to form a 'society of the worst of men?' To which Origen answers: 'It is one thing to invite sick souls to come to be healed, 'and another thing to call such as are cured to partake of 'higher mysteries. We who know the difference of these 'two things, first invite men to come and be healed, and we 'exhort sinners to attend to those who teach men not to sin; 'and the ignorant and unwise we exhort to hearken to those 'who will teach them wisdom; the weak we exhort to aim 'at manly wisdom, and the miserable we invite to accept of 'happiness, or, to speak more properly, blessedness. And, 'when they whom we have admonished, have made some 'progress, and have learned to live well, then they are 'initiated by us. "For we speak wisdom among the per-'fect,"' 1 Cor. ii. 6.

2. That the christian doctrine gives no encouragement to wickedness, is apparent from the books of the New Testament, in which it is clearly taught: and that the general practice of christians is here misrepresented, appears from Justin Martyr, who lived about the same time with Celsus, who, in his first apology, giving an account of the christian principles and worship, says: 'Whenever[b] any are per-'suaded of the truth of the things taught by us, and en-'gage to the utmost of their power to live accordingly, they 'are directed to pray, joining therewith fasting, that they

[a] L. iii. sect. 59. p. 147. [b] Ap. i. p. 93. Paris. sect. 61. Bened.

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'may obtain from God the forgiveness of their past sins, we 'also praying and fasting with them: then they are brought 'by us to a place where there is water, and they are re-'generated in the same manner that we were.' Nor were they admitted to the eucharist till afterwards,[c] as he farther shows.

3. So writes Justin. The discipline of the church was much the same in the time of Origen: for, some while before, in answer to another reflection of Celsus, not very different from this which we are now considering, he says: 'But[d] what ground is there to compare us with those 'haranguers, and common strollers? Is there any resem-'blance between them and us, who by readings, and by 'explications of those readings, excite men to piety toward 'the God of the universe, and to other virtues of like ex-'cellence, [και τας συνθρονους ταυτη αρετας] and who call men 'off from a neglect of religion, and from all things contrary 'to right reason? Certainly the philosophers would be well 'pleased to gather together such as are disposed to hear 'their discourses concerning what is good and honest. Nor 'ought such to be compared with the common strollers 'above mentioned: nor is it reasonable to suppose, that 'Celsus would condemn those philosophers, who from a 'principle of humanity, endeavour to instruct and improve 'the ignorant vulgar.'

'The christians are more careful in distinguishing their 'hearers than any other men. When the philosophers speak 'in public, all attend that will: the christians carefully ex-'amine the tempers and manners of those who come to 'them; nor are any received by us, till they have given 'some evidences of a progress in virtue. If afterwards they 'fall into sin, especially any kind of intemperance, they are 'excluded from the community: if afterwards they repent, 'their recovery is considered as a rising again from the dead. 'But now they are received again not without more diffi-'culty than at the first: nor can they ever be admitted into 'any office or dignity in the church of God.'

4. Moreover, as Dr. Wall observes in his Notes upon John viii. at the beginning: 'It is no discredit, but an ex-'cellence in any religion, that it has rules of pardon for 'great sins, provided it lay conditions, and strong injunc-'tions of amending, and doing so no more, such as here at 'ver. 11.' For certain, the gospel promiseth not any special advantages to men who live in sin; such as sin, it

[c] Ib. p. 97. sect. 65, &c. [d] L. iii. sect. 50, 51. p. 142, 143.

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calls to repentance; nor is there any pardon, nor salvation for sinners, unless they repent, and practise real holiness and virtue.

5. That charge of Celsus against christianity, therefore, is altogether absurd and groundless; though it was afterwards renewed by the emperor Julian:[e] and I hope it will be excused, that I have so particularly considered this objection the first time it came in our way.

6. 'Celsus[f] quotes, or seems to quote, words of a Dialogue, (if they are not his own invention,) as written by 'some christian, where mention is made of angels of light, 'and other angels, and their prince[g] at the head, who is 'mentioned by a very opprobrious name. Then,' says Origen, 'laying hold of those words, he deservedly censures 'those who say such things. We also are very ready to 'join in censuring such as call the God of the Jews accursed, if[h] indeed there are any such men; I mean the 'God that sends rain and thunder, the God of Moses, and 'author of the creation described by him. 'Here,' adds Origen, 'Celsus seems to have intended somewhat very unfair against us, proceeding from ill-will, unbecoming a 'philosopher. He intended, that they who read his book, 'to whom we are unknown, should declare war against us, 'as men who called the good creator of the world accursed; 'in which he resembleth the Jews, who, at the first rise of 'the christian doctrine, spread abroad calumnies against it; 'giving out, that they killed a child and ate it, and that 'when the lights were put out, they practised promiscuous 'lewdness. Which calumny, however absurd, was of old 'credited by many who differ from us; and even now there 'are some who are so deceived by it, that for this reason 'they are so averse to all christians, that they will have no 'discourse or communication with any of them. Somewhat 'of this kind Celsus seems to have aimed at, when he gave 'out, that the christians call the creator of the world the 'accursed God; that men, believing such things of us, 'might be disposed to do their utmost to extirpate the christians, as the most impious of all men.'

By all which we may perceive, that Celsus was filled with enmity against the christians of his time, and did not spare them.

[e] Julian. Cæs. in fin. p. 336. edit. Spanh. [f] L. vi. sect. 27, 28. p. 293, 294. [g] Των μεν τυ φωτος, ἑτερων δε των ονομαζομενων αρχοντικων· και λεγει τον αρχοντα των ονομαζομενων αρχοντικων λεγεσθαι Θεον κατηραμενον. Ib. num. 27. [h] Ει δη τινες εισι λεγοντες Θεον κατηραμενον τον Ιουδαιων. Num. 27.

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7. There is yet one place more, which I must take notice of before I leave this article.

'After this he insinuates, that the worship paid to Antinous, one of the beloved favourites of Adrian, at Antinopolis in Egypt, differs not from the respect which we have for Jesus. Another instance this of his hatred of us! But[i] what have we in common with men, whose manners are so vicious, as not to be exempt from that effeminacy which is contrary to nature? What comparison can be made between them, and the venerable Jesus, whom we follow, against whom, though innumerable lies and calumnies have been forged, none have dared to charge him with any kind of intemperance whatever?'

SECTION XI.

Remarks upon the Work of Celsus against the christians, and upon Origen's Answer to it.

CELSUS says, 'he[a] knows all things.' Which Origen treats as a very arrogant saying; but I think the coherence shows, that Celsus intended to say, he knew all things relating to the christians. And perhaps he meant no more, than that he was well qualified for the work he had undertaken, of writing against them; and Origen himself,[b] in some other places where he takes notice of this saying, leads us to understand it of his being well acquainted with the christian affairs.

Which, I apprehend, cannot be disallowed; for Celsus had read the books of Moses, and perhaps all the other books of the Old Testament. He had read, as it seems, all the books of the New Testament; but when he had done that, he supposed, he needed not to give himself much trouble about any of them, excepting the historical books, and particularly the gospels.

[i] Τι γαρ κοινον εχει ὁ γενομενος εν τοις Αδριανου παιδικοις βιος, ουδε τον αρρενα απαθη γυναικειας νοσου φυλαξαντος, προς τον σεμνον ἡμων Ιησουν, ου μηδε οἱ μυρια κατηγορησαντες, και ψευδη ὁσα περι αυτου λεγοντες, δεδυνηνται κατειπειν, ὡς εφν το τυχον ακολασιας καν επ' ολιγον γευσαμενου. L. 3. sect. 36. p. 132. [a] Δεινον δε προς τω, παντα γαρ οιδα, αλαζωνικωτατα υπ' αυτου αποτετολμημενον. L. i. sect. 12. p. 11. [b] Ὁ παντ' ειδεναι επαγγειλαμενος Κελσος τα ἡμετερα. L. i. sect. 40. p. 31. Ου γαρ φθει ὁ αληθως αλαζων Κελσος, και επαγγελλομενος ειδεναι παντα τα χριστιανων. L. ii. sect. 32. p. 80.

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He had also made inquiries after those absurd people called heretics, and looked into some of their writings.

Beside all this, he had sent for some Jews to come to him, with whom he had a good deal of discourse. From them he learned their expectation of the Messiah, and their idea of him; by them he endeavoured to inform himself, wherein lay the controversy between the Jewish people and the christians; with their assistance he formed divers objections against the christian doctrine; and from them, undoubtedly, he aimed to pick up all the scandal which they could furnish him with against the christians; and from them he received the infamous account of our Saviour's nativity, before taken notice of.

And it may be well supposed, that there were some reasons, which induced this learned Epicurean to take so much pains to inform himself about the christians, and then to write a large volume against them. Their principles were very different from his, and contrary to all the established notions about the heathen deities; and their principles had already gained great ground, and were still spreading more and more to the detriment of Epicurism, and all idolatrous schemes; which could not but move his indignation. We see his resentments in the bitterness with which he has treated the christians, and Jesus himself, whom they followed as their Lord and Master. I am unwilling to insinuate, that Celsus was allured into this service, and that he encouraged himself with hopes of success in his design, by the afflictive circumstances of the christians at that time; but I must say, it was not very generous in him to attack and oppose them in the manner he did, when they were under persecution, and liable to capital punishments.

Celsus[c] expressly quotes the Dispute or Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason, and speaks of it with great contempt, of which I took notice[d] formerly. It is a work which may be allowed to be written by a catholic christian. Excepting that one book, I do not recollect that Celsus has mentioned the name of any of our celebrated ancient christians, or particularly referred to any of their writings; though there were several before, and about his time, who might have been mentioned; as Clement of Rome, Ignatius bishop of Antioch, Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, not to speak of any others, divers of whom were well versed in Greek literature; which silence

[c] ——φησιν· οἱαν δε και Παπισκȣ τινος και Ιασονος αντιλογιαν εγνων, ȣ γελωτος, αλλα μαλλον ελεȣς και μισȣς αξιαν. L. iv. sect. 52. p. 199

[d] See Vol. ii. p. 310.

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about them may be ascribed to a scornful disdain, unwilling to do justice to the merit of a christian; nor do we perceive from Origen, that Celsus had named any of the evangelists.

And by the way I would observe here, that we compute the Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason to have been written about the year of Christ 140; Celsus, therefore, could not publish his work against the christians till after that time.

At the conclusion of his eight books in answer to Celsus, Origen observes, that[e] Celsus promised another work, in which he would show men how to live. This work Origen seems to suppose to have been likewise designed in opposition to christianity. Origen did not know whether Celsus had performed his promise; but he desires his friend Ambrose to send it to him, if he had met with it; and he engageth to examine it.

Origen's own work, as before shown, has been greatly commended. Eusebius, entering upon his own answer to Hierocles, considers it as a needless performance; forasmuch as a confutation of him may be seen in Origen's books against Celsus, who had already said every thing that could be said upon the subject.

I do not judge it proper for me to indulge myself in any characters that should be reckoned extravagant; nevertheless I think I may say, that Origen's eight books against Celsus are an invaluable treasure. Every one is now able to judge of the importance of the fragments of the work of Celsus, preserved in it. Origen's answers to Celsus are also valuable. There are likewise many other things, of which good use may be made; whence the curious may learn divers things hardly to be met with elsewhere. I suppose; I shall hereafter have opportunities for verifying this observation, by quotations out of it.

SECTION XII.

The Recapitulation.

IT is a large extract which I have now made out of Origen's eight books against the work of Celsus, entitled The True Word: it is fit that we should now recapitulate what we have seen in several articles.

[e] Ισθι μεντοι επαγγελομενον τον Κελσον αλλο συνταγμα μετα τουτο ποιησειν, εν ῳ διδαξειν επηγγειλατο, ὁπῃ βιωτεον τους βουλομενους αυτῳ και δυναμενους πειθεσθαι. L. viii. sect. 76. p. 428. [f] Contr. Hier. p. 511.

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And it is a great deal. All these things have we seen in Celsus distinctly and clearly. What greater advantage could we expect from the writings of an adversary, who flourished, and wrote not long after the middle of the second century of the christian epoch; and not much above 130 years after our Saviour's ascension?

In the passages alleged under the second* section we have seen good proofs that the Jewish people had expectations of that great person the Messiah.

In the passages cited under the third section, we have seen many plain references to the gospels, and to several of St. Paul's epistles, if not also to St. Peter's and St. John's. We are assured by Celsus, that there were histories of Jesus written by his disciples, meaning his apostles and their companions; and that those books were well known, and in high esteem with christians.

We have seen in his fragments plain references to the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John; it appears also highly probable, or even certain, that he was not unacquainted with the gospel according to St. Mark; but he has not expressly mentioned the books themselves, nor the names of the writers; nor is there so much as an insinuation, that the later christians, of Celsus's own time, or thereabout, had forged these histories to do honour to Jesus. He only says, that they had altered some things; but of that he produced no proof; nor did he allege any particular instances; he only says, in the place referred to, if Origen has taken the words of Celsus exactly, 'that some of the be-'lievers had taken the liberty to alter the gospel from the 'first writing.'

I presume I have now particularly shown, from numerous passages above alleged, the truth of St. Chrysostom's observation: 'That Celsus bears witness to the antiquity of 'our writings.'

And, as it was in those times a common method to quote authors in a loose manner, and as it is reasonable to believe that Celsus was far from being scrupulously exact in his citations of christian books, or in his allusions to them; it may be well reckoned somewhat extraordinary, that we can discern in him so many evident traces of quotations from the books of the New Testament, or references to them.

In the fourth section are many passages of Celsus bearing testimony to the books of the New Testament, and the facts contained in them.

* The first section is not recapitulated here, as it contains only the history of Celsus, and his work.

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He lets us know that Jesus was the author of the christian institution, and that he had lived and taught not very long ago. We learn from him also, that according to the accounts given by his disciples, he was born of a virgin, in a small village of Judea, supposed to have been descended from the Jewish kings; that she was married to a carpenter; that for some while her husband was doubtful about her chastity; that Chaldeans, or other wise men from the east, came to Jerusalem, soon after his nativity, to do him homage as king of the Jews, having been excited to that journey by the appearance of a star; that Herod, moved by jealousy, put to death many young children, hoping to kill Jesus with them; that by direction of an angel, he was carried by his parents into Egypt for the preservation of his life; where, as Celsus insinuates, Jesus learned the charms practised in that country. He calls Jesus the Nazarean man, or man of Nazareth, from the place where he was brought up, and chiefly resided, before his appearance in a public character. He takes notice of our Lord's baptism, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove, and of a voice from heaven declaring Jesus to be the beloved Son of God. In another place he speaks again of a like voice from heaven, which seems to be what happened when our Lord was transfigured on the mount. He afterwards takes notice, that when Jesus appeared in a public character, as a teacher of religion, he went about attended by ten or eleven disciples, publicans, and sailors, or mariners, as he generally calls them. In the history of Jesus, written by his disciples, he is said to have healed the lame and the blind, and to have raised some dead persons to life: and though he is unwilling to allow that these were real miracles done by the power of God, he dares not to deny their truth, and is troubled to account for them, and was almost reduced to the necessity of allowing the power of magic, though he is supposed to have formerly written against it. He has taken notice of our Lord's death on the cross, and almost all the circumstances of his last sufferings: that he was betrayed by one of his disciples, and denied by another: that he was condemned by a judge, and prosecuted by the Jews. He mentions our Lord's deriders, and the reproaches he underwent, the crown of thorns, the purple robe, the reed in his hand. Nor has he omitted the wine mingled with gall, when our Lord was going to be crucified, and the vinegar, when he was near expiring on the cross. He also takes notice of the darkness during our Lord's crucifixion, and the earthquake at the

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same time, or soon after it. And though he will not admit, that Jesus rose from the dead, he acknowledgeth the disciples to have related it, and that an angel descended, and removed the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and that he is said by them to have shown himself to one woman, and then to others, and to his disciples. He also observes, that the disciples have recorded, that Jesus foreknew and foretold the things that happened to himself, and which were to happen to them also after he had left them. So that we have in Celsus, in a manner, the whole history of Jesus, as recorded in the gospels: for we have traced in him the history of our Lord's birth, life, preaching, miracles, death, and resurrection; all as taken by him from the writings of Christ's own disciples. In this section, therefore, we have seen many testimonies to the antiquity and genuineness of our scriptures, additional to those alleged in the preceding section.

In the fifth section we have observed the notice which Celsus takes of some christian principles, in particular, the general resurrection of the dead; as for the moral doctrine he was not able to find any fault with it; but he says, the like things had been before taught by the philosophers, and better expressed. He takes notice of the veneration which the christians had for Jesus, as their master, and the Messiah promised of old. But he says, the Jews were mistaken in expecting such a person at all: and the christians were mistaken in thinking that he was actually come; though, as he allows, they argued from the ancient Jewish prophets.

In the sixth section we have seen some passages bearing testimony to the great progress of the christian religion in the world, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements. Indeed, this whole work of Celsus is an evidence of the prevailing power of the christian religion; he has sufficiently acknowledged the great number of Jews and Gentiles, who had been gained over to this belief: and if it had not been still spreading and prevailing, this learned and ingenious man would have saved himself the pains of this laborious argument to confute it; but how so many at that time should embrace this doctrine, under many worldly discouragements, without good reason, is a thing not easy to be accounted for.

Under this section, I suppose, may be observed some passages containing references to the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

Under the seventh section we saw, how Celsus was dis-

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posed to charge the christians with magical arts and practices; upon which I need not enlarge here; it is sufficient to remind the reader of what is there alleged.

In the eighth section are some passages relating to christian worship. It appears from what Celsus says, that they worshipped the one God, Creator of all things, and had a high veneration for Jesus Christ; nor would they worship demons, or join in the public sacrifices and festivals of heathen people. He likewise speaks of christian presbyters; though they had not then any altars, nor temples, nor other sumptuous buildings to meet in. He also reproacheth them with holding their religious assemblies privately, and contrary to law; nor was it without reason that they aimed at privacy; for, as he owns, they were then sought for to be put to death.

From the passages alleged under the ninth section we learn, that Celsus was not unacquainted with the absurd opinions of some who went under the christian name; these he brings in, the more to reproach those who were the most rational in their belief. All the attacks of Celsus are against the more sober part of the believers; those others were sought for in order to disparage and expose them, if possible.

Finally, it is well known, that in early times, soon after the rise of christianity, the followers of Jesus were loaded with many calumnies.

They were said to kill infants, and eat them, and when the lights were put out, to practise promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies. I do not perceive Celsus to insist upon these: I[b] rather think he did not. These calumnies were not yet extinct, nor obsolete; the martyrs at Lyons and Vienne, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus,[b] about the year 177, were reproached with them; and they were in vogue after that time. But to me it seems probable, that Celsus thought those charges to be absurd and incredible; and to mention them with any marks of countenance and approbation, he supposed would be a prejudice to his argument. But though he has omitted them, he has brought in divers injurious reflections upon them, and thereby shown his good will to expose them to general and public resentment; as may be seen in the passages alleged from him under this section.

If therefore we now have any advantage from the work of Celsus, as we certainly have, and very considerable, it is

[b] Vid. L. vi. sect. 40. p. 302. [c] Vid. Euseb. H. E. L. v. cap. 4. p. 156. D. and the present volume of this work, ch. xv. sect. ii. num. iii.

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altogether beside the intention of the author: so that we may here apply the words of Samson's riddle, or enigma: "Out of the eater," or devourer, "came meat, and out of the strong," or the fierce, "came sweetness," Judges xiv. 14.

SECTION XIII.

Three summaries of the fragments of the work of Celsus preserved in Origen, made by three several learned men.

1. A SUMMARY of the Work of Celsus, by the late Rev. Dr. Philip Doddridge.

My late excellent friend, Dr. Doddridge, observed to me, that few learned men knew the importance of the remains of Celsus. He said, 'An abridgment of the history of 'Christ may be found in Celsus;' and he entreated, that when I should come to this writer, 'I would labour the 'point.' I think I have shown a regard to his advice, as I have also followed my own judgment and inclination.

Since his decease, I have understood that he had abridged the argument of the eight books of Origen against Celsus, and sent it to an honourable friend.[a] A copy of it having been taken, I have procured it from the Rev. Mr. Ashworth, of Daventry in Northamptonshire. I shall now transcribe it with references to the pages of Spencer's edition of Origen at Cambridge, in 1677.

'Of the proof of the genuineness of the New Testament, 'that may be derived from the fragments of Celsus, as pre-'served by Origen.'

'The book of Celsus is unhappily lost; but there are 'large extracts made in Origen, and, as it seems, with such 'exactness, that it is difficult to find more considerable re-'mains of any ancient book, not now extant. The following 'collection is confined to the illustration of this thought: '"What we may learn from him concerning the real exist-'ence of the New Testament, in his age, and the regard in 'which it was held among christians."'

'Celsus is, no doubt, an evidence of great value, as he 'wrote so early. Origen observes, p. 3, that he had been 'dead long before his undertaking to answer his book 'against christianity, which he calls "The True Word." And 'it appears, from another passage of Origen, that he lived

[a] Gilbert West, Esq. author of Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, published in the year 1747.

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'in the days of Adrian and his successor, p. 8. So that 'his book must have been written in the second century: 'which is farther confirmed by Lucian's dedicating to him 'one of his works, entitled, Pseudomantis. It may be also 'observed, that he speaks of Christ, as having taught and 'suffered very lately, p. 21, and p. 282.'

'As for the references to the gospels, we do not find that 'he quotes any of them by the name of the authors: but he 'speaks of the gospel, meaning, no doubt, the history of 'Christ, as being changed three or four times, p. 77. He 'seems to speak of several of the evangelists, as agreeing 'to write of Christ's predictions, p. 89, and of things written 'by the disciples of Christ, p. 67. All which seem to make 'it evident, that he had more than the book of St. Matthew 'in his hand: and though the greatest part of his references 'may be found there, yet there are also many of them in the 'other gospels.'

'He quotes from the gospels such a variety of particulars, 'that the enumeration of them will almost prove an abridg-'ment of the evangelists' history: particularly, That Jesus, 'who, he says, was represented as the Word of God, p. 79, 'and who was the author of the christian name, p. 21, and 'also called himself the Son of God, ibid. was a man of 'Nazareth, p. 343. That he was the reputed son of a car-'penter, p. 30. That his mother's pregnancy was at first 'suspected, ibid. but that it was pretended, that his body 'was formed in her womb by the Spirit of God: or, as he 'elsewhere expresses it, produced by a divine operation, p. '30. And that to remove the carpenter's prejudice, an 'angel appeared to him to inform him of this, p. 266. That, 'when he was born, a star appeared in the east to certain 'Magi, who came to adore him, p. 31, 45. The consequence 'of which was the slaughter of the infants by order of Herod, 'hoping thereby to destroy Jesus, and prevent his reign, 'p. 45. But that his parents were warned by an angel to 'fly into Egypt, to preserve his life, as if his Father could 'not have protected him at home, p. 51, and 266; and that 'he continued in Egypt for a while, where, he says, he had 'an opportunity of learning magic, p. 22.'

'He farther represents it, as pretended in those books, 'that when Jesus was washed by John, the appearance of a 'dove descended upon him, and that a voice was heard from 'heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God, p. 31, and '105. That he was vexed by a temptation, and the assaults 'of an evil spirit, 303.[b] He calls Christ himself a carpenter,

[b] The words of Celsus, to which Dr. Doddridge refers, are these: 'Ο τε

'p. 300, and insults his mean life, lurking from place to 'place, p. 47, gathering up ten or twelve poor men, public-'ans, and men that used the sea, of scandalous characters, 'and represents Christ as a beggar, p. 47;[c] that he was 'sometimes hungry and thirsty, p. 55; speaks of his being 'rejected by many that heard him, and hints, though not 'very expressly, at an attempt to throw him down a pre-'cipice, p. 298.'

'He grants, that he wrought miracles, and particularly, 'that he cured some sick people, raised some that were 'dead, and multiplied some loaves; but speaks of others 'doing the like, p. 53. He also expressly mentions his 'curing the lame and the blind; and his raising the dead 'is mentioned a second time, p. 87. He lampoons the ex-'pression, "thy faith hath saved thee,"' p. 8.[d]

'He hints at several things concerning the doctrine of 'Christ, and the manner of his preaching, taken especially 'from St. Matthew's account of his sermon on the mount, 'particularly, that he promised, that his followers should 'inherit the earth; that if any strike them on one cheek, 'they should turn the other, p. 343, and 370; that he de-'clared, no man can serve two masters, p. 380; and would 'have his disciples learn from the birds of the air, and the 'lilies of the field, not to be excessively careful about food 'and raiment, p. 343. He also refers to some other dis-'courses of Christ, as his saying, that it was easier for a 'camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich 'man to be saved, 286 and 288.'

'He observes, that Jesus, however, was not generally 'attended to, and that he denounced woes upon his hearers 'for their obstinate infidelity, p. 107.'

'He also says, that his disciples in their writings pretend, 'that he foretold all things which he was to suffer, p. 67: 'and his resurrection, p. 93; and likewise, that deceivers 'would come, and work miracles, and speaks of the author 'of these wicked words by the name of Satan, p. 89.'

'He objects, that Jesus withdrew himself from those who 'sought to put him to death, p. 62, and yet afterwards did 'not avoid death, knowing it was to come, p. 70. He

Θεȣ παις αρα ἡτταται υπο τȣ διαβολȣ· και κολαζομενος υπ' αυτȣ, διδασκει και ἡμας των υπο τȣτῳ κολασεων καταφρονειν. L. vi. p. 308. Cantab. num. 42. p. 663. Bened.

[c] The passages of Celsus, to which Dr. Doddridge here refers, may be seen transcribed above at p. 228, 229.

[d] That is not exact, owing, perhaps, not to the author, but to the transcriber. The original is: *χρησθαι τῳ· Μη εξεταζε, αλλα πιστευσον· και πιστις σȣ σωσει σε.* And see here at p. 221.

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'speaks of his eating the flesh of a lamb, p. 340; and that 'he foretold to his disciples, they would give him up to his 'enemies, thereby making them wicked, though they were 'the companions of his table, p. 72.'

'That before his sufferings he prayed in these words: '"Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away," p. 75. 'That he was betrayed by his disciples, though robbers are 'faithful to their leaders, p. 62, and 66. That none of his 'disciples dared to suffer for him, p. 86, and that he pro-'fessed to undergo his sufferings in obedience to his Father, 'p. 75, and said, that "these things ought to happen," 'p. 332.'

'That he was denied by one who knew him to be God, 'p. 71, to whom, as well as to the traitor, he had foretold 'what he would do, p. 72.'

'It is intimated, that he spoke of coming again with an 'heavenly host, p. 337.'

'He speaks of Jesus as ignominiously bound, p. 282; as 'scourged, p. 79; as crowned with thorns, with a reed in 'his hand, and arrayed in a scarlet robe, and as condemned, 'p. 81; as having gall given him to drink when he was led 'away to punishment, p. 174; as shamefully treated in the 'sight of the whole world, p. 282; as distended on the 'cross, p. 82. He derides him for not exerting his divinity 'to punish those outrages, p. 81; as taking no vengeance 'on his enemies, p. 404; as incapable to deliver himself, 'and not delivered by his Father in his extremity, p. 41; 'and as greedily drinking gall and vinegar, through impa-'tience of thirst, p. 82, and 340.'

'He observes, it was pretended, that when Jesus expired 'upon the cross, there was darkness and an earthquake, p. '94; that when he arose, he needed an angel to remove the 'stone of the sepulchre, though he was said to be the Son 'of God, p. 266. And according to some, one, according 'to others, two angels came to the sepulchre to inform the 'women of his resurrection, p. 266. That after his resur-'rection he did not appear to his enemies, p. 98; but first 'to a woman whom he had dispossessed, p. 94, and 104; 'that he appeared to a few of his disciples, showing them 'the marks of crucifixion, and appeared and disappeared 'on a sudden, p. 94, &c. and 104. And he says; We take 'these things from your own writings, to wound you with 'your own weapons, p. 106.'

'Beside all these circumstances produced from the gos-'pels, he speaks of Christ's pretending, that he should come 'again to burn the wicked, and to receive the rest to eternal

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'life with himself, p. 175. He refers to the christian doc-
'trine, of the fall of the angels, and their being reserved in
'bonds under the earth, p. 266.'

'It is observable, that[e] nothing is quoted by him from
'the Acts in his whole book; nor does he name St. Paul;
'but he quotes his epistles, particularly these words from
'the epistle to the Galatians, iv. 14, "The world is crucified
'unto me, and I unto the world," p. 273, which[f] Origen
'says is all that he had taken from St. Paul. However,
'he has also these words of 1 Cor. iii. 29, "the wisdom of
'this world is foolishness with God," p. 283, and "an idol
'is nothing," 1 Cor. viii. 4; p. 293. But it is observable,
'that in the first of these quotations Celsus reproacheth the
'christians with their many divisions; and yet says, that
'however they differed, they agreed in using that expres-
'sion. He seems also, p. 242, expressly to refer to 1 Cor.
'xv. 51, 52; and 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, when he says, that
'the christians expected, that they only should escape in
'the burning of the world, and that not only they who are
'alive when it happens, but those also who have been a long
'time dead.'

'Upon the whole, there are in Celsus about eighty quota-
'tions from the books of the New Testament, or references to
'them, of which Origen has taken notice. And whilst he
'argues from them, sometimes in a very perverse and ma-
'licious manner, he still takes it for granted, as the founda-
'tion of his argument, that whatever absurdities could be
'fastened upon any words or actions of Christ, recorded in
'the evangelists, it would be a valid objection against chris-
'tianity; thereby in effect assuring us, not only that such a
'book did really exist, but that it was universally received
'by christians in those times as credible and divine. Who
'can forbear adoring the depth of divine wisdom, in laying
'such a firm foundation for our faith in the gospel-history,
'in the writings of one who was so inveterate an enemy to
'it, and so indefatigable in his attempts to overthrow it!'

'To conclude: Celsus does not appear to have founded
'any single objection against christianity upon any of the
'spurious gospels, Acts, or Revelations; which, considering

[e] I think that Celsus was acquainted with the book of the Acts. And I would entreat the reader to observe the passages quoted from him above, at p. 243, 244, 251.

[f] Origen's words are these, p. 273, f. *τουτο γαρ μονον απο του Παυλου ιοικε μεμνημονευκεναι ὁ Κελσος.* But I suppose, that Origen is not to be understood strictly, but rather in this manner: 'That Celsus had seldom quoted Paul; 'and now took notice of that expression with a design to expose it, so far as 'he was able.'

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'his malice on the one hand, and the many foolish and exceptionable things to be found in them on the other, seems 'to be a good argument that he never saw them. Else he 'had hardly candour enough to forbear pleading such arguments as they might have afforded him; even though he 'had known that the christians did not esteem them of equal 'authority with those, which he has so furiously, but at the 'same time so impotently assaulted.' So far Dr. Doddridge.

I shall now take another summary of the argument of Celsus, from Dr. John Leland of Dublin, in his Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation, Vol. ii. ch. v. p. 150—154, omitting for the most part the references to the pages.

'Celsus, a most bitter enemy of christianity, who lived in 'the second century, produces many passages out of the 'gospels. He represents Jesus to have lived but a few 'years ago; he mentions his being born of a virgin; the 'angel's appearing to Joseph on occasion of Mary's being 'with child; the star that appeared at his birth; the wise 'men that came to worship him, when an infant, and 'Herod's massacring the children; Joseph's fleeing with 'the child into Egypt by the admonition of an angel; the 'Holy Ghost's descending on Jesus like a dove when he was 'baptized by John, and the voice from heaven, declaring 'him to be "the Son of God;" his going about with his 'disciples; his healing the sick and lame, and raising the 'dead; his foretelling his own sufferings, and resurrection; 'his being betrayed and forsaken by his own disciples; his 'suffering, both of his own accord, and in obedience to his 'heavenly Father; his grief and trouble, and his praying, '"Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" the 'ignominious treatment he met with, the robe that was put 'upon him, the crown of thorns, the reed put into his hand, 'his drinking vinegar and gall, and his being scourged and 'crucified; his being seen after his resurrection by a fanatical woman, (as he calls her, meaning Mary Magdalene,) and 'by his own companions and disciples; his showing them 'his hands that were pierced, the marks of his punishment. 'He also mentions the angel's being seen at his sepulchre, 'and that some said, it was one angel, others, that it was 'two; by which he hints at the seeming variation in the 'accounts given of it by the evangelists.'

'It is true, he mentions all these things with a design to 'ridicule and expose them; but they furnish us with an uncontested proof, that the gospels were then extant. Accordingly he expressly tells the christians: "These things 'we have produced out of your own writings," p. 106. And

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'he all along supposeth them to have been written by 'Christ's own disciples, that lived and conversed with him; 'though he pretends, they feigned many things for the 'honour of their master, p. 69, 70. And he pretends, "that 'he could tell many other things relating to Jesus, beside 'those things that were written of him by his own disciples; 'but that he willingly passed them by," p. 67. We may 'conclude from his own expressions, both that he was sensi-'ble, that these accounts were written by Christ's own dis-'ciples, (and indeed he never pretends to contest this,) and 'that he was not able to produce any contrary accounts to 'invalidate them, as he certainly would have done if it had 'been in his power: since no man ever wrote with greater 'virulence against christianity than he. And indeed, how 'was it possible, for "ten or eleven publicans and boatmen," 'as he calls Christ's disciples by way of contempt, p. 47, 'to have imposed such things on the world, if they had not 'been true, so as to persuade such vast multitudes to em-'brace a new and despised religion, contrary to all their 'prejudices and interests, and to believe in one that had 'been crucified?'

'There are several other things which show, that Celsus 'was acquainted with the gospels. He produces several of 'our Saviour's sayings there recorded, as "that it is easier 'for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a 'rich man to enter into the kingdom of God:" that "to him, 'who smites us on one cheek, we must turn the other:" that '"it is not possible to serve two masters," his precepts against '"thoughtfulness for to-morrow," by a comparison drawn 'from "crows and lilies:" his foretelling, that "false pro-'phets should arise, and work wonders:" his saying, "Woe 'unto you," &c. He mentions also some passages of the 'apostle Paul, such as these: "The world is crucified unto 'me, and I unto the world. The wisdom of men is fool-'ishness with God: an idol is nothing."'

'The use I would make of all this is, that it appears here 'with an uncontested evidence, by the testimony of one of 'the most malicious and virulent adversaries the christian 'religion ever had, and who was also a man of considerable 'parts and learning, that the writings of the evangelists 'were extant in his time; which was in the next century to 'that in which the apostles lived: and that those accounts 'were written by Christ's own disciples, and consequently 'that they were written in the very age in which the facts 'there related were done, and when therefore it would have 'been the easiest thing in the world to have convicted them of

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falsehood, if they had not been true.' So far that learned author.

A third Summary of the argument of Celsus.

Once more, Dr. Sherlock, or whoever is the ingenious author of 'the Evidence of the Resurrection cleared up,' has these following observations at p. 19 and 20.

'For Celsus lived at no great distance from the apostolic 'age, at a time when all religions were tolerated but the 'christian; when no evidence was stifled, no books de-'stroyed, but the christian. And yet Celsus laboured un-'der the same want of evidence, as Woolston and his auxi-'liaries, and had only the gospel to search (as Origen more 'than once observes) for evidence against the gospel. A 'strong proof that there never had been any books, of any 'credit in the world, that questioned the gospel facts, when 'so spiteful and so artful an adversary as Celsus made no 'use of them.'

'Celsus admits the truth of Christ's miracles; the differ-'ence between him and Origen lies in the manner of ac-'counting for them; the one ascribing them to the power 'of God, the other to the power of magic. So that if the 'considerer will stand to the evidence of his own witness, 'the question will not be, Whether the miracles are true in 'fact, (for that is granted on both sides,) but whether the 'truth of the miracles infers the divine authority of the 'performer. Now can it be supposed, that Celsus would 'have admitted the miracles of Christ as real facts, had he 'not been compelled to it by the universal consent of all 'men in the age he lived?'

'The truth is, that the objections of Celsus are preserved, 'and preserved in his own language. Origen's answer is 'not a general reply to Celsus, but a minute examination of 'all his objections, even of those which appeared to Origen 'most frivolous. For his friend Ambrosius, to whom he 'dedicates the work, desired him to omit nothing. In order 'to this examination, Origen states the objections of Celsus 'in his own words; and, that nothing might escape him, 'he takes them in the order in which Celsus had placed 'them. Celsus, then, as it happens, is safe; and the con-'siderer needs not to lament over him any more.'

The fragments of the work of Celsus are, undoubtedly, of great importance. I have endeavoured to do justice to them, not only by my own large extracts, but likewise by these observations and summaries of three learned men; hoping,

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that thereby my defects may be supplied, and that some things may be better expressed by them than they have been by me.

CHAP. XIX.

LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA.

I. *His time, and works.* II. *A passage from him concerning Peregrinus, in which is a copious testimony to the christians of that time, with remarks.* III. *His account of Alexander, who set up an oracle in Paphlagonia, with remarks.* IV. *Passages from his True History.* V. *Extracts from the Dialogue, called Philopatris, ascribed to him, with remarks.*

I. LUCIAN[a] was a native of Samosata in Syria. According to Suidas[b] he flourished in the time of Trajan and afterwards; but[c] that is placing him too early. It is more probable, that[d] he was born under Adrian; and he may be more properly said to have flourished in the reigns of Antoninus the pious, and M. Antoninus the philosopher; which last he survived, as appears from his Pseudomantis, where[e] he speaks of that emperor as already deified.

Some have supposed, that in the latter part of his life Lucian was governor of Egypt; on the other hand, divers learned men[f] have shown, that he was only register of Alexandria. However, he speaks of that post[g] as both honourable and profitable, and a step to higher preferment, no less than the government of a province. Some have

[a] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. iv. c. 16. T. iii. p. 485, &c. et Lux. Evangel. p. 152. Tillem. L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. 20. [b] Λουκιανος.

[c] Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 15, et Tillem. ubi supra.

[d] 'I have taken some pains to adjust the age of Lucian. And from some 'notes of time, which are preserved in his works, I have fixed the 40th year 'of his age to the 164th year of Christ, the fourth of M. Antoninus: and con-'sequently his birth to the 124th year of Christ, and the eighth of Adrian.' Moyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 363. Diss. upon the age of the Philopatris.

[e] ——ὁτε Θεος Μαρκος ηδη τοις Μαρκομανοις και Κυαδοις συνεπλεκετο. Pseud. p. 775. vol. i. [f] See Moyle, as before, vol. i. p. 298. et Valesii Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. vii. cap. 11. p. 147. et Annot. in Marcellin. l. xxviii. cap. i. And Tillem. as before quoted, calls him Greffier du Prefet. d'Egypte. [g] Apol. pro mercede conduct. T. i. p. 491, 492.

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spoken of Lucian, as an apostate from christianity, but[h] there is no sufficient reason to believe that ever he was a christian.

Lucian is placed by Cave[i] at the year 176; and I shall place him there likewise; which is some while after writing his Peregrinus, and several years before publishing his Pseudomantis, another work to be quoted hereafter.

II. The work to be first quoted by me is a Letter to Cronius, concerning the death of Peregrinus, called also Proteus; who publicly burnt himself in the sight of all Greece, soon after the Olympic games were over, in the year of our Lord[k] 165, or as others say[l] in the year 169; not long after which this history of him was written by Lucian.

Peregrinus, according to Lucian's character of him, was a person who rambled from place to place, and from one sect of philosophy to another. Having been guilty of parricide, and other crimes, as our author says, he was obliged for a while to leave his native country, and travel abroad. 'At[m] which time,' as Lucian says, 'he learned the wonder-'ful doctrine of the christians, by conversing with their 'priests and scribes near Palestine; and in a short time he 'showed, they were but children to him; for he was pro-'phet, high-priest, ruler of a synagogue, uniting all offices 'in himself alone. Some books he interpreted and ex-'plained, others he wrote; and they spoke of him as a god, 'and took him for a lawgiver, and honoured him with the 'title of master.[n] They therefore still worship that great

[h] Luciani Samosatensis clarum inter sophistas nomen est, quem fidei christianæ fuisse desertorem, misereque periisse, quippe discerptum a canibus, e Suidâ nonnulli tradiderunt, sed sine suffragio eruditorum. Tob. Eckhard, Non. Christian. Testimon. cap. vi. sect. 9. p. 158.

[i] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 96. [k] Vid. Pagi ann. 165. n. 3. Basnag. ann. 165. iv. Cleric. ann. 165. vi. [l] Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 500.

[m] Ὁτεπερ και την θαυμαστην σωφιαν των χριςιανων ἐξεμαθε, περι την Παλαιςινην τοις ἱερευσι και γραμματευσιν αυτων συγγενομενος. Και τι γαρ; εν βραχει παιδας αυτες απεφηνε, προφητης, και θιασαρχης, και ξυναγωγευς, καμ παντα μονος αυτος ων. Και των βιβλων τας μεν εξηγειτο, και διεσαφει· πολλας δε αυτος και ξυνεγραφε· και ὡς θεον αυτον ἀπαντοι εδηγεοντο, και νομοθετη εχρωντο, και προςατην επεγραφον. Τον μεγαν γαν ἐκεινον ετι σεβοσιν ἀνθρωπον, τον εν τη Παλαιςινη ανασκολοπισθεντα, ὁτι καινην ταυτην τελετην εισηγαγεν ες τον βιον. De Morte Peregrin. T. i. p. 565, &c. edit. Græv. Amst. 1687.

[n] I have rendered that paragraph as it stands in Lucian; but those titles seem not to belong to Peregrinus; and it may be suspected, that somewhat is wanting hereabout. Tanaquil Faber, in his notes upon this place, conjectures that there were here some expressions injurious to our Saviour, which a christian copyist, more pious than wise, left out. However, of that we cannot be certain. Perhaps the place is genuine and pure, as written by Lucian: but

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'man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced 'into the world this new religion. For this reason Proteus 'was taken up, and put into prison; which very thing was 'of no small service to him afterwards, for giving reputation 'to his impostures, and gratifying his vanity. The christians were much grieved for his imprisonment, and tried 'all ways to procure his liberty. Not being able to effect 'that, they did him all sorts of kind offices, and that not in 'a careless manner, but with the greatest assiduity; for 'even betimes in the morning there would be at the prison 'old women, some widows, and also little orphan children: 'and some of the chief of their men, by corrupting the 'keepers, would get into prison, and stay the whole night 'there with him; there they had a good supper together, and their sacred discourses. And this excellent 'Peregrinus (for so he was still called) was thought by 'them to be an extraordinary person, no less than another 'Socrates; even from the cities of Asia some christians came 'to him by an order of the body, to relieve, encourage, and 'comfort him. For it is incredible what expedition they 'use when any of their friends are known to be in trouble. 'In a word, they spare nothing upon such an occasion; 'and Peregrinus's chain brought him in a good sum of 'money from them; for these miserable men have no doubt 'but they shall be immortal, and live for ever; therefore 'they contemn death, and many surrender themselves to 'sufferings. Moreover° their first lawgiver has taught 'them that they are all brethren, when once they have 'turned, and renounced the gods of the Greeks, and worship that master of theirs who was crucified, and engage 'to live according to his laws. They have also a sovereign 'contempt for all the things of this world, and look upon 'them as common, and trust one another with them without 'any particular security; for which reason any subtil fellow, 'by good management, may impose upon this simple people, 'and grow rich among them. But Peregrinus was set at 'liberty by the governor of Syria, who was a favourer of 'philosophy: who, perceiving his madness, and that he had 'a mind to die, in order to get a name, let him out, not 'judging him so much as worthy of punishment.' 'Then,' as our author says, 'Peregrinus returned to his native place

then, here are inaccuracies, owing to ignorance and mistake, or to design and malice. The christians did not speak of Peregrinus in those high terms: but Lucian, as it seems, magnifies the respect which the christians showed to Peregrinus, the more to expose them to ridicule. See Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p. 152.

° Εκειτα δε ὁ νομοθετης ὁ πρωτος. κ. λ. p. 567.

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'Parium, in hopes of recovering his father's estate; but 'meeting with difficulties, he made over to the Parians all 'the estate he might expect from his father; who then ex-'tolled him as the greatest of philosophers, a lover of his 'country, and another Diogenes, or Crates. He then went 'abroad again, well supplied by the christians with all 'travelling charges, by whom also he was accompanied; 'and he lived in great plenty. Thus it went with him for 'some while. At[p] length they parted, having given them 'also some offence, by eating, as I suppose, some things not 'allowed of by them.'

I now make remarks upon this passage.

1. Peregrinus is mentioned by many authors; but I do not recollect any remaining writer, either heathen or christian, beside Lucian, who has said any thing of his christianity.

His death is mentioned by[q] Tertullian, and[r] by Athenagoras, who likewise says he had a statue erected to him at Parium, his native place, situated in Mysia, not far from Lampsacus, which was supposed to give out oracles.

Several heathen authors mention him, and speak honourably of him. Aulus Gellius[s] saw him at Athens, and was acquainted with him; he calls him a famous philosopher, commends him, and ascribes to him some good maxims; but he says nothing of his death. Probably Peregrinus, called also Proteus, was still living when he wrote.

Ammianus Marcellinus[t] mentions his death, and calls him an illustrious philosopher.

Philostratus,[u] who also mentions his death, calls him a cynic; and that he maintained that character, appears also

[p] ——ωφθη γαρ τι, ως οιμαι, εσθων των αποφρητων αυτοις. p. 570.

[q] Minus fecerunt philosophi, Heraclitus, qui se bubulo stercore oblitum exussit, item Empedocles, qui in ignes Ætnæi montis dissiluit; et Peregrinus, qui non olim se rogo immisit. Tertull. ad Mart. cap. 4. p. 157.

[r] Και ὁ τε Πρωτεως (τουτον δ' ουκ αγνοειτε ῥαψαντα ἑαυτον εις το πυρ περι την Ολυμπιαν) ὁ μεν και ουτος λεγεται χρηματιζειν. Athenag. p. 30. Par. sect. 26. p. 304. Bened.

[s] Philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteas factum est, virum gravem atque constantem vidimus, quum Athenis essemus, diversantem in quodam tugurio extra urbem. Quumque ad eum frequenter ventitaremus, multa hercle dicere eum utiliter et honeste audivimus, &c. Noct. Att. l. xii. cap. 11. Vid. et l. viii. cap. 3.

[t] Peregrinum illum imitatus, Protea cognomine, philosophum clarum; qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiæ quinquennali certamine, sub Græciæ conspectu totius, adscenso rogo, quem ipse construxit, flammis absumtus est. Amm. l. xxix. cap. 1.

[u] —— και τα προς τον κυνα Πρωτεα λεχθεντα, ποτε ὑπ' αυτου Αθηνησιν. Phil. de. Vit. Sophistar. l. ii. n. 1. sect. 13. p. 563.

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from Lucian, who, in the account of his death, often[v] rallies him as a celebrated cynic. And when Lucian ridiculed his vanity, he was[w] like to be torn to pieces by the cynics, who also were spectators of that transaction.

Peregrinus[x] was an old man when he threw himself into the flames in the year 165, or 169. I apprehend, that the time of his christianity was the early part of his life; and that his imprisonment upon that account must[y] have been in the time of Trajan, or Adrian at the latest. He was best known by the name of Proteus; but, as Lucian says, whilst he was with the christians he was called Peregrinus. And it is manifest, from all the remaining writers who mention him, that he sustained the character of a philosopher and a cynic. It is probable therefore, that in the greatest, and the latest part of his life, he was a mere heathen philosopher, and it is reasonable, that a man's denomination should be taken from that part of his life which was best known. Lucian himself allows, that after having been some while among the christians, he and they parted.

2. Having observed all these things relating to the history of Peregrinus, I proceed to some other remarks.

Here is an authentic testimony to some of the main facts and principles of christianity from a man of free sentiments not long after the middle of the second century, who knew the world, and was well acquainted with mankind. That the founder of the christian religion was crucified in Palestine; That he was the great master of the christians, and the first author of the principles received by them; That those men, called christians, had peculiarly strong hopes of immortal life, and a great contempt for this world and its enjoyments; That they courageously endured many afflictions upon account of their principles, and sometimes surrendered themselves to sufferings. Honesty and probity prevailed so much among them, that they trusted each other without security. Their master had earnestly recommended to all his followers mutual love; by which also they were much distinguished. And their assiduity in relieving and comforting one another, when under affliction, was known to all men; nor is it, I presume, any disparagement to them

[v] Αλλ' οποταν Πρωτευς, Κυνικων οχ' αριστος απαντων——
Αλλ' οποταν Κυνικος πολυωνυμος ις φλογα πολλην. κ. λ.
De Morte Peregr. p. 579.

[w] Αλλ' ολιγε δειν, υπο των κυνικων εγω σοι διασπασθην. Ib. p. 560.

[x] ——οσοι εθαυμαζον την απονοιαν τε γεροντος. Ibid. p. 560.

[y] See Tillem. Persécution sous Trajan. art. vii. M. E. T. ii. and M. Aurele. art. 29. H. E. T. ii.

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that they were imposed upon by Peregrinus, who was admired by many others; and, perhaps, was not so bad a man as Lucian insinuates.

Another thing may be observed, that from his manner of speaking it may be well argued, that Lucian did not know the reason why Peregrinus and the christians parted.

I think it ought also to be observed, that Lucian, carrying on his drollery, misrepresents and aggravates several things. It was before[z] hinted, that the christians did not consider Peregrinus as a god. There are divers other loose and inaccurate expressions. He says afterwards, that the christians looked upon Peregrinus as 'another Socrates:' but that is a way of thinking ascribed to them without reason; many of them might think charitably and honourably of Socrates; but every christian was superior to him. So likewise when Lucian says, that 'Peregrinus was prophet, high-priest, and ruler of a synagogue, uniting all offices in himself,' he speaks inaccurately; thus joining together judaism and christianity. And as Lucian indulged himself in a loose and improper manner of speaking, I cannot but think it to be a groundless deduction which some have made from these expressions, that Peregrinus had been constituted a bishop among the christians.

I proceed.

III. Lucian's Alexander, or Pseudomantis, as before hinted, was not written before the year 180, in the reign of Commodus; forasmuch as here he gives Marcus Antoninus the title of god, or deified. It is a[a] letter to Celsus, the Epicurean philosopher, containing the history of an impostor, named Alexander, who in the time of the fore-mentioned Antoninus gave out oracles in Paphlagonia, and had vast success in his design; his oracle having been in great repute for some while in that and neighbouring countries, and even at Rome itself.

'But,' says Lucian, 'when some, who had more wit than 'others, awaking as out of a drunken fit, that had robbed 'them of all their senses, made head against him, chiefly 'men of the Epicurean sect, and the secret arts of his con-'trivance began to be discerned in several places; he struck 'a kind of terror among them, saying, "That[b] Pontus was 'full of atheists and christians, who had the assurance to 'raise slanderous stories against him." And he excited the

[z] See before, note [o], p. 279. [a] Lucian. vol. i. p. 746, &c.

[b] ——εκφερει φοβητρον τι επ' αυτες, λεγων, αθεων εμπεπλησθαι και χριστιανων τον Ποντον· οἱ περι αυτε τολμωσι τα κακιστα βλασφημειν. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 762, 763.

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'people not to spare them, but to drive them away with 'stones, if they would not lose the favour of the god' [Æsculapius.]——'He[c] also appointed rites of initiation, 'like those at Athens, and a holy feast of three days' continuance; and on[d] the first day of the solemnity proclamation was made as at Athens:-"If any atheist, or christian, or Epicurean, be come hither as a spy upon these 'mysteries, let him depart with all speed. And a happy 'initiation to those who believe in God." Then they thrust 'the people away, he going before, and saying: "Away 'with the christians." Then the multitude cried out again: '"Away with the Epicureans."'

It is honourable to the christians to be here mentioned with Epicureans by a favourer of the Epicurean sentiments. It evidently appears hence, that the followers of Jesus were now well known in the world by the name of christians; and that they were then numerous in Pontus and Paphlagonia and the neighbouring countries; and finally, that they were formidable to cheats and impostors.

IV. I shall now cite a passage taken from the second book of what our author calls, True History, but is indeed all fiction, as is acknowledged by himself at the beginning of the first book.

'He and his companions, having travelled a great way,[e] 'came to the Island of the blessed, where Rhadamanthus of 'Crete reigned. Soon after they came ashore, they were 'taken into custody,[f] and were bound with roses, there being no other chains in that country; which too fell off of 'themselves, when they were set at liberty. There were 'then several causes to be tried before the king of the 'country; theirs was the fourth in order. When their cause 'came on, they were asked, how they came to be there, 'when they were yet living? When they had related their 'voyage, they were ordered to withdraw. The judge, 'having consulted with his accessors and counsellors, determined, that after death they should be punished for 'their curiosity and presumption; for the present they 'might converse with the heroes of the country, but the 'term of their sojourning there might not exceed seven

[c] Ib. p. 770.

[d] *Και εν μεν τη πρωτη, προρρησις ην ωσπερ Αθηνησι, τοιαυτη. Ει τις αθεος, η χριστιανος, η Επικυρειοις, ηκει κατασκοπος των οργιων, φευγετω——Και ὁ μεν ηγειτο λεγων· Εξω χριστιανες. Το δε πληθος ἁπαν επεφθεγγετο· Εξω Επικυρειως. κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 770.

[e] *Παρ' ων δη καθ' οδον ακηκοαμεν, ὡς ἡ μεν νησος ειη των μακαρων προσαγορευομενων· αρχοι δε ο Κρης Ῥαδαμανθυς.* Ver. Hist. l. ii. T. i. p. 670.

[f] *——εντυγχανομεν τοις φρουροις, και περιπολοις. Οἱ δε δησαντες ἡμας ῥοδινοις στεφανοις——ανηγον ὡς τον αρχοντα.* Ibid. p. 671.

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'months. Then they were conducted into the city, which 'is all gold, surrounded by a wall of emerald, Rev. xx. 'There are seven gates made of the wood of cinnamon; the 'pavement of the city, and the ground within the wall, is 'ivory; the temples of all the gods are built of the beryl-'stone; the altars in them are very large, consisting of one 'stone only, which is the amethyst, upon which they offer 'hecatombs. Round the city flows a river of the finest oil, 'the breadth of which is an hundred royal cubits, the depth 'such as is most convenient for swimming in. Their baths 'are large houses of glass, kept warm with fires made of 'cinnamon; instead of water they have warm dew in 'basons; their dress is purple, made of the finest spiders' 'webs. None grow old here; but they remain as they 'were when they arrived. They[g] have no night, nor alto-'gether bright day: but such light as precedes the rising 'of the sun; nor have they more than one season of the 'year; for it is always spring, and the west is the only 'wind. The country abounds with all sorts of flowers and 'plants, which are always flourishing; their[h] vines bear 'twelve times in the year, yielding fruit every month, Rev. 'xxii. 2. Apples and pomegranates, as they say, bear 'thirteen times in the year, yielding fruit twice in the month, 'called by them Minous. Instead of corn the stalks have 'ready-prepared loaves at their tops like mushrooms. 'There are in the city three hundred and sixty-five foun-'tains of water, and as many of honey, and five hundred 'fountains of oil, but less: seven rivers of milk, and eight 'of wine.'

More follows containing a description of the groves and fields round about the city; but I am not disposed to transcribe any more. They who please may consider, whether here are any allusions to the xxi. and xxii. chapters of the book of the Revelation. Lucian's description of this island, and the chief city of it, falls so far short of St. John's description of his New Jerusalem, that some may think he could not have so fine a model before him. However, let all judge as they see fit.

V. With Lucian's works is joined[i] a dialogue, called Philopatris. Bishop Bull,[k] and some others,[l] have been

[g] ——ου μην ουδε νυξ παρ' αυτοις γιγνεται. ουδ' ἡμερα πανυ λαμπρα. p. 672.

[h] Αἱ μεν γαρ αμπελοι δωδεκαφοροι εισι, και κατα μηνα ἑκατον καρποφορουσι. Ib.

[i] Tom. ii. p. 763, &c. Græv.

[k] Def. Fidei Nicen. sect. 2. cap. 4. p. 69. [al. 73.]

[l] Et Philopatris, si ejus sit, saltem scriptoris coævi. Cav. H. L. p. 96. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 504. et Lux Evangelii. p. 153.

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inclined to think it Lucian's, or, however, written about his time, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus; many others are persuaded, that it is not his, nor written in that reign. But there is a great diversity of opinion among these concerning the true age of it.

Mr. Moyle[m] thinks it was written in the time of Diocle-sian, in the year of Christ 302, and 23 years before the council of Nice. Dodwell[n] varied in his opinion, and in the end placed it in the year of Christ 261, and the eighth of Gallienus. Others[o] have argued for the third of Aurelian, in the year of Christ 272. And Gesner[p] is of opinion, that it was written in the time of the emperor Julian, after the middle of the fourth century. None of these learned men think the Philopatris to be a work of Lucian.

I am not able to determine the time when it was written; nor do I think it needful to be much concerned about it. I do not think it to be Lucian's; the style is very different from his, and vastly inferior to it. Some other reasons may offer by and by in our observations upon it; but, as the writer was a heathen, and it is joined with the other works of Lucian, I speak of it in this place.

Says Mr. Moyle: 'It[q] is a Dialogue between Critias and 'Triephon; the first a professed heathen, the other an Epi-'curean, personating a christian. The design of it is, partly 'to represent christians as a sect of men disaffected to 'government, and dangerous to civil society; partly to ex-'pose their opinions, as the Trinity, the creation of the 'world, with several other articles of our faith.'

'Triephon meets Critias, who by his countenance appears 'greatly indisposed; and being asked the reason, Critias 'tells him, he[r] had been where he had heard a strange dis-'course; and[s] that the things which he had heard that day, 'from those execrable sophists, had most surprisingly 'affected him. Afterwards, he offers to swear by Jupiter, 'and Apollo, and other deities, which oaths Triephon rejects. 'By whom then shall I swear, says Critias. Triephon 'answers: By[t] the most High God, great, immortal, celes-

[m] See his Dissertation upon the age of the Philopatris. Lett. i. vol. i. p. 292.

[n] See in the same Dissertation, p. 302, 314, 348, 349.

[o] Vid. Heuman. Pœcile, sive Epistolæ Miscellaneæ, T. i. p. 438, &c.

[p] J. M. Gesneri Diss. de ætate et auctore Philop. Ad calcem. T. iii. Lucian. Opp. Amst. 1743.

[q] As before, p. 285, 286.

[r] Ω Τριεφων, μεγαν τινα, και ηπορημενον λογον ακηκοα. Philop. Lucian. T. ii. p. 764.

[s] Α γαρ ακηκοα τημερον παρα τρισκαταρατων εκεινων σοφιστων, μεγαλως εξωγεκωσε μυ την νηδυν. p. 765.

[t] Και τινα επωμοσωμαι γε——Τρι. Υψιμεδοντα Θεον, μεγαν, αμβροτον,

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'tial, Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the 'Father, one out of three, and three out of one. These do 'you think to be Jupiter, him do you esteem to be God.— 'Crit. You teach me numbers; that is an arithmetical 'oath——I do not know what you mean. One three, three 'one.—Trieph. Hold your peace; you are not to measure 'the steps of fleas. I will teach you what the universe is, 'who was before all things, and what is the system of the 'universe; for it is but the other day that I was as ignorant 'as yourself. But[u] when the Galilean, half bald, long 'nosed, who travelled through the air to the third heaven, 'and there learned the most extraordinary things, came to 'me, he renewed us by water, he introduced us into the 'regions of the blessed, and redeemed us from the regions 'of the wicked. And if you will hearken to me, I will make 'you likewise a man indeed.—Soon after this Triephon tells 'Critias of the creation, and other things, in a ludicrous way. 'By a word he dispelled the darkness, as the slow tongued 'writer assures us, and founded the earth upon the waters. 'He stretched out the heavens, formed the fixed stars, and 'ordered the course of things, which you worship for gods. 'The earth he adorned with flowers; man[v] he brought out 'of things that were not; and he is in heaven, beholding 'the just and the unjust, and writes in books the actions of 'all, and will accordingly render to all in the day that he 'has appointed. After other things, Critias says: Where- 'fore,[w] Triephon, I entreat you to say nothing more of the 'fates, though with your master you should be taken up, 'and admitted to unspeakable mysteries. Afterwards 'Triephon says; Do not you see, how inaccurate, and am- 'biguous, and uncertain, all the sayings of the poets are? 'Wherefore lay aside all those things, that[x] you may be en- 'rolled in the celestial books of the righteous.—Crit. But 'tell me, Triephon, are the affairs of the Scythians also re- 'gistered in heaven?—Trieph. All.[y] For Chrestus has

ουρανιωνα, υἱον πατρος, πνευμα εκ πατρος εκπορευομενον, ἑν εκ τριων, και εξ ἑνος τρια. Ταυτα νομιζε Ζηνα, τον δ' ἡγου Θεον. p. 770. in.

[u] *Ηνικα δε μοι Γαλιλαιος ενετυχεν, αναφαλαντιας, επιῤῥινος, ες τριτον ουρανον αεροβατησας, και τα καλλιστα εκμεμαθηκως, δι' ὑδατος ἡμας ανεκαινισεν, ες τα των μακαρων ιχνια παρεισωδευσε——κ. λ.* p. 770.

[v] *Ανθρωπον εκ μη οντων ες το ειναι παρηγαγε· και εστιν εν ουρανῳ, βλεπων δικαιους τε κἀδικους, και εν βιβλοις τας πραξεις απογραφομενος. Ανταποδωσει δε πασιν, ἡν ἡμεραν αυτος ενετειλατο.* p. 771.

[w] *Ωστε, ων Τριεφων, δια τουτο μηδεν προσθειναι περι των μοιρων εθελησης, ει και ταχα παιδαρσιος εγεγονεις μετα του διδασκαλου, και τα απορῥητα εμυηθης.* p. 772.

[x] *——ὡς και σε εν ταις επουρανιοις βιβλοις των αγαθων απογραψωνται.* p. 773.

[y] *Παντα, ει τυχοι γε Χρηστος και εν εθνεσι* Ibid.

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'been among the nations. [Or, as others understand this 'place; Yes,[a] all, provided there is any good man among 'the nations.] Crit. There must be a multitude of scribes 'in heaven, according to your account.—Trieph. I[a] pray, 'forbear your jests, and say nothing contemptuous of the 'dexterous God; but become a catechumen, and be per-'suaded by me, if you have a mind to live for ever. Since 'he has stretched out the heavens like a curtain, and found-'ed the earth upon water, and produced man out of nothing, 'what is there wonderful in his registering the actions of 'all men? Afterwards Triephon desires Critias[b] to give 'him an account of what he had heard in the assembly of 'the christians, and which had so discomposed him. Critias 'answers; By[c] the Son out of the Father, it shall never 'be done. Trieph. Do, tell me, receiving from the Spirit 'the power of speech. Critias at length tells him what a 'beggarly, sorrowful company of people he had met with; 'insinuates their disaffection to the government, and that 'they wished for bad news, and delighted in public calami-'ties. Some[d] of them spoke of their fasting ten whole days 'without eating—and of spending whole nights in singing 'hymns. Triephon[e] then bids him to have done with those 'stories, and begin with the prayer from the Father, adding 'at the end the hymn with many names. They conclude: 'But[f] let us find out the unknown God at Athens, and 'stretching out our hands to heaven, offer to him our praises 'and thanksgivings, that we are worthy to live under so 'great an empire, and leave others to trifle as they please.'

It is now time to make remarks upon this dialogue.

1. There is a general observation very obvious to be made here; That[g] the writer of this dialogue appears much

[a] Et omnes quidem, si modo bonum aliquem esse inter gentes contingat. Conf. J. M. Gesneri Diss. de auctore et ætate Philop. sect. 21. p. 717.

[a] Ευγομαι, και μηδεν ειπης φλαυρον Θεω δεξιω. p. 773.

[b] Αλλ' αγε δη το θαυμασιον εκεινο ακεσματιον ειπον. p. 774.

[c] Νη τον υιον τον εκ πατρος, ω τουτο γενησεται. Τρι. Λεγε, παρα του πνευματος δυναμιν του λογου λαβων. p. 774.

[d] Ελεγον γαρ ἡλιως δεκα ασιτοι διαμενομεν· και επι παννυχους ὑμνῳδιας επαγρυπνουντες ονειρωττομεν τα τοιαυτα. p. 778.

[e] Ωτε εασον τουτους, την ευχην απο πατρος αρξαμενος, και την πολυωνυμον ῳδην εις τελος επιθεις. p. 779.

[f] Ημεις δε τον εν Αθηναις αγνωστον επευροντες, και προσκυνησαντες, χειρας εις ουρανον εκτειναντες, τουτῳ ευχαριστησομεν, ὡς καταξιωθεντες τοιουτου κρατους ὑπηκοοι γενεσθαι. p. 780.

[g] Mihi vero causa esse nulla videtur, cur Luciano non tribuatur, licet fateor in aliis ejus scriptis non observari tantam christianismi peritiam: quo argumento illum Luciano abjudicat Huetius. p. 61. Dem. Evan. Fabric. Bib. Gr T. iii. p. 504.

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better acquainted with the affairs of the christians, and their sacred scriptures, than Lucian.

2. We may hence perceive, that the christians and their principles were in old times ridiculed by their ancient adversaries. It is therefore a mistake of those moderns, who have imagined, that the old heathens neglected this method of opposing christianity. Nor is this the only instance of the kind which we have met with; Lucian's writings before rehearsed in this chapter are another instance; and unquestionably some such writings have been lost, the christians of later times not thinking them fit or worthy to be preserved.

3. We see how poorly some men reasoned who opposed christianity, and still continued to be heathens. They ridiculed the most just and reasonable doctrines; such as 'the creation of the world, a Divine Providence, or observance of the actions of men, in order to a future retribution.' Whilst they rejected the christian revelation, they rejected also, and endeavoured to expose and weaken, those principles of religion, which reason alone, if attended to and improved, might have taught them, with a good degree of evidence and certainty. And the like things may be found in old heathen authors, who[h] have spoken of Jupiter's 'registering things on his tablets, and consulting his parch-'ments,' that all men, good and bad, may be recompensed in due time.

4. It is fit that we should observe the notice which is taken in this work of christian writings, and principles, and practices.

Here are references to the book of Genesis, and the Psalms, and the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's epistles, and the Revelation, in which last is frequent mention made of "the book of life," and writing men's names in it, and of books in which the actions of good and bad are recorded. As Rev. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xx. 12, 15; xxi. 27; xxii. 19. The phrase, "the book of life," is also in Philip. iv. 3. And in Heb. xii. 23, some are spoken of, as written, or enrolled, in heaven.

When Triephon says, that 'the Galilean, half bald,——who travelled through the air, to the third heaven, and there learned the most extraordinary things, came to me,

[h] Και παροιμια. Ὁ Ζευς κατειδε χρονιος εις τας διφθερας· επι των ποτε αμειβομενων ὑπερ ὡν πραττουσι καλων η κακων· ὁτι ουκ απρονοητα φασι τα παντα, αλλα τον Δια εις διφθερας, τινας απογραφεσθαι, και ποτε επεξιεναι. Suidas. V. Ζευς. Ubi Annotator. Huc spectat illud Euripidis apud Stobæum, &c.

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he renewed us with water:' there is certainly a reference to 2 Cor. xii. 1—4, and, possibly, to Tit. iii. 5; and Eph. v. 3, or some other like text. But it cannot be thence inferred, that the writer of this book was a disciple of Paul, or was baptized by him, or was contemporary with him. For, as Mr. Moyle[i] observes; 'This writer speaks of 'christians, throughout his dialogue, as αιθεριοι, αιθεροβα-'τεντες, δαιμονιοι, αἐροβατεντες, &c. that is, a company of 'dreaming enthusiasts, who, like St. Paul, pretended to a 'power of flying to heaven when they pleased.'

In this dialogue is also a reference to the Lord's Prayer, and, as often used by christians. 'Begin with the prayer from the Father,' says he, 'adding at the end the hymn with many names.' That the Lord's Prayer is here referred to, is[k] allowed by learned men; what is intended by the hymn at the end, is doubtful. Some have argued, that thereby is meant the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Matt. vi. 13. But to me, as well as to some[l] others, it seems more probable, that some other doxology, more verbose and intricate, is here intended.

There seems to be an allusion to the gift of tongues, or some other gift of the Spirit, with which christians were favoured in the more early ages of the church in those words; 'Do, tell me, receiving from the Spirit the power of speech.'

Here are also plain references to the christian custom of initiating by baptism, and of preparing men for it by instruction, or catechizing. The author likewise ridicules the christian fastings, and singing hymns in the night.

It might carry me too far to remark distinctly upon his ridicule of the doctrine of the Trinity, as represented by him, or as held by the christians at the time of this author. None

[i] As before, p. 287, 288.

[k] Per την ευχην απο πατρος, p. 779, Orationem Dominicam Lucianus intelligit, ut recte notatum Rigaltio ad Tertullianum. Sed per πολυωνυμον ῳδην superadditam non existimaverim notari clausulam, 'quia tuum est regnum,' ut persuasum Jo. Gregorio. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 504. Conf. annot. in loc. Philop. T. iii. p. 616. ed. Amst. 1743.

[l] 'Nay, we know, that in fact it had another doxology sometimes added to 'it, as we learn from the author of the Books concerning the Sacraments, 'among the works of Ambrose; [Lib. vi. ad fin.] who, having recited the 'Lord's Prayer, as it is in St. Matthew's gospel, immediately adds: 'What 'follows? Hear what the priest says: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, in 'whom to thee, with whom to thee, is honour, praise, glory, majesty, power, 'with the Holy Spirit, from the beginning, now, and for ever. Amen."' Of 'this sort of doxology I suppose the author of the Philopatris speaks. This 'kind of doxology is much more agreeable to other passages in that dialogue, 'than the plain one in St. Matthew.' Hallett's Notes and Discourses, vol. i. p. 144, 145.

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of my readers can omit to take notice of this, which comes over so often; and I should think, that this may afford a good argument against the supposition, that this dialogue was written by Lucian, or any other author about his time; for it does not appear, that in the reign of Marcus Antoninus there were any controversies among christians upon this point. What is here said upon this subject, appears to be more suitable to the fourth century of the christian epoch.

CHAP. XX.

ÆLIUS ARISTIDES THE SOPHIST, AND DION CHRYSOSTOM.

I. *Aristides, his life, and time, and works.* II. *Select passages from him.* III. *Passages concerning the christians, and illustrating the books of the N. T.* IV. *His character and importance.* V. *The sophist Dion Chrysostom: His time, and works, and a passage concerning the christians.*

1. 'ARISTIDES the sophist,' says[a] Suidas, 'a native of Adri-'ani, a small town in Mysia, now belonging to Bithynia, was 'a disciple of Polemon the rhetorician of Smyrna, son of 'Eudaimon, a philosopher and priest of Jupiter in his own 'country. He also heard Herod at Athens, and Aristocles 'at Pergamus. He flourished in the time of the emperor 'Antoninus, and reached to the reign of Commodus; he 'published many orations; the number of them is not ex-'actly known.'

Philostratus confirms that account of Suidas, and farther says, 'That[b] from his childhood Aristides had an infirm 'state of health; nevertheless he did not neglect labour. 'The people of Smyrna erected to him a brass statue, which 'they set up in their forum; and when they called him the 'founder of their city, it was no flattery, but a just and true 'commendation. For when their city had been overthrown, 'and almost destroyed by earthquakes, he so pathetically 'represented their calamities in a letter to the emperor, that 'he could not forbear weeping at some parts of it, and

[a] V. Αριστειδης. [b] De Vit. Sophist l. ii. cap. ix. C. 248. p. 1271.

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'presently promised to restore it. And, as I have been informed by Damian of Ephesus, Aristides had before that 'had some conversation with Marcus in Ionia. That emperor came to Smyrna, and was there three days before 'Aristides came to pay his respects to him; the emperor 'did not then know Aristides personally; he asked of some 'present, whether Aristides was in the company? They 'said, they had not seen him. Afterwards they brought 'him. The emperor then said to him; How comes it to 'pass, that it is so long before I could see you? He answered, I was employed about a work; and the mind is not 'easily diverted from what it is engaged in. The emperor, 'pleased with his ingenuity, and his diligence, said, And 'when shall I hear you? Appoint a time, says Aristides, 'and you shall hear me to-morrow, if you please. But I 'must desire, that my friends may be present, and that 'they may have leave to applaud, and clap their hands, 'with all their might. The emperor smiling told him, That 'would depend upon himself.'

I forbear to add the critical remarks upon Aristides's Orations, which follow in Philostratus.

There are in Photius[c] large extracts out of several of them.

Suidas says, that Aristides flourished in the time of the emperor Antoninus, probably meaning the Pious. Nevertheless, as he was also well acquainted with his successor, and is said to have reached to the time of Commodus, I place him at the year 176, in which, as it seems, he saw Marcus Antoninus at Smyrna. Though his constitution was infirm, it is supposed that he did not die before he was 60 or 70 years of age.[d]

II. It is allowed that Aristides was very superstitious, a humble and devout worshipper of all the gods, especially Esculapius, to whom, as he believed, he was much indebted for the useful instructions which that god gave him, in his dreams, concerning his health.

I think it cannot be amiss to transcribe some passages containing a mixture of good sense and superstition, right sentiments and absurd and foolish respect for all the deities which were then in repute.

'Jupiter[e] made all things; all things whatever are the

[c] Cod. 246. p. 1211. C. 247. p. 1235. [d] They who desire to know more of Aristides, may consult Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 30. sect. 4. T. iv. p. 373—409. Basnag. Ann. 176. n. v. Dr. Chapman's Charge, p. 91. Tillemont. M. Aurele. art. 31. [e] Hymnus in Jovem, T. i. p. 2. al. p. 5.

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works of Jupiter, rivers, and the earth, and the sea, and the heaven; and whatever things are between them, or are above or under them; and gods, and men, and all living things, and all things obvious to our sight, or that can be perceived by our understanding. First of all he made himself; nor was he brought up in the odoriferous caverns of Crete; nor did Saturn ever intend to devour him; nor did he swallow a stone in his stead; nor was Jupiter ever in any danger; nor will he ever be in danger;——nor is there any thing more ancient than Jupiter; as children cannot be older than their parents; nor things made than they who made them; but he is the first, and the most ancient, and the prince of all things, and himself from himself. When he was made cannot be said; forasmuch as he has been from the beginning, and will always be; his own father, and greater than to be made by any; and as he brought forth Minerva out of his head, without need of marriage, so he had before made himself, of himself, not needing any to bring him into being; on the contrary, all things have had their beginning from him.' And what follows.

This is taken from a hymn to Jupiter, and is the first oration in the first volume of this work. He speaks somewhat to the like purpose near the end of the same oration; but I must not allow myself to take it at length.

In the conclusion of an oration to the honour of Neptune, which is the third in the same volume, he speaks to this purpose; 'These[f] things are pleasant to see, and hear, and the painting of the sea reduced to a calm, with the boy from under the sail smiling upon Neptune. But there are other things, which ought never to have been in pictures, which are impious and horrible. And I wonder how it came to pass, that they who first saw them, did not presently fly upon the makers, and tear them to pieces; nevertheless they are still to be seen in the temples. But it is not my business to censure such things. Let us therefore offer up our prayers to Neptune, and Amphitrite, and Leucothea, and Palemon, and the Nereids, and all the marine gods and goddesses, to give health and safety, both by land and by sea, to the great emperor, and to all his family, and to the whole nation of the Greeks, and to grant all happiness to us all, suited to our condition.'

III. But the passage which I principally aim at, and for the sake of which Aristides is here brought in among other

[f] In Neptunum Oratio. T. i. p. 28. al. 50.

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witnesses, is to this purpose. He[g] is displeased with some sophists, whom he compares, as I apprehend, to christians. 'But[h] who can avoid being filled with indignation, that men of no worth should censure Demosthenes, whom I look upon as a Mercury come down from heaven to afford us an example of eloquence? What living man can bear this in people who utter more solecisms than words; who contemn others as much as they deserve to be contemned; who[i] extol virtue, but do not practise it? There is no need to mention their insatiable avarice, when they catch at every thing they can get; who[k] call indigence by the name of communion, who call singularity philosophy, and poverty a contempt of riches. They make great pretensions to humanity, and yet never were beneficial to any, and are injurious to them who would do them a kindness, who are scarcely civil to others: and yet for the sake of rich men they travel to the ends of the earth; and[l] when they have got them they promise to teach them virtue——who show more regard to porters at the door than to their masters——These are they, who call impudence freedom, and to oppose others is reckoned a laudable boldness——Moreover[m] they are arrived at a sort of wisdom, which consists in a pretence of neglecting money, whilst they do not refuse to receive what is worth money. They[n] have invented a new sort of generosity, not[o] to give largely, but[p] to take little——These men are

[g] Orat. Platonic. ii. T. ii. p. 307, &c. al. p. 511, &c.

[h] *Αλλ' ὅτι και των κομιδη τινες εδενος αξιων.*—T. ii. p. 307. in. al. p. 511.

[i] *Και σεμνυνουσι μεν την αρετην, ασκουσι δε ου πασι——Αλλα μην την γ' απλησταν και πλεονεξιαν αυτων——οἱ τῳ μεν αποστερειν κοινωνιαν ονομα τιθενται, τῳ δε φθονειν φιλοσοφειν, τῳ δ' απορειν υπεροραν χρηματων——*p. 307, 308. al. p. 511, 512.

[k] Here, probably, Aristides refers to the provision made by christians for the poor and necessitous among them. And in ridiculing the custom he approacheth at least to some scripture-phrases. See Acts iv. 44, 45, and ii. 42, and Rom. xii. 13, "Distributing to the necessities of the saints." *Ταις χρειαις των ἁγιων κοινωνουντες.* Communicating to the necessities of the saints.

[l] *Και παραλαβοντες αγουσι, και την αρετην παραδωσειν υπισχνουνται.* p. 308. al. p. 512.

[m] *Εις τοιθ' ἡκουσι της σοφιας, ὡς αργυριον μεν ου πραττονται, αργυριου δ' αξιως λαμβανειν επιστανται.* p. 308. al. p. 513.

[n] It is very likely that Aristides here refers to the revenues of the christian clergy in ancient times, which depended upon the oblations made by the faithful of bread, and wine, and fruits, and other necessaries——nec molestiis et negotiis secularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum, tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte cœlestibus rebus et spiritalibus serviant. Cyprian. Ep. i. p. 3. Oxon.

[o] *Καινοτατον δε μοι δοκουσι μεγαλοψυχιαν ὁριζεσθαι, ουκ ει μεγαλα δωσουσιν, αλλ' ει μικρα ληψονται ηδη.* p. 309. al. p. 514.

[p] ——'but to take little,' that is, I think, to be contented with a little. Which is true magnanimity, to be as contented in a low station, as if they

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neither servile flatterers, nor free-men; for they deceive as flatterers, and correct men as their superiors——joining[q] together two extreme and contrary evils, meanness and confidence. In[r] manners not unlike the impious people in Palestine; for they acknowledge not the gods. They differ from the Greeks, and all good men. Very dexterous in subverting houses, and disturbing families, setting the members of them one against another, and getting the management of their affairs into their own hands. Who never said or did any good thing; who never contributed any thing to the public festivals, nor have honoured the gods, nor have promoted the welfare of the cities, nor have comforted the afflicted, nor have reconciled such as were at variance, nor have instructed youth, nor any others, nor adorned language; but dwelling in corners, they are wonderfully wise——As much as they advance in wisdom on one hand, they lose on the other: mightily pleasing themselves in disparaging the art of rhetorick: as if slaves, and especially such as are often and deservedly beaten, did not oftentimes secretly curse their masters.'

By 'the wicked men in Palestine,' I suppose Aristides to intend christians who lived in Palestine, and whose religion had its original in that country. He calls them wicked, or profane and atheistical, because they did not worship the established deities, the same that were worshipped by the Greeks and Romans. Masson[s] here understands Jews living in Palestine, and squabbles with Tertullian, and other christian writers, who say, that after Adrian's victory, Jewish people were forbidden to come into Judea; but Carterus understands Aristides as I have done; and in his notes has illustrated this passage with good observations. Indeed we

enjoyed affluence, and could dazzle mankind in a profuse way of living, and gratify them with expensive donatives.

[q] *Δυο τοις εσχατοις και τοις εναντιωτατοις ενοχοι κακοις οντες, ταπεινοτητι και αυθαδειᾳ.* p. 309.

[r] *Τοις εν Παλαιστινῃ δυσσεβεσι παραπλησιοι τυς προπυς· και γαρ εκεινοις τυτ' εστι συμβολον της δυσσεβειας, ὁτι τυς κρειττυς υ νομιζυσι, και υτοι τροπον τινα αφεστασι των Ἑλληνων, μαλλον δε και παντων των κρειττονων,—παντων αχρηστοτατοι· διορυξαι δ' οικιαν, και ταραξαι και συγκρυσαι τυς ενθεν προς αλληλυς, και φησαι παντ' αυτυς διοικησειν, παντων δεινοτατοι· οἱ λογον μεν ἐγκαρπον υδενα πωποτ' υθ' ευρον υτ' εποιησαν, υ πανηγυρεις εκοσμησαν, υ Θευς ετιμησαν, υ πολεσι συνεβυλευσαν, υ λυπυμενυς παρεμυθεσαντο, υ τασιαζοντας διηλλαξαν, υ πρυτρεψαν νεους, υκ αλλυς υδενας, υ κοσμον τοις λογοις πρυνοησαντο· καταδυντες δε εις τυς χηραμυς, εκει τα θαυματα σοφιζονται——ὁσον γαρ αν προκοψωσι της σοφιας, τοσυτ' ανταφαιρυσι μεγαλα φρονυντες, εαν ῥητορικην ειποσι κακως, ὡσπερ υ και τυς δυλυς τοις δεσποταις υπ' οδοντα πολλακις καταρομενυς, και μαλιστα δη τυς μαστιγας αυτων.* p. 309, 310, al. p. 514, 515.

[s] De Aristidis Vitâ Collectanea Historica. Sect. vi. n. 8.

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can here trace most of the common reflections which were then made upon the christians, and are particularly taken notice of in our ancient apologists. They were called 'atheistical:' they were complained of[t] as 'unprofitable:' they are represented as 'mean[u] and obscure,' who nevertheless took great liberties in remarking upon the popular deities, and the worship paid to them. They had then no schools of rhetoric for instructing youth, or others, and sometimes spoke slightly of the ornaments of language. Such things offended our sophist. And yet before the end of the third century, there were among the christians divers learned men and good writers; and some men of great eminence in our author's own time, or before it.

2. Beside the letter[v] sent to the emperor Marcus, and his son Commodus, imploring their favour for the city of Smyrna, after the earthquake, which is[w] computed to have happened in the year of Christ 177, Aristides published a[x] monody, bewailing their unhappy circumstances; and after that he wrote an[y] oration, or epistle, in 178, congratulating the people of Smyrna upon their restoration. Here he celebrates not only the favour and liberality of the emperors, but likewise the generous compassion of many others: 'All[z] the cities of Asia considered their affliction as their own, and sent them relief as to their parents or children. And when they entertained any of them who were destitute in their own houses, who of them did not think themselves gainers thereby? who did not think that they received rather than conferred a benefit? Many contributed money, and promised more, if it was needed. All the nations inhabiting Asia contended, who should exceed in regard to them. And in your city alone the falsehood of that old saying has been shown, that the unhappy are forgotten even

[t] Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Tertull. Ap. cap. 42. p. 38. [u] ——homines, inquam, deploratæ, illicitæ, ac desperatæ factionis, grassari in deos non ingemiscendum est? Latebrosa et lucifugax natio——Minuc. Fel. cap. viii.

[v] Tom. i. p. 512. al. Tom. ii. p. 289.

[w] Vid. Basnag. ann. 177. num. ii. [x] Tom. i. p. 260. al. p. 455.

[y] Παλινῳδια επι Σμυρνης και τυ ταυτης ανοικισμῳ. T. i. p. 263. al. p. 461.

[z] ——ὥσπερ γαρ κοινυ πτωματος της Ασιας γεγενημενυ, υτω τας γνωμας ειχετε——και πασας αφορμας παρασκευαζοντων, ὡσπερ γονευσιν η παισιν αυτων——Τις γαρ υχ' ἑρμαιον ἑαυτυ εποιησατο; τις γαρ υχ' εὑρισκεσθαι μαλλον, η τιθεσθαι ταυτην χαριν ψηθη, δεξασθαι συοικυς, τυς τοσυτον πρωτευσαντας; ——Και τι δει ταυτ' εν μερει καταλεγειν; Παντα γαρ τα εθνη τα πληρυνθ' ἡμιν την Ασιαν, φιλοτιμιαν κοινην φιλοτομειται προς την πολιν, τα κρατιστα των αρχαιων ανιστανται· επι μονης δε ταυτης της πολεως το παλαιον ῥημα εξηλεγχθη ψευδως εχον, το κακως πραξαντων ληθην ειναι παρα τοις φιλοις. Ib. p. 268.

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by their friends.' Which occasioned Mr. Tillemont[a] to say: 'Behold the change which the christian religion had 'made in the world! For it cannot be doubted, that the 'christians, who were numerous in those provinces, had a 'large share in these works of charity, which are the proper 'effects of the faith and of the grace of Jesus Christ, and 'that their ardour inflamed the heathens to show the false-'hood of that ancient proverb, and that all the world forgets 'and neglects the unhappy; which had been too much the 'case hitherto.'

So Mr. Tillemont; and his observation may be right, though Aristides does not mention the christians; but his words, 'all nations living in Asia,' lead us to think, there was a concurrence of several sorts of men in contributing to the relief of Smyrna under the great calamity that had befallen it.

3. I must add one passage more.

Describing one of his voyages: 'We[b] were going to Cephalenia, and again we had a high sea, and a contrary wind, and we were tossed up and down, to the great detriment of my health, and beyond what my constitution could bear. Afterwards the like happened in the straits of Achaia, when truly the good mariners would put off from Patræ, at the very time of the Equinox, against my will, and very much to my prejudice under my indispositions. The like things happened again in the Ægæan sea, through the obstinacy of the master of the ship and the mariners; when they would sail, though the winds were contrary, nor would they hearken to me. So[c] we were carried about by the tempest over that whole sea, for fourteen days and nights, and were oftentimes without food, and at length with difficulty got to Miletus.'

Here is such an agreement with the history of St. Paul's voyage, related in Acts xxvii. that some may be apt to think, he had read the book of the Acts; but I rather think, that Aristides had not read any of the books of the New Testament.

IV. Dr. Chapman[d] has formed a plausible argument for the expediency of the continuance of spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers in the church, for upholding and propa-

[a] L'Emp. Marc Aurele, art. xxiv.

[b] Sacrorum Sermon. ii. T. i. p. 306. al. p. 540.

[c] *Τεταρες παλιν αυται προς ταις δεκα ἡμεραι και νυκτες, χειμωνος κυκλῳ δια παντος τȣ πελαγȣ φερομερων, καν ταυταις ασιτιαι ȣκ ολιγαι, και μολις Μιλητῳ προσηνεχθημεν.* p. 396. al. p. 540.

[d] A View of the Expediency and Credibility of Miraculous Powers among the primitive Christians, after the Decease of the Apostles. 1732.

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gating the christian religion, from the influence of the philosophers, and sophists of this time; who were in great favour with the Roman emperors, and received from them[e] handsome stipends for instructing youth, and had a great interest with the people in Greece, and at Alexandria, and in many cities in Asia.

Ælius Aristides, from whom some extracts have been now made, was a fine writer, and a good speaker. He is credulous and superstitious, a true heathen, and a servant of the gods; but, so far as I have observed, he may be supposed a sober man, and serious. There are in his orations many fine sentences in favour of truth and virtue. If he says, he[f] had rather be a fine speaker, than be Darius the son of Hystaspes, he joins with it a sober and virtuous life. And again, in another place, where he expresseth his superior value for learning and eloquence above all things, he says: 'Nor[g] can he be so stupid as to despise glory if it comes to his share, and so far as it may flow from fine speaking, and a life of virtue suited to his discourses. For he did not desire to obtain it by any other means.'

A character of such eminence must have been an ornament to the popular religion, and its rites; and the charms of eloquence in his hymns to the gods, and in his other orations, cannot but have had powerful attractions.

V. I do not intend to make any distinct chapter of the sophist Dion; but I shall give a general account of him. Suidas[h] says, he was the son of Pisicrates, born at Prusa, a sophist, and a philosopher, and called Chrysostom. Both he and Philostratus[i] say, that he was much favoured by the emperor Trajan, who took him up into his triumphal chariot, and told him, that he loved him as well as himself. Eunapius[k] also says, he was of Bithynia, and was called Chrysostom. We still have remaining his eighty Orations, men-

[e] The stipends of the philosophers and sophists, at Athens and other places, by appointment of Vespasian at first, and then of Antoninus the pious, and Marcus Antoninus, he computes to have been ten thousand Attic drachms, or 320*l.* per annum of our money. See p. 59—61.

[f] Πλην γε τοσυτ' αν ειποιμι——ὡς εγω δεξαιμην αν δυνασθαι λεγειν μετα χρηστυ βιυ και σοφρονος εις ὁσον οἱον τε καλλιστα ανθρωπῳ μαλλον, η μυριακις Δαρειος ὁ Ὑστασπυ γενεσθαι· και μικρα μοι πανθ' ὡς αληθως προς τυτ' ηδη φαινεται. Or. Platon. 2da. T. ii. p. 135. al. 224.

[g] Αλλα μην ὑπερ γε της δοξης ουτω διενοηθην, απαντωσαν μεν αυτην δεχεσθαι και τεργειν, η γαρ αν παντασι βλαξ ειην τις· πραγματευσθαι δε μηδεν εις αυτην εξω των λογων αυτων, και περι τον βιον ορθοτητος συμφωνυ τυτοις. Or. contr. Proditores Mysterior. T. ii. p. 421. al. 724.

[h] V. Διων. [i] De Vit. Sophistar. l. i. cap. vii.

[k] Και Διων, ὁ εκ Βιθυνιας, ὁν επεκαλυν Χρυσοστομον. Eunap. De Vit. Sophistar. in Pr. p. 11.

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tioned by[l] Photius, of which a particular account may be seen in[m] Fabricius. Photius[n] says, he flourished in the time of Trajan. To the like purpose Suidas and Philostratus. I therefore place him in the year 98, the first of that emperor's reign; though he was also in favour with Nerva, as we know from[o] himself. Whether he be the same as Cocceianus Dion, mentioned by Pliny[p] in a letter to Trajan, and in Trajan's[q] rescript, is not quite certain.

I shall take but one passage from him; for which I am indebted to[q] Dr. Chapman; but I shall quote it more at large than he has done. In an oration to the Corinthians he speaks with great vehemence: 'Whom[r] have not these men abused,' says he, 'who abuse every thing? Have they not abused Socrates, and Pythagoras, and Plato? Have they not abused Jupiter himself, and Neptune, and Apollo, and the other gods? Nor have they spared the female gods, though, as one might reasonably think, they should have more regard for them than the males. Hear then what they say of Ceres, and Venus, and Aurora; nor do they forbear Minerva and Diana.'

Dr. Chapman makes no doubt that by these men Dion meant the christians, 'who, it seems, had talked contemp-'tuously of the gods of the first rank.' I am also inclined to be of the same opinion. And I think, that this passage of Dion, together with some others which we have seen, may satisfy us, that the christians were better known in those times than some have imagined. And we cannot help thinking therefore, that the silence of Epictetus about our ancestors, or his disregard of them, was designed and affected, as was also intimated formerly. Indeed the words of St. Paul concerning himself, and other apostles, were often verified in other followers of Jesus after their times. "As deceivers, yet true; as unknown, yet well known—— as poor, yet making many rich," 2 Cor. vi. 8—10. Again: "Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus; that the life of Jesus might be made manifest in our body," 2 Cor. iv. 10, and see also ver. 11.

[l] Cod. 209. p. 530. [m] Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 305.
[n] Ηκμαζε δε κατα τυς χρονυς τυ βασιλεως Τραιανυ. Ut supr. p. 530.
[o] Or. 44. p. 512. Or. 45. p. 513. [p] Lib. x. ep. 85.
[q] Ep. 86. [r] As before, p. 63.
[s] Τινας γαρ υτοι υ διαβεβληκασιν οἱ παντα διαβαλοντες; υ Σωκρατην; υ Πυθαγοραν; υ Πλατωνα; υκ αυτον τον Δια; και τον Ποσειδω; και τον Απολλω, και τυς αλλυς θεως; Απτονται δε και των θελειων θεων, ὧν εικος ην ετι μαλλον, η των αῤῥενων εντρεπεσθαι. Νυν ακυετε γαρ ἁ λεγυσι την Δημητρα, και την Αφροδιτην, και την Εω. Απεχονται δ' υδε της Αθηνας, υδε της Αρτεμιδος. Corinthiac. Or. 37. p. 463.

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CHAP. XXI.

GALEN.

I. *His time.* II. *Passages concerning Moses, and Christ, and the christians.*

I. CLAUDIUS GALENUS,[a] or GALEN, the celebrated physician, according to Suidas, was a native of Pergamus, and flourished in the times of the Roman emperors, Marcus, Commodus, and Pertinax, and died in the seventieth year of his age. Philip Labbe in his life, or Elogium Chronologicum of Galen, inserted by Fabricius[b] in the third tome of his Bibliotheca Græca, computes, that[c] he was born in the 131st year of the christian epoch, and in the 14th or 15th year of the emperor Adrian; and[d] that he died in the seventh year of Severus, of Christ 200, when he was seventy years of age.

Some other learned men[e] have been inclined to protract his life to the year of our Lord 210, near the end of the reign of Severus.

I shall place him at the year of our Lord 180, and the last year of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was esteemed; at which time he must have been about fifty years of age.

II. This great author has mentioned Moses, Christ, and his followers.

1. He has twice mentioned our Saviour.

'In one[f] place he blames Achigenes for not giving a

[a] Suid. V. Γαληνος. Photius. Cod. 164. p. 349. Tillem. L'Emp. Sévère. art. 31. Moreri, Dictionnaire, et Supplement. Gallien.

[b] Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 17. T. iii. p. 509, &c.

[c] Claudius Galenus, omnium medicorum, post Hippocratem, facile princeps, atque optimi Imperatoris judicio, γνησιος ιατρος και μονος φιλοσοφος, Niconis eruditissimi——filius, natus est Pergami in Asiâ,——anno reparatæ per Christum salutis, circiter cxxxi. Hadriani Imperatoris xiv. vel. xv. labente. Labb. Elog. Chronolog. Galeni. num. i. ap. Fabric. B. G. T. iii. p. 510.

[d] ——eam opinor, ex omnibus de obitu Galeni probabiliorem videri sententiam, quæ illum addicit anno imperii Severi vii. Christi cc. vitæ illius lxx. Id. ib. num. xx. p. 527.

[e] Basnag. Ann. 210. num. v. And see Tillemont, as referred to at note [a].

[f] Καλλιον γαρ ην πολλῳ προσθειναι τινα, ει και μη βεβαιαν αποδειξιν,

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demonstration, nor so much as a probable reason of some things advanced by him. So that, says he, we seem rather to be in a school of Moses, or Christ, where we must receive laws without any reason assigned, and that in a point where demonstration ought not by any means to be omitted.'

Here is a just description of Christ's delivering his precepts without any long deduction of reasons and arguments; and he allows, that reasons were not there absolutely necessary, or however not so requisite, as in the points treated of by the author whom he censures. I think, we may be hence disposed to think it probable, that Galen was not unacquainted with our gospels.

2. In another place he says: 'It[g] is easier to convince the disciples of Moses and Christ, than physicians and philosophers, who are addicted to particular sects.'

Here is an acknowledgment of the steadiness of christians in the profession of their principles; of which he may have seen many instances in the persecuting reign of Antoninus the Philosopher.

3. There is a work concerning Nephritic Disorders, which is ascribed to Galen, in[h] which the author mentions the christians, and ranks himself with them; but as it is not Galen's, I do not choose to take any thing from it.

4. And in his celebrated work, concerning 'the use of the parts of the human body,' he has mentioned Moses. It will be sufficient, that I transcribe below the account[i] which Fabricius has given of the passages of that work relating to Moses; whence it may be argued, that Galen had read the Pentateuch, or at least the book of Genesis.

παραμυθιαν γαν ἱκανην, τῳ λογω, περι των οκτω ποιοτητων, ἱνα μητις ευθυς κατ' αρχας, ὡς εις Μωϋσυ και Χριστυ διατριβην αφικμενος, αναποδεικτων ακυῃ, και ταυτα εν οἱς ἠκιστα χρῃ. De Differentiâ Pulsuum. l. ii. p. 22. Basil. 1538.

[g] *Θαττον γαρ αν τις τυς απο Μωϋσυ και Χριστυ μεταδιδαξειν, η τυς ταις αἱρεσεσι προσεληκοτας ἰατρυς τε και φιλοσοφυς.* Id. ib. lib. iii. p. 34.

[h] *Διαγνωσις των εν νεφροις παθων, και θεραπεια.* Liber Galeno ascriptus. Dignotio morborum in renibus, eorumque curatio——Christiani scriptoris est, forte Demetrii Pepagomeni ad Imperatorem, cujus archiatrum *συνδουλον* suum vocat, &c. Fabric. B. G. T. iii. p. 531.

[i] De Usu Partium Corporis humani.] Möysem melius Epicuro scripsisse fatetur. xi. 14. Etsi persuadere sibi homo ethnicus non potuit, Deum facere posse quæcumque velit, ex cinere equum et bovem, ex lapide hominem, e materiâ corruptibili animalia immortalia, xiv. 2. Fabric. ib. p. 549, 550.

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CHAP. XXII.

CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

I. *Heathen sayings of the christians.* II. *Anecdotes concerning divers heathen governors of provinces, who persecuted the christians, or were favourable to them.* III. *Remarks concerning the number of ancient heathen writers, who have mentioned the christians.*

I. I THINK it not amiss to put down in this place, at the end of the second century, some sayings and observations of heathen people concerning christians; which may be of use to show how far the heathens were acquainted with them, their character, their principles, or their sufferings.

Tertullian, who flourished about the year of Christ 200, in his Apology observes to this purpose: 'Such[a] are your 'prejudices,' says he, 'that though you cannot but acknow-'ledge the good character of a christian, yet you will re-'proach him for his religion. "Truly," says one, "Caius 'Seius is a good man, only he is a christian." Another will 'say: "I wonder that Lucius, who is so wise a man, should 'on a sudden turn christian."'

II. I will also put down here some anecdotes concerning divers heathen governors of provinces, who had some concerns with christians.

1. In his book addressed to Scapula, the proconsul of Africa, Tertullian expresseth himself in this manner: 'We[b] 'can set before you,' says he, 'the deaths of several go-'vernors of provinces, who at the end of their days were

[a] Quid? quod ita plerique clausis oculis in odium ejus impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant nominis exprobrationem: Bonus vir Caius Seius, tantum quod christianus. Item alius: Ego miror Lucium, sapientem virum, repente factum christianum. Ap. cap. 3. p. 4.

[b] Possumus æque et exitus quorundam præsidum tibi proponere, qui in fine vitæ suæ recordati sunt deliquisse, quod vexâssent christianos. Vigellius Saturninus, qui primus hic gladium in nos egit, lumina amisit. Claudius Herminianus in Cappadociâ, cum indigne ferens uxorem suam ad hanc sectam transisse, christianos crudeliter tractavit, solusque in Prætorio suo vastatus peste cum vivis vermibus ebullîsset, Nemo sciat, aiebat, ne spe gaudeant christiani. Postea, cognito errore suo quod tormentis quosdam a proposito suo excidere fecisset, pene christianus decessit. Cæcilius Capella, in illo exitu Byzantino, Christiani, gaudete, exclamavit. Sed et qui videntur sibi impune tulisse, venient in diem divini judicii. Ad. Scap. cap. 3. p. 86.

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'sensible that they had done wrong in persecuting the 'christians. Vigellius Saturninus, who first persecuted us 'in this country, lost his sight. Claudius Herminianus, 'in Cappadocia, being enraged that his wife had embraced 'this opinion, treated the christians with cruel severity; 'and when he alone in his palace was seized with a pesti-'lential disease, and worms crawled out of his body yet 'alive, he said: "Let none know of this, lest the christians 'should rejoice." Afterwards, being convinced of his error, 'in that he had by torments compelled some to renounce 'this doctrine, he died almost a christian. Cæcilius Ca-'pella, when he heard of the destruction of the city of 'Byzantium, cried out: "Christians, you have reason to 'rejoice." But,' says Tertullian, 'they, who may think 'they have escaped, will be called to an account in the day 'of judgment.'

Before I proceed any farther, I must make a few remarks by way of explication.

Tertullus Scapula[c] is supposed to have been consul in Rome in the year 195, and proconsul of Africa in 211, or thereabout. Therefore this work of Tertullian could not be written before that time.

Vigellius Saturninus[d] is supposed to have been proconsul of Africa in the year of Christ 200.

Claudius Herminianus[e] governed in Cappadocia in the reign of the emperor Severus; but his exact time is not now known. Fr. Balduinus seems to allow,[f] that he is the same whom Papinian in the Pandects has mentioned with respect.

The city of Byzantium had sided with Niger. After a long and obstinate siege it was taken, and destroyed by the army of Severus in the year 196. The christians in that city had been persecuted in the time of Marcus Antoninus. Probably[g] Cæcilius Capella had been then governor of Thrace, in which Byzantium stood, and then persecuted the christians there with great severity. When he heard of the lamentable fate of that city, he used the expressions mentioned by Tertullian; thinking, that the christians would rejoice at it, because many of their brethren had there en-

[c] See Tillem. L'Emp. Sévere, art. vii. Comp. Basnag. ann. 195. num. i.

[d] Tillem. Persécution sous L'Emp. Sévere, art. 3. [e] Tillem. as before, art. 4. [f] Hunc esse illum Claudium Herminianum, cujus Papinianus in Pandectis mentionem facit, et quem clarissimum appellat nuper doctissimus Jurisconsultus admonuit. Certe temporibus Severi proconsulem eum fuisse, facile credo. Fr. Balduin. Edicta Princ. Rom. de Christianis. p. 99.

[g] Tillem. L'Emp. Severe, art. 18. See likewise la Persecution sous L'Emp. Marc Aurele, art. 6.

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dured very grievous sufferings. But Tillemont says, 'That 'christians were wont to weep with those that wept, and 'not to rejoice at the calamities of their greatest enemies; 'though they might at the same time adore the disposals of 'divine justice.'

2. It follows in the next chapter of the same work of Tertullian: 'And[h] how many governors, and those both 'resolute and cruel, have declined these causes? as Cincius 'Severus, who at Thysdri helped the christians to an answer 'that might clear them; as Vespronius Candidus, who, 'when a christian was brought before him, called him "a 'troublesome fellow, and bid him go, and ask pardon of 'his fellow-citizens:" as Asper, who having slightly tor-'tured a christian, and thereby overcome him, (so that he 'renounced his profession,) did not compel him to sacrifice, 'but let him go, openly declaring to those who sat upon the 'bench with him, "that he was sorry to be at all concerned 'in such a cause." Pudens likewise, when a christian was 'brought before him, and he perceived some unfair dealing 'in the libel, dismissed him, and tore the libel to pieces, 'saying, "he would not receive an accusation, unless the 'accuser was present, as the law directed."'

We[i] have no particular accounts of these things elsewhere; but it is reasonable to believe, that all these magistrates were governors of provinces in the persecution of Severus, or not long before; perhaps in the time of the emperor Marcus Antoninus.

Basnage[k] supposeth, that Pudens, here mentioned by Tertullian, is Servilius Pudens, who was consul in the year 166.

All these things does Tertullian boldly mention in his address to Scapula, proconsul of Africa; I think, it may be concluded, that they were known facts, and that the truth of them may be relied upon. Doubtless Tertullian speaks according to his own knowledge, or according to such informations as he judged credible; for he would not

[h] Quanti autem præsides, et constantiores et crudeliores, dissimulaverunt ab hujusmodi causis? ut Cincius Severus, qui Thysdri ipse dedit remedium quomodo responderent christiani, ut dimitti possent; ut Vespronius Candidus, qui christianum, quasi tumultuosum, civibus suis satisfacere, dimisit; ut Asper, qui modice vexatum hominem, et statim dejectum, nec sacrificium compulit facere, ante professus inter advocatos et assessores, dolere se incidisse in hanc causam. Pudens etiam missum ad se christianum, in elogio concussione ejus intellectâ, dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum. Ibid. cap. 4.

[i] See Tillemont, la Persecution de L'Eglise sous L'Emp. Severe, art. 6.

[k] Vid. Basnag. ann. 166. num. i.

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presume to tell the proconsul stories, which he had any suspicion might be confuted or contradicted. Indeed, most[l] of these men just mentioned had been proconsuls in Africa, where Tertullian lived, in his own time, in the reign of Severus.

3. I should here have inserted the story of Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, who after having long exercised great cruelty toward the christians of his province, when some of them came before his tribunal, expressing great resolution, told them: 'If they had a mind to die, there 'were halters and precipices enough.' But this has been taken notice of already in the chapter of the[m] younger Pliny.

III. I have been long ago admonished in a letter, 'not 'to forget to make some observations concerning the silence 'of contemporary heathen authors concerning christianity 'for several ages; or else mentioning all affairs relating to 'them in a slight and superficial manner.'

Surely, that difficulty is there too much magnified: however, I take this opportunity to say something to it.

Some subjects are more agreeable to authors, because they are more entertaining to the generality of readers. Eusebius well observes, in the preface to the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, 'That[n] most historians have em-'ployed their pens in recording wars and victories, and 'trophies erected over vanquished enemies, the valour of 'generals, and the exploits of soldiers, besmeared with the 'blood of innumerable slaughters for their country, their 'children, and their estates.'

Many writers of great worth, and many affairs of no small importance, have long lain in obscurity, or have been totally buried in oblivion.

It has been observed, that Velleius Paterculus, a man of a good family, who flourished in the time of Tiberius, and wrote an abridgment of the Roman History, in two books, has been mentioned by no ancient writer, excepting[o] Priscian. 'But[p] the moderns have done him more justice, 'by publishing him frequently with notes and commen-'taries.'

M. Annæus Seneca, father of L. A. Seneca the philoso-

[l] See Tillem. la Persecution sous Severe. art. 6. Basnag. ann. 202. num. ii.
[m] See p. 57. [n] H. E. l. v. in Pr. p. 154. A.
[o] Pauca de Velleio ejusque scriptis prædicanda sunt; sed pauca, quia latet in turbâ illâ scriptorum prisci ævi. Quis veterum eum nominat, præter Priscianum, et, si forte, Tacitum? Lips. de Vitâ et Scriptis Velleii.
[p] Bibliographia Classica, vol. ii. p. 189.

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pher, and author of divers works, has been[q] confounded with his son, and has been almost unknown as a writer.

Lucian, a subject of the Roman empire, who has written so many things, and so many sorts of works, has taken little notice of Roman authors, or Roman affairs. He has a laboured[r] encomium of Demosthenes; but says nothing of Cicero; though a comparison between those two great orators would have been very proper, and has been made by Plutarch and[s] Longinus.

Maximus Tyrius, a Platonic philosopher, flourished in the time of Antoninus the Pious, and several of his Dissertations were written at Rome; nevertheless, as[t] Davies, one of his editors, says, he appears little acquainted with Roman affairs. Nay, says he, I do not recollect, that he has made any reference to the Roman history.

We now know of two sons of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, which[u] are not mentioned by any ancient historians.

Some writers are silent from reasons of policy. We are told, in the History of the Reformation of the Low Countries, 'that[v] Margaret, governess in that country, in the year '1525, sent orders to all the convents, enjoining them to 'forbid preachers to mention Luther and his doctrine, and 'the opinions of ancient heretics.'' 'This order,' says the abridger of the large work of Gerard Brandt, 'was very 'judicious. The best way of stopping the progress of 'heresies, is to seem to neglect them.'

From this principle of policy Josephus may have been silent about the christians, and their affairs, in his writings, that he might bury them in oblivion.

Epictetus, and others, may have suppressed their own thoughts, and have been reserved in their discourses, lest they should excite inquisitiveness in their hearers, and occa-

[q] Tributa illi quæ hujus erant, et claritate nimiâ filii obscurus pater hodie, immo ignotus. Memoriam boni senis fugitivam (impune hoc dixerim) primus retraham ego. Andreas Schottus de Auctore, et declamandi ratione, sub fin.

[r] Tom. ii. p. 685, &c. Græv. [s] Cap. 12. p. 92. Toll.

[t] Et sane, ne quid dissimulem, Græcia diutius quam Roma Maximum videtur cepisse; quod in unâquâque fere Dissertatione summam rerum Græcarum ostendat peritiam, cum res Romanas calluisse nullo indicio constet. Certe, quoad memini, ad eorum historiam ne semel quidem respexit. Davis. Pr. p. 15.

[u] Plures ex Faustinâ liberos Marcus suscepit; filios scilicet Commodum cum fratre Antonino gemino, qui quadrimus elatus est. Verum Cæsarem, quem mors stravit, anno clxx. Doctissimo debemus Mabilloni, duos adhuc Marci filios, quorum nulla apud veteres historiæ scriptores exstat memoria, &c. Basnag. ann. 180. num. ii.

[v] Abridgment of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation. By Mr. La Roche, vol. i. p. 29.

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sion doubts about the popular deities, and the worship paid to them.

I might add, that it is not impossible, nor very improbable, that some writings of heathen authors have been lost, in which the christians were mentioned; for very few writers in the Syriac language are come down to us.

After all, we have now seen a goodly catalogue of heathen writers, in the first and second century, men of great eminence for their wit and learning, their high stations, and their credit in the world, who have, in their way, borne testimony to Jesus Christ, and the things concerning him, and to the christians, his disciples and followers, their numbers, their principles, their manners, and their fortitude and patience under heavy sufferings, and a great variety of difficulties and discouragements, which they met with for the profession of what they were persuaded to be the truth. And Celsus, who in this period wrote against the christians, has borne a large testimony to the books of the New Testament, and to the history of our Saviour.

And we can allege two Roman emperors, Adrian[w] and Titus Antoninus,[x] who have been favourable[y] to us. And Adrian[z] in his letter to Servian, written in the year 134, bears witness to the numbers and the influence of christians in Egypt at that time.

We must say the same of Serenius Granianus,[a] proconsul of Asia, who wrote so much in favour of the christians to Adrian, and of his successor in the same province, Minucius Fundanus, to whom Adrian's rescript was sent.

To them ought to be added some governors of provinces, mentioned in this chapter from Tertullian.

All these great men had some acquaintance with the christians, and saw through the thick mist of calumnies, with which the christians were aspersed by the vulgar, and by many others. They perceived, that though the christians had some religious sentiments peculiar to themselves, and did not join in the established rites, they were not disturbers of the public peace, nor were justly chargeable with any of those crimes which are generally published by civil magistrates; and consequently they were entitled to protection and favour.

[w] See this vol. p. 94—101. [x] Ib. p. 126—131. and ch. xv. sect. 3. near the end. [y] To those two emperors above named might be added Tiberius: see vol. vi. ch. ii. and Nerva, vol. v. chap. ix. sect. vi. and hereafter in the chapter of Dion Cassius.

[z] See this vol. p. 98. [a] See ibid. p. 93.

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CHAP. XXIII.

THE PERSECUTION OF SEVERUS, AND SPARTIAN'S TESTIMONY TO IT.

I. *The time of the reign of Severus, and that for a while he was favourable to the christians.* II. *Accounts of his persecution from christian writers.* III. *How long it lasted.* IV. *His edict against the christians from Spartian, with Remarks.* V. *An observation of Balduinus upon this reign.*

I. THE[a] reign of Septimius Severus is computed from June 1, 193, to Feb. 4, 211. He reigned, therefore, seventeen years, eight months, and three days.

Severus is supposed to have been favourable to the christians in the former part of his reign. Says Tertullian in his book to the proconsul Scapula, which we suppose to have been written soon after the death of Severus, and the ascension of his son, Antoninus Caracalla: 'And[b] Severus himself, father of Antoninus, was favourable to the christians. 'For when he came to be emperor, he inquired after Proculus, a christian, surnamed Torpacion, and steward to 'Euhodia, who had cured him by anointing him with oil, 'and kept him in his palace so long as he lived; whom 'Antoninus also knew very well, he having been nursed by 'a christian woman. Moreover, Severus openly withstood 'the fury of the people against some men and women of the 'first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect; and was so 'far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an 'honourable testimony.'[c]

[a] Vid. Pagi ann. 211. num. ii. et Basnag. 193. num. xv.

[b] Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiæ procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit, usque ad mortem ejus; quem et Antoninus optime noverat, lacte christiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos viros, Severus, sciens hujus sectæ fuisse, non modo non læsit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in os palam restitit. Ad. Scap. cap. 4. p. 87.

[c] Concerning the cure wrought by Proculus upon Severus, or, as others understand it, upon Euhodus, may be seen Basnag. ann. 193. num. xxii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 460., Lux. Evangel. p. 232. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecc. History. vol ii. p. 289, &c. Tillem. Persecution sous Severe, art. 1.

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To which I shall now add from Spartian's Life of Caracalla, 'that[d] at seven years of age, when he heard that a boy his play-fellow had been severely beaten, because he was of the jewish religion, he would not for some while after look upon his own father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him.'

By 'the jewish religion,' very probably, is here meant the christian religion.

These passages, partly from Tertullian a christian, and partly from Spartian a heathen, are sufficient to show, that the emperor Severus was not unacquainted with men who by profession were christians, and that they were well known in his family.

Instead of Euhodia, in Tertullian, it is thought by some,[e] that we ought to read Euhodus, or Evodus, freedman of Severus, who by Dion Cassius[f] is said to have been charged with the education of Caracalla; who therefore, as is supposed, had given him a christian woman for his nurse.

II. But, however favourable Severus may have been to some christians from personal respects, it is certain, that in his reign the christians underwent many sufferings. And, as that excellent lawyer Francis Balduinus observes, 'That[g] 'place of Tertullian shows, that Septimius Severus was not 'always averse to the christians: nevertheless, that favour 'for them was rather owing to a personal benefit, than to 'any regard for their religion. The favour was personal, 'without restraining the cruelty with which christians were 'openly treated; nor did Severus, by any edict, forbid the 'hard usage which christians then met with, and of which 'Tertullian himself is a good witness.'

Orosius says, 'that[h] in the fifth persecution, which was

[d] Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum ob judaïcam religionem gravius verberatum audïsset, neque patrem suum, neque patrem pueri, vel [al. velut.] auctores ejus respexit. Spartian. Ant. Carac. cap. i. p. 707.

[e] Loco Euhodiæ, legendum esse Evodi, existimamus, &c. Basnag. ann. 193. num. xxii.

[f] Δι' Ευοδε τροφεως αυτε. Dion. l. 76. p. 1273. al. p. 861. Vid. et p. 1287. lib. 77. in.

[g] Hic Tertulliani locus testis est, Septimium Severum alieno abs christianis animo semper non fuisse. Sed favor propter curationem magis fuit, quam propter religionem; et privatus quidem favor, propter quem interea nihil sit remissum de publicâ illâ sævitiâ, quâ christiani vexabantur. Nam neque Severus ullo edicto, ut christianis parceretur, publice imperavit; qui tamen quam eo tempore crudeliter vexabantur, ex ipso quoque Tertulliano intelligi potest. Balduin. de Edict. Princ. Roman. p. 99.

[h] Quintâ, post Neronem, persecutione christianos excruciavit, plurimique sanctorum per diversas provincias martyrio coronati sunt. Hanc profanam in christianos et ecclesiam Dei præsumtionem Severi cœlestis ultio e vestigio acta subsequitur. Oros. l. vii. cap. 17. p. 501.

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'under Severus, very many of the saints obtained the crown 'of martyrdom in several countries.'

Sulpicius Severus[i] calls this the sixth persecution, and observes particularly, that Leonidas, father of Origen, then suffered.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius[k] this is reckoned the fifth persecution, and is placed at the tenth year of Severus. In his Ecclesiastical History he does not, I think, expressly say when it began; but he intimates, that[l] it was very grievous in the tenth year of Severus, and afterwards; and, according to him, the persecution was general, and very grievous. So he begins the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History: 'And[m] when Severus raised a persecution against 'the churches, there were every where in all the churches 'glorious martyrdoms of the champions for religion; but 'especially were they numerous at Alexandria, to which 'city, as to the noblest stadium of God, were brought the 'most eminent champions from Thebais, and from all 'Egypt, that by invincible patience under various torments, 'and divers sorts of death, they might obtain from God a 'glorious crown.' He then relates the death of Leonidas, Origen's father, who was beheaded; and afterwards the deaths of several others, and particularly[n] Potamiæna, a virgin, who with her mother Marcella was burnt to death, by order of Aquila the judge, and as he relates, in a slow and painful manner, scalding pitch having been by little and little poured upon the several members of her body, from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head; which, nevertheless, she endured with great patience and fortitude.

He says, that[o] at that time there were innumerable martyrdoms. And soon after, in a following chapter: 'At[p] 'that time lived Judas, who published a Commentary upon 'Daniel's seventy weeks, concluding his computation of the 'times at the tenth year of Severus; who likewise thought, 'that the so much talked of coming of Antichrist was then 'at hand. So strangely did the raising that persecution dis-'turb the minds of many.'

That Commentary of Judas concluded at the tenth of

[i] Sexta deinde, Severo imperante, christianorum, vexatio fuit. Quo tempore Leonidas, Origenis pater, sacrum in martyrio sanguinem fudit. Sul. Sever. l. ii. cap. 32. al. 46.

[k] Chron. p. 172. [l] H. E. l. vi. cap. 2. p. 201. C.

[m] Ὡς δε και Σεβηρος, διωγμον κατα των εκκλησιων εκινει, λαμπρα μεν των ὑπερ ευσεβειας αθλητων εν ἁπασαις ταις εκκλησιαις κατα παντα τοπον απετελειτο μαρτυρια. κ. λ. Cap. i. p. 201. A. B. [n] Ibid. cap. 5.

[o] Και μυριων ὁσων τοις κατα μαρτυριον αναδεμενων στεφανοις. Cap. 2. p. 202. A. [p] Cap. vii. p. 208.

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Severus; but it is likely, that the work was not finished until some while after that year; he therefore had been a witness of the sufferings of his brethren, after the beginning of the persecution, before he published his work.

At this time suffered in Africa, at Tuburbium, or, as others more probably, at Carthage, Perpetua and Felicitas and their companions; of whom[q] notice was taken formerly.

During this reign, likewise, the Scillitan Martyrs[r] are supposed to have suffered in Africa; though the Acts of their Martyrdom which we now have, are not allowed by all to be genuine.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards suffered martyrdom[s] in the time of Decius, was imprisoned[t] now.

Tertullian has mentioned another martyr, named Rutilius, who suffered in this persecution, though the year is not exactly known. Rutilius[u] had absconded and fled from place to place, and had likewise given money to some officers to secure himself from suffering; and yet he was at length apprehended, and through the mercy of God suffered very patiently; though he was at first grievously tormented, and then burnt alive. Tertullian could not avoid speaking honourably of him; though he then condemned both flight in persecution, and pecuniary redemptions.

And in his book to Scapula[v] he mentions Mavilus, an inhabitant of Adrumetum, whom that proconsul had himself condemned to be devoured by wild beasts.

I do not mention Irenæus here, as some do, because I do not think he died by martyrdom, as[w] was formerly shown.

III. Mr. Dodwell[x] computed the persecution under Severus to have lasted two years only. Basnage[y] shows, that it lasted more than six years. Mosheim[z] observes,

[q] See vol. ii. chap. xl. num. ii. [r] Vid. Basnag. ann. 211. num. viii. Ruinart. Acta Mart. p. 84, &c. Tillem. la Persecu. de Severe, sect. iii. Moshem. de Ætate Apol. Tertull. num. x.

[s] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 39, et 46. [t] L. vi. cap. xi.

[u] Rutilius, sanctissimus martyr, cum toties fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum, ut reputabat, nummis redemisset, post totam securitatem, quam sibi prospexerat, ex inopinato apprehensus, et Præsidi oblatus, tormentis dissipatus, credo pro fugæ castigatione, dehinc ignibus datus, passionem, quam vitârat, misericordiæ Dei retulit. De Fugâ, &c. cap. v. p. 693.

[v] Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod cum Adrumeticum Mavilum ad bestias damnâsses, et statim hæc vexatio subsecuta est. Ad Scap. cap. 3. p. 87. [w] Credib. P. 2. vol. ii. p. 169.

[x] Durâsse autem constat duobus annis. Diss. Cyp. xi. num. xli.

[y] Plus igitur sexennio persecutio continuata est. Basn. ann. 202. num. ii.

[z] De fine belli hujus silent veteres. Quum vero certis auctoribus, maxime ex Tertulliano, constet, sub Severi etiam filio Caracallâ, nonnullis in locis

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that some christians suffered in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla. 'They therefore,' says he, 'judge rightly, 'who think, that this persecution did not end before the 'death of Severus.'

Sulpicius Severus, having spoken of this persecution, 'says, 'that[a] from that time to the persecution of Decius, 'the church enjoyed peace eight and thirty years, excepting 'some disturbance given to the christian clergy by Max-'imin.' It is hence argued by Pagi,[b] that Sulpicius supposed this persecution did not end before the year 211, in which the emperor Severus died.

It is also supposed by the same learned chronologer, that[c] the ceasing of this persecution, and the peace of the churches, are hinted at in a passage of Dion Cassius, who relates, that Antoninus Caracalla, after killing his brother Geta, and committing other acts of cruelty, coming into the senate said: 'Let all hear what is of great importance, at 'which all the world may rejoice. Let all exiles, whatever 'be their crimes, and however they have been condemned, 'be restored.' The same is in[d] Spartian. And[e] christians may have been included in this act of indemnity.

And that the persecution continued some while after the death of Severus, is argued from Tertullian's book to the proconsul Scapula, not written before the year 211, or 212; for at that time the christians underwent heavy sufferings. By that proconsul[f] some seem to have been condemned to

christianos vexatos esse, recte illi judicare videntur, qui non ante mortem Severi cessâsse illud existimant. De Rebus Christianorum, &c. p. 455.

[a] Interjectis deinde annis viii. et xxx. pax christianis fuit; nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. Sul. Sever. l. ii. cap. 46. al. 32.

[b] Ab anno autem 211, Severi emortuali, ad annum 249, quo Decius persecutionem instauravit, anni 38 interjiciuntur. Quare Severus usque ad mortem suam christianos vexavit, vel vexari permisit, quod perinde illis erat. Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.

[c] Pax itaque ecclesiæ non reddita, nisi post Severi interitum. Quod indicare videtur Dio. lib. 77. [p. 1290.] ubi, postquam retulit Caracallam, Severi filium et successorem, occidisse fratrem Getam, ait, illum dixisse in Senatu: 'Audite, inquit, rem maximam, ut totus terrarum orbis gaudeat. Omnes ex-'ules rei facti, cujusvis sceleris, et quomodocumque damnati sint, restituantur,' &c. Persecutio igitur Severiana non solum sanguinolenta, sed etiam longa exstitit. Pagi ann. 207. num. iii.

[d] Post hoc, relegatis deportatisque reditum in patriam restituit. Spartian. in Vitâ Anton. Carac. cap. 3. p. 710.

[e] Quibus et includi christianos, qui impietatis causâ deportati fuerunt, non est negandum. Basn. ann. 212. num. vi.

[f] ——pro veritate, pro Deo vivo, cremamur. Nam et nunc a Præside legionis, et a Præside Mauritaniæ vexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut a primordio mandatum est, animadverti in hujusmodi. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

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the flames; and in some other places there were governors, who inflicted capital punishments upon christians; though they did not strive to aggravate their death by exquisite torments.

IV. However, I do not intend to write at length the history of this persecution; but I have been obliged to take some notice of it, not only upon account of the edict of Severus, but also out of regard to the testimony of Spartian, a heathen author, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished in the time of Dioclesian, or soon after. He has mentioned not only the time of this persecution, but also the substance and design of the emperor's edict, more particularly than any of our christian authors.

In the Life of the Emperor Severus, he says: 'Having[g] passed through Antioch, he gave to his eldest son the manly gown, and appointed him consul with himself; and presently, while they were yet in Syria, they entered upon their consulship. After that, having enlarged the stipends of the soldiers, he went forward to Alexandria. In his journey through Palestine he enacted several laws. He forbade, under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. He also published a like edict against the christians.'

This determines the beginning of the persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ 202, when he and his son Caracalla were consuls together; and the design of the edict is represented to be to restrain the increase of christianity.

Upon this edict Mr. Mosheim observes to this purpose: 'These[h] words,' says he, 'show, that Severus enacted no

Tillemont, Persécution sous Sévère, art. vii. translates: 'Le Lieutenant, qui 'commandoit la legion, qui residoit en Afrique, et le Gouverneur de la 'Mauritanie se contentoient de faire décapiter les martyrs.' I rather think, that by Legio is here intended a place, or province, in Africa, so called. Cellarius may be consulted, Geogr. l. iii. cap. 13. p. 505, though he is not there speaking of a place in Africa. Posterior oppidum fuisse, non castra sola alicujus legionis, licet origo et nomen his debeantur.

[g] Deinde, cum Antiochiam transisset, datâ civili togâ filio majori, secum eum Consulem designavit, et statim in Syriâ consulatum inierunt. Post hoc, dato stipendio cumulatiore militibus, Alexandriam petiit. In itinere Palæstinis plurima jura fundavit. Judæos fieri sub gravi pœnâ vetuit. Idem etiam de christianis sanxit. Spartian. Sever. cap. 16, 17. p. 617, 618.

[h] Hæc verba docent, Severum non novas in christianos leges tulisse, non religionem ipsam cum professoribus ejus exstirpari jussisse, sed modum tantum statuere voluisse incrementis ecclesiæ, eosque puniri jussisse, qui a majorum sacris ad christiana deficerent. Natis igitur christianis, illis item, qui ante hoc edictum Christo nomen dederunt, antiquæ quidem leges molestiæ et periculi aliquid parere poterant, maxime celebre illud, quod abrogatum per sequentes leges haud erat, Trajani rescriptum. At ex hac novâ Severi lege nihil ipsis

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'new laws against the christians; nor did he enjoin that 'the religion itself, with the professors of it, should be ex-'tirpated. He only intended to hinder the increase of the 'church, and ordered such to be punished, who should 'abandon the old religion of their ancestors for the sake of 'the christian. They, therefore, who were christians by 'birth, and were such before the time of this edict, had 'nothing to fear from it. The old laws indeed, particularly 'the edict of Trajan, which was not repealed, might occa-'sion them some trouble; but this new law of Severus af-'fected not any who were christians before. Learned men,' he says, 'are difficultly brought to allow of this interpre-'tation, because they see, that many christians suffered in 'the time of this emperor. Nevertheless it is very certain; 'for Spartian puts together the two edicts against the Jews 'and against the christians; and they were both of the same 'tenour. Severus never did forbid the Jewish religion, nor 'compel men born of Jewish parents to embrace the Roman 'rites; he only forbad the increase of Jews by the addition 'of other people to them. Therefore neither did he enact 'any thing more severe against the christians; for the two 'edicts were both alike. Nor can there be any good reason 'to believe, that Severus published any other edict against 'the christians beside that mentioned by Spartian.'

So says that learned author, upon which I must make some free observations.

First of all Mr. Mosheim seems to say, that 'Severus en-'acted not any new laws against the christians.' Which is not the truth; for he did enact a new law against them. It is mentioned by Spartian; and Mr. Mosheim himself grants, and allows, and supposes it; and after his manner he explains the meaning and design of it.

Secondly, Mr. Mosheim has no right to diminish the sufferings of the christians in the reign of this emperor. He earnestly contends, that Tertullian's Apology was composed in the year of Christ 198, before there was any law of Severus against the christians; and he has published a long

timendum erat. Verum ægre hoc sibi persuadent viri eruditi—— Componit Spartianus edictum adversus Judæos cum edicto in christianos, hocque ejusdem, cujus illud, formæ fuisse observat. Atqui Severus neque Judæorum religionem unquam vetuit, neque judaïcis parentibus natos Romana suscipere sacra coëgit, sed augeri tantum Judæorum populum ex aliis populis noluit. Igitur nec christianis, quum idem tantum in illos, quod in Judæos, sanxerit, iniquiorem sese præbuit. Alias Severi leges in christianos, præter illam, cujus Spartianus meminit, tulisse, ab omni alienum est versimilitudine. Mosh. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 456.

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dissertation[i] to prove it. Nor was Mr. Tillemont[k] very averse to that date of the Apology; though he generally speaks of it as written in the year 200. And according to that later date, it was written before Severus had made any edict against the christians.

Well, what was the state of the christians at that time, even before the edict of Severus, which is allowed to be rightly dated at the year of Christ 202? 'They[l] underwent,' our learned author says, 'a multiplicity of the greatest suf-'ferings.' 'From[m] that Apology of Tertullian it appears, 'that they were crucified, hung upon stakes, burnt alive, 'thrown to wild beasts, condemned to the mines, banished 'into desert islands.' I have put down no more than a part of the list of their sufferings, extracted by Mosheim himself from that Apology of Tertullian. And moreover, as that learned man likewise observes, 'the[n] magistrates 'then transgressed the law of Trajan. They were not con-'tented to punish those who were brought before them; they 'sought for them to be punished.'

Such were the sufferings of the christians then; And were they abated and restrained afterwards, when a new edict was published among them? No, certainly, they were increased: 'If[o] these things were done, whilst the emperor 'was as yet no enemy to them, and the ancient laws against 'them were in a manner silent, and those which were fa-'vourable to them, were yet in being; what may we sup-'pose to have been done when Severus was provoked, and 'not only confirmed the old laws against them, but added 'also severe laws of his own.' They are the words of

[i] De Ætate Apologetici Tertulliani, &c. [k] Tertullien. art. v. at the beginning. [l] Hoc loco nihil mihi propositum est aliud, quam ut ante ann. cii. quo Severi in christianos edicta publice rogata esse concedo, infinitam jam malorum magnitudinem illis exhibitam esse, planum faciam. Diss. de Ætate Apol. num. vii.

[m] Perversissimi ergo judices non legibus obtemperabant, sed in manifestas leges vexandis christianis peccabant. Suppliciorum atrocitas par erat odio, quo ferebantur christianorum hostes. Apol. cap. xii. 'Crucibus et stipitibus impo-'nitis christianos—ungulis eraditis latera christianorum—Cervices ponimus—'ad bestias impellimur—ignibus urimur—in metalla damnamur—in insulis re-'legamur.'—Eadem fere repetit, cap. 30. Mosh. de Reb. Christ. &c. p. 255.

[n] Tanta vero erat persecutionis hujus immanitas et gravitas, ut ipsa etiam Trajani lex, quæ inquiri christianos vetabat, negligeretur. Explorabantur enim conventus eorum; et ad Deum colendum congregati sine accusatore abducebantur. Cap. vii. 'Quotidie obsidemur, quotidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum 'cœtibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur.' Id. ib. p. 254.

[o] Hæc omnia fiebant, Imperatore christianis nondum inimico, et antiquis in eos legibus quiescentibus quodammodo, et per alias clementiores quasi obliteratis. Quid factum fuisse putabimus, Severo exardescente, atque veteres non modo leges firmante, verum novas etiam severiores rogante? Ibid. p. 255.

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Mosheim himself. For certain, the persecution then became more violent, and more general, than it had been before; as this[p] learned writer himself acknowledgeth.

Nevertheless, he will say something to mitigate the guilt of their enemies. For he says, 'that[q] the christians fomented 'the persecution against themselves by a custom, which 'now for some while had obtained among them, of redeem-'ing their lives and safety by presents of money made to 'the presidents, or other magistrates.'

Undoubtedly such things were done by some, but not by so many, nor so often, as is insinuated by Tertullian; who, when a Montanist, equally[r] condemned flight in persecution, and pecuniary redemptions. Nor can there be any good reason, why this writer, in accounting for the sufferings of the christians in this persecution, should forget, as it were, the common hatred and enmity of men toward them, and[s] almost entirely ascribe all their afflictions to the avarice of governors, stimulated and allured by the forwardness of christians themselves, to redeem their own, or their friends', safety by pecuniary presents.

I do by no means think, that there was any other edict of Severus against the christians, beside that mentioned by Spartian; but possibly[t] he has not fully expressed the whole design of it. There was at the same time an edict published against the Jews; nevertheless, the edict against the christians might be somewhat different. Whether it

[p] Hæc calamitas valde augebatur, quum tertio hujus seculi anno Imperator ipse animum erga christianos incertum quibus de causis, quodammodo mutaret atque, proposito edicto, cives Romanos sub gravi pœnâ ad christianam religionem a majorum sacris transire vetaret. Ib. p. 455.

[q] Malis his, variis ex causis natis, ipsi sine dubio christiani alimenta suppeditabant per consuetudinem, quæ ab aliquo tempore, approbantibus episcopis, inter eos invaluerat, salutem et vitam argento magistratibus oblato redimendi. Præsides enim et magistratus pecuniæ avidi christianos sæpe invadebant, et pauperiorum quosdam necari jubebant, quo ditiores fortunis suis emungerent, et ecclesiarum thesauris rem suam locupletarent. Ibid. p. 453.

[r] Ultro igitur de hoc tibi suggeram, definiens persecutionem, quam constat non esse fugiendam, proinde nec redimendam. Pretium interest. Cæterum, sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est, ita redemptio nummaria fuga est. De Fugâ in Pers. cap. 12. p. 697. Vid. cap. 10, et 11.

[s] Oriente seculo multis in provinciis Romanis varie affligebatur res christiana. Hæc vero calamitas crescebat, quum A. D. ciii. Imperator Severus, christianis alioquin haud inimicus, lege latâ prohiberet, ne quis majorum religionem cum christianâ aut etiam cum judaïcâ commutaret. Ut enim hæc lex christianos non damnaret, sed progressus tantum christianæ religionis cohiberet, peropportunam tamen avaris et injustis præsidibus et magistratibus occasionem suppeditabat christianos vexandi, et plurimos inopum necandi, quo ditiores ad periculum argento amovendum invitarent. Moshem. Institut. Hist. Ecc. p. 101. Vid. supra, note [q].

[t] See Tillemont, Persécution sous Sévère, art. iv. p. 158, 159. Bruxelles.

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was, or not, it is manifest from Tertullian and Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers, that after the tenth of Severus, there was a general persecution against the christians, wherein many suffered. And though the edict was exactly as Spartian says, the publication of it would give occasion for heathens of all sorts, both common people and magistrates, to show their enmity to the christians; especially, as the rescript of Trajan was still in force. Nor need it be supposed, that they who were unfriendly to the christians, would be scrupulously exact to the terms of the edict, and forbear to prosecute or condemn any, beside new converts. It is certain they did not forbear others; for many who were born of christian parents, or had been christians by profession a good while before this edict of Severus, suffered martyrdom in this persecution. Trajan's rescript forbids searching for christians; nevertheless, that part of his rescript was oftentimes transgressed or neglected by presidents, who published orders that they should be sought for.

Mr. Mosheim says, that[u] the words of the edict of Severus, as represented by Spartian, 'show, that Severus only 'intended to hinder the increase of the church, and ordered 'such to be punished, who forsook the old religion of their 'ancestors for the sake of the christian. They, therefore, 'who were christians by birth, or were such before the time 'of this edict, had nothing to fear from it.'

But I very much suspect this observation to be of no moment; for all persecuting edicts may have been of this form. They may have been made so, to give them a more specious appearance, and to cover the real cruelty and malignity of them. The severest edicts of the worst persecutors may have been expressed in the same terms, and in the same form, with this of Severus. So says the emperor Maximin, one of that sort, at the beginning of his letter to Sabinus: 'It is[v] well known to yourself, and to all the 'world, that our lords and fathers, Dioclesian and Maximi-'an, when they observed, that almost all men were for-'saking the worship of the gods, and joining themselves to 'the sect of the christians, did rightly ordain, that all who 'had forsaken the worship of their immortal gods, should

[u] See before, p. 314.

[v] *Και παρα τη ση ειβαροτητι και παρα πασιν ανθρωποις φανερον ειναι πεποιθα, τους δεσποτας ημων Διοκλητιανον και Μαξιμιανον τους ημετερους πατερας, ηνικα συνειδον σχεδον απαντας ανθρωπους, παραλειφθεισης της των Θεων Θρησκειας, τω εθνει των χριστιανων ἑαυτους συμμεμιχοτας, ορθως διατεταχεναι παντας ανθρωπους τους απο της των αυτων Θεων των αθανατων θρησκειας αναχωρησαντας, προδηλῳ κολασει και τιμωρια εις την Θρησκειαν των Θεων ανακληθηναι.* Euseb. H. E. l. ix. cap. 9. p. 350. C.

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'be recalled to the worship of the gods, by public chastise-
'ment and punishment.'

The letter of this law might affect new converts only, who had forsaken gentilism, and gone over to the christians: but that cannot be supposed to be the spirit of the law, or the intention of the makers of it.

Upon the whole, I can discern little weight in Mr. Mosheim's observations upon this edict of Severus; and still think, that the common opinion of learned men concerning the persecution of Severus is very right.

V. I have been longer here than I at first intended; and yet I have still one observation more to take notice of. Balduinus, in the place before cited, says: 'Papinian[v] was 'præfect of the prætorium in this reign. And he says, he 'has often wondered, that Papinian did not take care to 'restrain the barbarous fierceness of the presidents, who 'treated the christians with so much cruelty; or at least 'find out a method to reduce their judicial proceedings to 'some good order, and the common rules of equity.'

We must therefore suppose, that either Papinian did not understand the principles of religious and civil liberty, or that he was not able to establish all the schemes of equity which he had formed in his mind.

CHAP. XXIV.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

I. *His time and work.* II. *The inscription of the altar to the unknown God, in Acts* xvii. 23, *illustrated by a paragraph in this author.* III. *Whether he refers to the christian eucharist.*

I, DIOGENES,[a] surnamed Laërtius, as is generally supposed from Laërtes his native place, a town or castle in

[v] Certe temporibus Severi proconsulem eum [Claudium Herminianum] fuisse, facile credo; quibus et Papinianus prætorio præfectus erat. Sed sæpe mirari cogor, Papinianum, qui veluti summus tunc erat Prætor, auctorem non fuisse, ut barbara illa feritas præsidum christianos exagitantium aliquando reprimeretur; saltem ad aliquam judiciorum legem, rationem, ordinem, revocaretur. Balduin. de Edict. Princ. Roman. p. 99, 100.

[a] Voss. de Histor. Gr. l. ii. cap. 13. Tillem. H. Emp. Sévère, art. 16. Rollin.

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Cilicia, who wrote of the lives and opinions of the most famous philosophers in ten books, flourished, as Vossius[b] thinks, in the time of Antoninus the pious, or soon afterwards. Others[c] have thought it more probable, that he lived under Severus and his successors, and that his book of the Lives of the Philosophers was written about the year 210; where also I shall place him.

II. Says St. Luke, Acts xvii. 16—23, "Now while Paul waited for Silas and Timothy at Athens, his spirit was stirred within him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and the devout persons [or proselytes]: and in the market daily with them that met him. Then certain philosophers, of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? Others, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus, and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him to the Areopagus, saying; May we know, what this new doctrine is, whereof thou speakest? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears; we would know, therefore, what these things mean. (For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.) Paul, therefore, standing up in the midst of the Areopagus, said: Ye men of Athens, I perceive that ye are in all things very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription; TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom, therefore, ye worship without knowing him. Him do I declare unto you." After which follows the rest of the apostle's excellent discourse.

The introduction to this speech was distinctly considered[d] formerly; and the propriety and decency of the apostle's address to the Athenians were clearly shown.

I now intend to consider the inscription, "To the Unknown God," of which[e] he here reminds the Athenians, and

Hist. Anc. T. xii. p. 266. Diogène Laërte. Diction. de Morery. Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperors, vol. viii. p. 148.

[b] Nempe vixit Laërtius sub Antonio Pio, vel paulo post. Voss. ut supra.

[c] Tillemont, as above. [d] See vol. i. p. 201, 202.

[e] 'The Being and Attributes of God appear to have been known to the 'philosophers and sages of antiquity: and that only seems to have been un-'known to them, which is also unknown to us, namely, the mode of his ex-'istence: the knowledge of which is either unnecessary, or else could not be 'revealed to such creatures as we are, who cannot comprehend, or have any 'idea of spirit.—It was in this sense, that God was unknown to the sages of 'antiquity: and to this unknown God, I doubt not, but one or other of them

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upon which he argues so rationally. For, if I mistake not, I have now an opportunity to illustrate this text by a paragraph of Diogenes in the Life of Epimenides; which, therefore, I shall here transcribe at length, and then explain.

Epimenides is supposed to have been contemporary with Solon, and to have lived in the forty-sixth Olympiad, almost six hundred years before the nativity of our Saviour. And Laërtius has given us a letter of Epimenides sent to Solon.[f]

Diogenes Laërtius, having related some strange things of Epimenides, goes on: 'At[g] this time the fame of Epimenides was very great among all the Greeks, and he was supposed to be in great favour with the gods. The Athenians being afflicted with a pestilence, they were directed by the Pythian oracle to get their city purified by expiation. They therefore sent Nicias, son of Niceratus, in a ship

'erected the famous altar, which St. Paul took so much notice of, and attributed to the superstition of the Athenians. But in this I cannot help 'thinking there was some mistake. An altar, with such an inscription, could 'hardly be set up by the priests of that country, because it rather tended to 'destroy superstition, and subvert their power and influence, than to establish 'either. Their gods were local, their names and temples publicly known, 'and their priests strove who should gain the greatest number of profitable 'votaries. This altar then must surely have been erected by some philosopher, to the One True God, who was known by the effects of his infinite 'power, wisdom, and goodness: but unknown as to the mode of his existence. The one true God (whom we now adore) was neither known, 'nor worshipped by the ignorant, deceived, heathen multitude. Neither was 'he ignorantly worshipped by philosophers. For they might, and every one 'who exercises his reason in the inquiry, may, from the works of creation, 'trace out the Being and Attributes of God.' The Morality of the N. T. digested under various heads, p. 50—52.

So says the anonymous writer of the book just mentioned. I do not perceive what is 'the mistake,' which is here imputed, or intended to be imputed, to St. Paul. Nor indeed am I able to understand, or make out a consistent sense in the rest which is here said. However, it may be all clear to some, and important likewise. I therefore thought it not improper, that these observations should lie before my readers, in a note at least, that such use may be made of them, as is judged to be reasonable.

[f] Diogen. La. l. i. sect. 113. p. 72.

[g] Γνωσθεις δε παρα τοις Ἑλλησι θεοφιλεστατος ειναι υπεληφθη. Ὀθεν Αθηναιοις τῳ τε λοιμῳ κατεχομενοις εχρησεν ἡ Πυθια καθηραι την πολιν. Οἱ δε πεμπουσι ναυν τε και Νικιαν τον Νικηρατου εις Κρητην, καλουντες τον Επιμενιδην. Και ὁς ελθων Ολυμπιαδι τεσσαρακοστῳ εκτῳ εκαθηρεν αυτων την πολιν, και επαυσε τον λοιμον τουτον τον τροπον. Λαβων προβατα μελανα τε και λευκα, ηγαγε προς τον Αρειον παγον· κακειθεν ειασεν ιεναι οἱ βελοιντο, προσαξας τοις ακολουθοις, ενθα αν κατακλινοι αυτων ἑκαστον, θυειν τῳ προσηκοντι θεῳ· και ουτω ληξαι το κακον. Ὀθεν ετι και νυν εστιν ευρειν κατα τους δημους των Αθηναιων βωμους ανωνυμους, υπομνημα της τοτε γενομενης εξιλασεως. Diog. Laërt. in Epimenide, l. i. segm. 110. p. 70, 71.

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to Crete, inviting Epimenides to come to them. He coming thither in the forty-sixth Olympiad, purified their city, and delivered them from the pestilence in this manner. Taking several sheep, some black, others white, he had them up to the Areopagus; and then let them go where they would; and gave orders to those who followed them, wherever any one of them should lie down, to sacrifice it to the god to whom it belonged. And so the plague ceased. Hence it comes to pass, that to this present time may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians anonymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made.'

This paragraph, I think, will mightily illustrate the text above cited from the Acts: but before I make my observations, it may be not amiss to allege the observations of divers christian interpreters, both ancient and modern.

Jerom, in his comment upon the first chapter of Titus, ver. 12, says: 'The[h] inscription of the altar at Athens was 'not "to the Unknown God," as St. Paul quotes it, but to 'the gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa, unknown and 'strange gods.' He speaks to the like purpose in another[i] place; and supposeth, that the apostle had not quoted the inscription exactly, but dexterously applied it to his own purpose.

Chrysostom, in a homily upon the Acts of the Apostles, speaks to this purpose: 'I[k] found an altar with this in-'scription, "to the Unknown God." What is that? The 'Athenians, who in a long tract of time had received various

[h] Nec mirum, si pro opportunitate temporis, gentilium poëtarum versibus abutatur; quum etiam de inscriptione aræ aliquâ commutaas, ad Athenienses loquutus sit: 'Pertransiens enim,' inquit, 'et contemplans culturas vestras, inveni et aram, in quâ superscriptum est: Ignoto Deo. Quod ergo ignorantes colitis, hoc ego annuncio vobis.' Inscriptio autem aræ non ita erat, ut Paulus asseruit, 'Ignoto Deo,' sed ita; 'Diis Asiæ, et Europæ, et Africæ, diis ignotis, et peregrinis.' Verum quia Paulus non diis indigebat ignotis, sed uno tantum ignoto Deo, singulari verbo usus est, &c. In ep. ad Titum. cap. i. T. iv. P. i. p. 420.

[i] Ac ne parum hoc esset, ductor christiani exercitûs, et orator invictus pro Christo causam agens, etiam inscriptionem fortuitam arte torquet in argumentum fidei. Didicerat enim a vero David extorquere de manibus hostium, et Goliæ superbissimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ad magnum. ep. 83. T. iv. P. ii. p. 655.

[k] ——— *ευρον και βωμον, εν ὡ επεγεγραπτο, Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ. Τι εστι τουτο; οἱ Αθηναιοι, επειδαν κατα καιρους πολλους εδιξαντο θεους και απο της υπεροχας, οἷον, το της Αθηνας ἱερον, τον Παν, και αλλους αλλαχοθεν, δεδοικοτες, μηποτε και αλλος τις η αυτοις μεν ουδεπω γνωριμος, θεραπευομενος δε αλλαχου, υπερ πλειονος δηθεν ασφαλειας, και τουτῳ βωμον εστησαν. Και επειδη ουκ ην δηλος ὁ Θεος, επεγεγραπτο, Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ. Τουτον ουν Χριστον Ιησουν ειναι Παυλος λεγει· μαλλον δε των παντων Θεον, Ὁν ουν αγνοουντες, φησιν, ευσεβειτε, τουτον εγω καταγγελλω υμιν.* In Act. Apost. hom. 38. T. ix. p. 287. A. Bened.

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'gods from their neighbours, as the temple of Minerva, 'Pan, and others from elsewhere; apprehensive that there 'might be still some other god, unknown to them, who was 'worshipped elsewhere in other places, for the greater 'safety erected also an altar to him. But because the god 'was not manifest, they put upon it this inscription, "To 'the Unknown God." This God, Paul says, is Jesus 'Christ, or rather the God of the universe. "Whom there-'fore you ignorantly worship," says he, "him declare I 'unto you."'

So speaks Chrysostom; nor do I perceive him to have had any doubt about the genuineness of the inscription, as composed in the singular number, "To the Unknown God."

Nevertheless Theophylact[l] and Œcumenius,[m] after saying the same that is in Chrysostom, add: that the whole of the inscription was to this purpose: 'To the gods of Asia, 'and Europe, and Lybia, to the unknown and strange 'God.'

Isidore of Pelusium has a letter upon this subject, which begins in this manner. 'There[n] were, as is said, two causes 'of the inscription of the altar at Athens, "To the Unknown 'God." And having taken notice of the second occasion, 'which was a pestilence, he says, that[o] after their deliver-'ance the Athenians erected a temple and altar, with this 'inscription, "To the Unknown God."' Nor do I perceive that there is, throughout that letter, any the least intimation that there was at Athens any altar inscribed "to unknown gods" in the plural number.

There is, therefore, great inaccuracy in the quotation of Isidore of Pelusium, which is in Mr. Wetstein's New Testament. For[p] there he is quoted as saying, that 'the whole 'inscription of the altar was, To the gods of Asia, Europe, 'and Lybia, the unknown and strange God.' Which, indeed, is very agreeable to Theophylact and Œcumenius, as just seen; but Isidore says nothing of that kind.

We have seen therefore two ancient christian writers, Chrysostom and Isidore of Pelusium, in the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, who supposed, that the in-

[l] Theoph. in Act. Ap. p. 151.

[m] *Ετι δε πασα τυ βωμυ επιγραφη τοιαυτη· Θεοις Ασιας, και Ευρωπης, και Λιβυης· Θεῳ αγνωστῳ και ξενῳ.* Œcum. in Act. Ap. p. 137.

[n] *Δυω φασιν αιτιας ειναι, τυ επεγεγραφθαι Αθηνησι τῳ βωμω. Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ. κ. λ.* Ibid. l. iv. ep. 69.

[o] ——*ναον δειμαμενοι και βωμον, επιγραψαντες, Αγνωστῳ Θεῳ.* Ibid.

[p] Isidorus iv. 69. *Η πασα τυ βωμυ επιγραφη, Θεοις Ασιας, και Ευρωπης, και Λιβυης, Θεῳ αγνωστῳ και ξενῳ.* Wetsten. in Act. Ap. cap. xvii. 23.

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scription at Athens was in the singular number, as St. Paul quotes it.

The opinions of learned moderns have been very different. Many maintain the genuineness of the inscription, as cited by St. Paul. But Le Clerc says, that[q] though the inscription was in the plural number, St. Paul was in the right to allege it in the singular number.

In the year 1724 was published at Cambridge a Latin sermon upon this subject.[r] I read it when it came out; but I know not now where to find it. I remember well, that it is a very learned and elaborate discourse; and I made some extracts which are still by me: but they are defective and imperfect. However, I perceive by them, that the[s] author, Dr. Drake, asserted the inscription to have been in the singular number; though my extracts are not particular enough, to show how he made it out. But I know, that he argued from the place of Œcumenius above quoted by me, and likewise from the Dialogue Philopatris, which I also shall quote by and by.

Having seen the judgment of learned christians, ancient and modern, I here intend to propose my own observations.

Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that the Athenians, by the direction of an oracle, sent for Epimenides to purify, or expiate their city, when they were afflicted with a pestilence; Epimenides, when he came to Athens, took several sheep, some black, some white, and then let them go where they would, directing those who followed them, when any ne should lie down, to sacrifice it to the god to whom it belonged; which in the Latin version is rendered,[t] 'to the god 'next the place.' Which translation, as I perceive by my extracts, is disliked by Dr. Drake. He therefore translates in this manner: to 'the proper god,[u] to whom that affair

[q] Quamvis plurali numero legeretur inscriptio, Αγνωστοις Θεοις, recte de 'Deo Ignoto' locutus est Paulus, qui plurali numero continetur singularis. Cleric. H. E. A. 52. p. 374, in notis.

[r] 'Ara Ignota Deo sacra:' ad Clerum habita Cantabrigiæ vii. Idus Julii 1724, pro gradu Doctoratûs in sacrâ Theologiâ. Auctore Samuele Drake, S. T. P. Collegii Divi Johannis Evangelistæ Socio.—Cantab. 1724.

[s] Fatendum tamen est, plures fuisse olim Deos, quorum opem auxiliumque anonymis aris invocabant——Hanc autem, de quâ speciatim egit apostolus, inscriptionem singulari fuisse numero prolatam confirmat ipsius Pauli fides, industria, non sequioris ætatis testimonio, non Hieronymi conjecturæ posthabenda. Drake, ubi supra, p. 5. In excerptis nostris.

[t] His qui illas sequebantur, ubicumque illæ accubuissent, singulas mactarent loci ejus proximo Deo.

[u] Hujus [Epimenidis] consilio monitos tradit Athenienses, cum patrios deos frustra fatigârint, sacra ut facerent, aramque construeren προσηκοντι Θεῳ: non, ut male Laërtii interpres—'loci ejus proximo Deo:' Deo conve-

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'belonged, to him, whoever he was, who should remove the 'inflicted pestilence.' Dr. Doddridge, reciting this paragraph in his notes upon Acts, ch. xvii. understands the direction to be, 'when the sheep lay down, to sacrifice them to 'the god, near whose temple or altar they then were.'

There is another sense, which appears to me to be very obvious, and therefore I think to be right. Epimenides took with him up to the Areopagus several sheep, 'some black, 'some white.' And when he let them go, he directed, that each one, when it lay down, 'should be sacrificed to the 'god to which it appertained, or belonged,' ut eam mactarent Deo, ad quem pertineret. Black sacrifices were offered to some gods, white to others. Epimenides knew not by what god the pestilence had been inflicted upon the Athenians. When he was desired to purify the city, in order to its deliverance, he chose out sacrifices of different kinds, black sheep, and white sheep, and led them up to the Areopagus; and from that place, the citadel or the seat of the senate and of the court of judicature, he sent out the sheep, as in the name of the whole city and commonwealth, to be sacrificed, in order to appease the offended deity, whoever he was. A sheep with a black fleece, when it lay down, was to be offered to a deity who delighted in such sacrifices. A sheep with a white fleece was to be offered to a deity, to whom white sacrifices were acceptable. By this means he hoped to ingratiate the offended deity, whoever he was.

It follows in Laërtius: 'And so the plague ceased. Hence it has come to pass, that to this present time, may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians, anonymous altars, a memorial of the expiation then made.'

'In the boroughs of the Athenians.' So I have translated, *κατα τους δημους των Αθηναιων.* Of them Potter speaks in this manner: 'These[v] Δημοι were little boroughs in Attica, 'several of which were reckoned together in the business 'of the commonwealth; yet had separate habitations, and 'distinct rites, and gods too; for each of them adored 'peculiar deities; and yet all unanimously agreed in wor-'shipping Minerva, who was the tutelar goddess of the 'whole country.'

'nienti,' Deo, ad quem res ista pertinebat: ei, quisquis tandem is fuerit, qui immissam luem propulsaret. Drake, ubi supra, p. 6.

Which seems to me to be much the same with that of Grotius——Sicut Laërtius, originem hujus rei narrans, dicit ab Epimenide monitos Athenienses, ut sacra facerent *τῳ προσηκοντι Θεῳ*, id est 'ei Deo, ad quem ea res pertineret,' non addito nomine. Grotius.

[v] Potter's Antiquities of Greece, B. i. ch. ix. p. 50. vol. i. Oxford. 1699.

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Thus I have explained this paragraph as I am able. I am now to make some observations; but they will be no more than two only. First, there were several anonymous altars at Athens; and in the adjoining country. We know not how many sheep Epimenides took up with him to the Areopagus, and then let them go away at pleasure; but they would all lie down when weary, if not before; some, it is likely, in the streets, or other public places of the city of Athens; others in the adjacent country; where they were sacrificed to the god, to whom they were supposed to appertain, according to their different colours. And the city being hereby expiated, and purified, and delivered from the pestilence, there was an anonymous altar erected in every place, where a sacrifice had been made, in memorial of the obtained deliverance. Secondly, all these altars were in the singular number. For each 'sheep, when it 'lay down, was to be sacrificed to the god to whom it ap-'pertained.'

Thus then, according to this curious history in Laërtius, St. Paul must have been in the right, when he said, "he had found an altar with this inscription; To the Unknown God." And even to the time of Laërtius, there were still such anonymous altars to be found in the boroughs of the Athenians.

Let us now observe some other heathen writers; where, possibly, we may find some things confirming these observations, or however at least casting farther light upon them. I shall first quote Pausanias, who flourished and wrote before the end of the second century. Having mentioned an altar of Jupiter Olympus, he says, 'and[w] nigh unto it is an 'altar of unknown gods.' He does not say, 'the altar,' but 'an altar.' Therefore there may have been several such altars, as Laërtius says. And when he says, 'an altar of 'unknown gods,' he needs not to be understood to mean, that the inscription was in the plural number; it may have been, and probably was, in the singular number.

In another place Pausanias speaks of 'altars[x] of gods 'called unknown, and of heroes, and of the sons of Theseus, 'and Phalerus.' The inscription of this altar likewise may have been in the singular number; but as there were several altars at Athens, or near it, inscribed 'To the Unknown 'God,' it was natural enough for some writers to call them

[w] Καλειται δε Ολυμπιω Διος. Προς αυτω δ' εςιν αγνωςων θεων βωμος. Pausan. l. v. p. 412.

[x] Βωμοι δε θεων τε ονομαζομενων αγνωςων, και ἡρωων, και παιδων των Θησεως, και Φαληρω. Paus. l. i. p. 4.

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'altars of unknown gods.' So says Grotius: 'When[y] 'Pausanias says, that there were at Athens altars of un-'known gods, he means that there were many altars with 'such an inscription, "To the Unknown God:" though, 'possibly, there were some with an inscription in the plural 'number, whilst others were in the singular.' Olearius[z] has expressed himself in the like manner.

The first observation appears to me very right. The second observation, 'that there might be also some altars 'in the plural number, to "unknown gods,"' is a supposition without proof or evidence, so far as I see, and therefore may not be true.

Philostratus records it, as an observation of Apollonius Tyanæus, 'that[a] we are never to speak disrespectfully of 'any of the gods; intimating also at the same time, that 'there was some special reason to be upon the guard in 'that respect, at Athens, where are altars to unknown 'demons.'

But neither does this necessarily imply, that there were altars with inscriptions to "unknown gods" in the plural number. It implies no more, than that there were several altars with that inscription "To the Unknown God." And farther: We are hereby led to think, that inscriptions to "the Unknown God" were peculiar to the Athenians. There were no such inscriptions any where else.

I come now at length to the Dialogue Philopatris, quoted by Dr. Drake, and others, as a work of Lucian; but I rather think, of some anonymous heathen author in the fourth century.

Here Critias confirms what he says, swearing '[b] by the 'Unknown God at Athens.' And near the end of the Dialogue: 'But[c] let us find out the Unknown God at Athens, 'and stretching our hands to heaven, offer to him our 'praises and thanksgivings, that we are worthy to live

[y] Cum Pausanias ait, aras Athenis fuisse *Θεων αγνωστων*, hoc vult, multas fuisse aras tali inscriptione *Θεῳ αγνωστῳ*; quanquam potuere et aliæ esse pluraliter inscriptæ, aliæ singulariter. Grot. ad Act. xvii.

[z] Cæteri auctores omnes, qui altarium meminerunt *των αγνωστων*, plurali numero illos deos efferunt. Puto tamen Pausaniæ et Philostrati loca viris doctis observata, in quibus *βωμων Θεων αγνωστων* mentio, ita accipi posse, ut aræ exstitisse multæ intelligantur, quorum singulis, aut saltem quibusdam ex iis inscriptio fuerit, *Θεῳ αγνωστῳ*. Olearius apud Wolf. in Act. Ap. xvii. 23.

[a] ——*σωφρονιστερον γαρ το περι παντων Θεων ευ λεγειν, και ταυτα Αθηναισιν, ᾗ και αγνωστων δαιμονων βωμοι ἱδρυνται.* Philost. Apoll. Tyan. l. vi. cap. 3. p. 252. Conf. Suid. V. *Τιμασιων.*

[b] *Νη τον αγνωστον εν Αθηναις.* Lucian. Philop. p. 767. T. ii. Græv.

[c] *Ἡμεις δε, τον Αθηναις αγνωστον εφευροντες, και προσκυνησαντες, χειρας εις ουρανον εκτειναντες, τουτῳ ευχαριστησομεν. κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 780.

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'under so great an empire, and leave others to trifle as they 'please.'

Which must lead us to think that the inscription at Athens was in the singular number. There can be no reason assigned, why this author, doing his utmost to expose and ridicule the christians, should adopt the singular number, if the inscription was plural.

Thus I have now illustrated this text by the testimonies of heathen authors, who wrote whilst these altars with their inscriptions were in being; Diogenes Laërtius, Pausanias, Philostratus, and the author of Philopatris. The inscription upon the altar at Athens was in the singular number; nor does it appear, that there were any in the plural to "Unknown Gods." And this inscription seems to have been peculiar to the Athenians. It does not appear that there were any altars inscribed "To the Unknown God" in any other countries. But when I say, these altars were peculiar to the Athenians, I do not intend the city of Athens alone; for there were several like altars in the boroughs of the Athenians, and possibly in some other adjoining places. The altar observed by Paul, probably, was in some street or open place of the city of Athens; the altars mentioned by Pausanias were elsewhere. That which I first quoted from him was at Olympia; the other was at Phalerus, as[d] he expressly says, which was the nearest sea-port to Athens, and not far off from the city.

I shall now recite the observations of the late Mr. Hallet of Exeter. Having argued the great ignorance of the heathen people concerning the Deity, and having alleged several texts from the New Testament to the same purpose, he goes on: 'The[e] same St. Paul, when he was at Athens, 'where, if any where, the heathens should have known 'better, took notice, that the people had no knowledge of the 'true God. He found there an altar erected "to the Un-'known God," Acts xvii. 23, that is, they did not know by 'what name to call him. This is manifest from the occasion 'of erecting the altar, which was this; About 600 years 'before our Saviour's birth, there was a pestilence at Athens. 'In order to get it removed, upon the advice of the philoso-'pher Epimenides, (who appears by this to have been as 'ignorant of the true God as the Athenian populace,) the 'people sacrificed many sheep, not to any particular idol, 'but to that god, be he who he would, who was able to

[d] Ὁ δε επι Φαληρῳ, καθα και προτερον ειρηται μοι——Paus. p. 4.

[e] Mr. Hallet's Notes and Discourses upon Texts of Scripture, vol. i. p. 307—309.

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'remove the pestilence from them; upon which, it is said, 'the plague was stayed. In memory of this deliverance the 'Athenians erected several altars, which the historian Dio-'genes Laërtius calls Anonymous, because there was no name 'of any particular god inscribed upon them. The altars 'were erected, not to the honour of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, 'by name, but to that particular god, whoever he was, who 'had wrought out this deliverance for them. See Laërtius 'in his Life of Epimenides. If they had known that Jupi-'ter had removed the plague, they would have inscribed 'their altars to Jupiter. If they had known that Apollo 'had removed the plague, they would have inscribed the 'altars to Apollo. But while they could not tell which of 'all their gods it was who had removed the plague, they 'did not dedicate the altars to any one god by name, but 'to that god, whoever he was, who had thus delivered 'them. But still they thought, this god, whoever he was, 'was one of the idols of the heathen world. They did not 'suspect him to be a being of any greater wisdom and 'power than their own Jupiter and Apollo. They took 'their deliverer to be an idol of the same sort and size as 'the rest whom they worshipped. But the truth was, '(though they did not know it,) that he, who delivered 'them by his providence from that distress, was the one 'infinite, supreme God. And therefore St. Paul justly says, 'that the Athenians worshipped him; for they worshipped 'him who removed the plague, whoever he was. But the 'true God removed the plague; therefore they worshipped 'the true God. But still, as the apostle observes, they 'worshipped him ignorantly, that is, they were ignorant of 'his true greatness, majesty, and power, and looked upon 'him as no greater than one of their own idols. Which 'worshipping of him in this ignorant manner, and under 'this debasing notion, was not much, if any thing, better 'than their not worshipping him at all. Accordingly St. 'Paul, in this same discourse, chargeth them, as men who 'yet wanted "to seek and find out" the true God, ver. 27, 'as thinking, that the "Godhead was like to gold and 'silver images," ver. 29, and as men "living in times of 'ignorance," ver. 30. To which we may add what the same 'apostle says, 1 Cor. i. 21, that "the world, by means of 'wisdom," that is, of the philosophy of the heathens, which 'was accounted wisdom, "knew not God." Agreeably to 'this, we may take notice throughout the Old Testament, 'that the heathen nations, who heard of Jehovah, did not 'look upon him as any other than the idol of Judea, a

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'being of the same kind with Baal, Chemosh, and the 'like.' So writes my much esteemed friend the late Mr. Joseph Hallet.

III. In the Life of Pythagoras, among his precepts, Diogenes Laërtius mentions this: 'That[f] a loaf should not be broke, because it was anciently the custom for friends to meet together at one loaf, as the barbarians do now. And therefore that should not be divided which brings them together.'

Gregorius Giraldus supposed, that[g] by barbarians Laërtius here meant christians, and that he refers to their assemblies, where they met together to partake of the eucharist. But other learned men with more reason, as seems to me, believe, that he here intends such as were properly called barbarians, and that there is here no reference at all to the christians.

For certain, I lay not any stress upon this passage; I only put it down here, that it might not be suspected to be omitted merely through oversight, and that all may judge of it.

CHAP. XXV.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

I. *His time.* II. *Divers passages concerning the christians, from his Life, written by Lampridius, an heathen author, about the year of Christ* 306. III. *Of Mammæa, the emperor's mother, by some said to have been a christian.*

I. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS was succeeded by his son Caracalla, he by Macrinus; he by Heliogabalus, concern-

[f] *Αρτον μη καταγνυειν, ὁτι επι ἑνα οἱ παλαι των φιλων εφοιτων, καθαπερ και νυν οἱ βαρβαροι· μηδε διαιρειν ὁς συναγει αυτες.* Diog. La. l. viii. sect. 35. p. 518.

[g] Gregorius Giraldus, vir doctissimus, in libello de Pythagoræ symbolis, quid de hoc symbolo scribat, omnibus in promptu est. Quod autem barbaros Laërtius christianos hoc loco significet, id mihi nullo modo probatur. Neque enim solent a scriptoribus quantumvis ethnicis hoc nomine appellari. Sed barbaros intelligo vere barbaros, apud quos certum est, eum morem viguisse coëundi in conviviis, qui idem omnium fere gentium mos est. Aldobrand. in loc. Et. conf. Menag. p. 370. Vid. et Jamblich. de Vitâ Pythagoræ. num. 86. cap. 18.

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ing whom I shall transcribe a passage from[a] Lampridius, when I come to the chapter of the Augustan writers. Heliogabalus was succeeded by Alexander Severus, whose[b] reign is computed from March 6, 222, to March 14, or 19, in the year 235. He reigned thirteen years, and died before he was seven and twenty years of age. Alexander is much commended, as an excellent prince, by[c] Lampridius, as well as by[d] others.

II. His Life of Alexander is addressed to Constantine; he has in it several passages relating to the christians, which must be taken notice of.

1. Of this emperor Lampridius says: 'He[e] maintained 'the privileges of the Jews; He tolerated the christians.'

2. Of the same emperor he says: 'His[f] way of living 'was this. Early in the morning, if there was no impedi-'ment, he performed some acts of religious worship in his 'private chapel, in which were the deified emperors, and 'also some eminently good men, and among them Apollo-'nius; and, as a writer of his time says, Christ, Abraham, 'and Orpheus, (whom he considered as deities,) and the 'images of his ancestors.'

3. In a following chapter Lampridius says: 'This[g] em-'peror called Virgil the Plato of poets, and placed his 'image with that of Cicero, in his second chapel, where 'also were the statues of Achilles, and other great men: 'but Alexander the Great he placed among the deified, and 'the best, in his more honourable chapel.'

Whereby it appears, that this emperor had two chapels, one greater, and more honourable, the other less honourable.

[a] Lamprid. Heliogab. cap. iii. p. 796. [b] Vide Pagi ann. 235. num. ii. Basn. ann. 222. num. iii. Tillem. L'Emp. Alexandre. art. xxv. and Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperors, vol. viii. p. 277.

[c] Atque hæc parva sunt, nisi quod dignum se exhibuit, quem Senatus servaret, quem salvum milites cuperent, quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret. Æl. Lamprid. Sever. Alex. cap. 2. p. 883.

[d] Judæis privilegia reservavit: christianos esse passus est. Ib. cap. 22. p. 914. [e] Fuit ita moratus Alexander, ita vitâ atque animo constitutus, ut, inter ethnicos, paucos æquales habuerit, superiorem forte neminem. Basnag. ann. 222. num. v.

[f] Usus vivendi eidem hic fuit: primum, ut si facultas esset, id est, si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes, sed optimos, electos, et animas sanctiores, in queis et Apollonium, et quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, et Orpheum, (et hujuscemodi deos,) habebat, ac majorum effigiès, rem divinam faciebat. Ib. cap. 29. p. 930.

[g] Virgilium autem Platonem poëtarum vocabat, ejusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro, in secundo larario habuit, ubi et Achillis, et magnorum virorum. Alexandrum vero Magnum, inter divos et optimos, in larario majore consecravit. Ib. cap. 31. p. 936.

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Christ was in the former. We are likewise to observe, that this was mentioned by a writer of this emperor's own time; who, probably, was a gentile, or heathen, our author himself being an heathen, and making his collections from such.

4. Of the same emperor Lampridius likewise says: 'He[h] 'had a mind to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him 'into the number of the deities. Which Adrian also is 'supposed to have thought of before; who ordered temples 'without images to be erected in all cities; which temples, 'at this very time, because they have no deities in them, 'are called Adrian's. And he is said to have prepared them 'for that purpose; but he was forbid by those who consult-'ed the oracles, they having found, that if that was done, 'all men would become christians, and the other temples 'would be forsaken.'

What Lampridius here says of the temples built by Adrian, without statues, was considered formerly in another place,[i] to which the reader is referred. We did not then think it reasonable to believe, that Adrian intended to have those temples consecrated to Christ; consequently, it may be questioned, whether we ought to rely upon what Lampridius here says of Alexander's designing to build a temple to Christ.

Farther, he says of this emperor: 'When[k] he was about 'to appoint any to the governments of provinces, or to other 'like offices, he published their names, inviting the people, 'if they had any crimes to lay to their charge, to produce 'their evidences; at the same time declaring, that if any 'charged what he could not prove, he should be put to 'death. And he said: It was a miserable thing, that when 'the christians and Jews observed this method, of publish-'ing the names of their priests before they were ordained, 'the like care should not be taken about the governors of

[h] Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitâsse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri; quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani; quæ ille ad hoc parâsse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repererunt, omnes christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda. Ib. cap. 43. p. 993.

[i] See before, p. 99—101.

[k] Et quia publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus, si non probâsset, subiret pœnam capitis. Dicebatque, grave esse, quum id christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. Ib. cap. 45. p. 997.

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'provinces, with whom the lives and fortunes of men were 'entrusted.'

That is a testimony to a custom in use among christians, and to the concern they had for the good character of those who were to be ordained to any offices in the church. It is also an argument, that christians, and their affairs, were then well known in the world.

6. Afterwards, in the same Life, Lampridius says: 'When[1] the christians had seized a spot of ground which 'was public; and on the other hand the victuallers said, it 'ought to be granted to them; he gave this rescript, That 'it was better that God should be worshipped there in any 'manner, than that the ground should be granted to the 'victuallers.'

It cannot be determined whether the christians intended to raise a church upon that spot of ground, or only to make use of it for a cœmetery, or burying place.

This emperor ought to be commended for his moderation, and for the justness of his sentiments. He judged a place, in which God was to be worshipped, though not in his own way, to be better employed, than when put to the uses of luxury. And we can hence conclude with certainty, that it was then well known, and generally believed, that promiscuous lewdness was no part of christian worship, or at all practised in their assemblies.

Here Crevier[m] writes to this purpose: 'I observed before, 'that he favoured the christians, and honoured Jesus Christ 'in his domestic chapel. It is added, that he intended to 'build a public temple to him; but this is far from being 'proved; on the contrary, it seems as if, how much soever 'he might esteem the moral precepts of christianity, he by 'no means approved of its religious worship. And this he 'showed even upon an occasion in which he protected it. 'The christians being molested by the vintners of Rome, on 'account of a building where they used to assemble, the 'emperor determined the dispute in favour of the former, 'by saying, that the building in question had better be used 'for the worship of the Divinity in any manner whatever, 'than to be made a tavern. Thus Alexander, loving virtue, 'esteemed it in the christians; but he must not be said to 'have favoured them any farther.'

If the building, I have been speaking of, was a church,

[1] Quum christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupâssent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi; rescripsit, melius esse, ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur. Ibid. cap. 49. p. 1003.

[m] History of the Roman Emperors, vol. viii. p. 345.

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'belonging to the christians, which may be naturally enough 'supposed; this is the oldest testimony we have of any edi-'fice publicly consecrated to the worship of our holy re-'ligion, known to be such by the pagans.'

So Crevier. But I think it may be questioned whether these observations are exactly suited to this passage of Lampridius.

7. Once more. The same writer says of the same emperor: 'If[n] any went out of the road into the grounds of any 'private person, according to the nature of the ground, he 'was to be beaten with sticks in his presence, or whipped 'with rods, or fined. And if the quality of the offender 'exempted him from such punishments, he would severely 'reprove him, saying: "Are you willing to have that done 'in your own field, which you do in another's?" And he 'would often use a saying, which he had heard from some 'Jews or christians, and which he well remembered; and 'when any one was corrected, he ordered the cryer to pro-'claim: "What you would not have done to yourself, that 'do not you do to another." Which saying he so highly 'esteemed, that he ordered it to be engraved upon his palace, 'and upon public buildings.'

These and other things, mentioned by Lampridius, are very honourable to this emperor.

III. His mother Mamminæa also is greatly commended by some christian writers. Eusebius[o] calls her a pious and religious woman. And Orosius says, she[p] was a christian. The main foundation of this supposition is, that as Eusebius informs us, she sent for Origen to come to her at Antioch; which might be no more than curiosity to see and discourse with a man, who was then in great reputation for learning. Crevier[q] therefore justly observes: 'She is said to have 'been a christian; but that fact is not sufficiently proved.' And Basnage[r] has offered divers arguments, sufficient to overthrow that supposition.

[n] Si quis de viâ in alicujus possessionem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci, aut fustibus subjiciebatur in conspectu ejus, aut virgis, aut condemnationi, aut, si hæc omnia transiret dignitas hominis, aut gravissimis contumeliis, quum diceret: Visne hoc in agro tuo fieri, quod alteri facis? Clamabatque sæpius quod a quibusdam, sive Judæis sive christianis, audierat, et tenebat. Idque per præconem, quum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat: 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.' Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut in palatio, et in publicis operibus, præscribi juberet. Id. ib. cap. 51. p. 1006.

[o] H. E. l. vi. cap. 21. [p] Cujus mater Mammæa, christiana, Origenem presbyterum audire curavit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 18.

[q] Hist. of the Rom. Emperors, vol. viii. p. 277.

[r] Ann. 222. num. iv.

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CHAP. XXVI.

ULPIAN.

I. *His time.* II. *A passage of Lactantius concerning his work of the Duty of a Proconsul, in which he says, that Ulpian had collected all the edicts of former emperors against the christians.* III. *Observations of learned men concerning Ulpian, and his work.* IV. Qu. *Whether there remain, in the Pandects, any laws against the christians.*

I. DOMITIUS ULPIANUS,[a] or ULPIAN, was a native of Tyre in Phœnicia. After he had distinguished himself as a great lawyer in former reigns, he was made præfect of the prætorium by Severus Alexander, but was murdered by the prætorian soldiers, as is computed, in the year 228. I place him at the year 222, when the emperor Alexander began his reign.

II. Lactantius,[b] among other cruelties practised by worshippers of idols, or heathen deities, reckons laws of princes, and decrees of lawyers, against good men, worshippers of the true God. 'Domitius, writing of the office 'of a proconsul, in the seventh book of that work, put together the wicked edicts, that he might show what punishments ought to be inflicted upon those who professed themselves to be worshippers of God.'

III. Herman Witsius supposeth, 'that[c] Ulpian was very

[a] Vid. Dion. Cass. lib. 80. Eutrop. l. viii. cap. 23. Zos. l. i. p. 638. Spartian. de Pescennio Nigro. cap. 7. Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo. cap. 26. 31. 51. Victor. de Cæsarib. cap. 24. Tillem. L'Emp. Alexandre. art. xvii. Crevier, in his Lives of the Roman Emperors, vol. viii. p. 112, &c. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i. p. 820.

[b] Hoc est Deorum disciplina. Ad hæc opera cultores suos erudiunt. Hæc sacra desiderant. Quinetiam sceleratissimi homicidæ contra pios jura impia condiderunt. Nam et constitutiones sacrilegæ, et disputationes Jurisperitorum leguntur injustæ. Domitius de Officio Proconsulis, libro septimo, rescripta nefaria collegit, ut doceret, quibus pœnis affici oporteret eos qui se cultores Dei profiterentur. Lactant. Inst. l. v. cap. 11. fin.

[c] Cujus collectionis hanc credibile est fuisse occasionem. Ulpianus Alexandrum Severum regebat, et ejus nomine Proconsulibus in provincias ituris mandata dabat. Sed quum videret abs christianis non alienum, ab eorum sanguine certe abhorrentem, vix impelli posse, uti iis exterminandis aliquid ediceret; videtur vetera impiorum tyrannorum rescripta Proconsulibus ob-

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'averse to the christians; but the emperor was favourable 'to them. He saw that Alexander would never enact any 'laws against them, which should bring them into any 'danger of their lives; Ulpian therefore put together the 'laws which had been made against the christians in former 'times, that the proconsuls might see how they might treat 'them.'

Tillemont[d] thinks that work was published before the reign of Alexander. Basnage likewise is of opinion, that[e] this work was composed some good while before in the time of Septimius Severus. Nor can he believe that Ulpian would publish such a thing in the time of Alexander, when it would be far from being acceptable.

Crevier[f] expresseth himself after this manner: 'Ulpian 'has been praised by all the pagans without exception, and 'without reserve. The christians have reproached him with 'carrying his aversion so far, as, contrary to the inclination 'of his sovereign, who did not dislike them, to collect all 'the edicts which former emperors had published against 'them. Let us pity a blindness, in which he was confirmed 'even by his regard for the laws, which he had so much 'studied.'

So Crevier. But a part of those remarks depends upon a supposition that these books of the Duty of a Proconsul were published in the time of Alexander; which, as we have just seen, is far from being certain.

As for Ulpian's having been 'praised by all the pagans,' (which Crevier repeats after Tillemont,) it is acknowledged that he has been commended by several heathen authors, and the confidence placed in him by Alexander is much to his honour. Nevertheless by[g] Dion Cassius, or by Xiphilinus from him, he is said to have killed Flavian and Chrestus, that he might succeed them. And Zosimus, giving an account of Ulpian's death, says, 'The[h] soldiers

jecisse, ut ex iis suum in hoc genere officium æstimarent. Wits. se Legion. Fulmin. num. lxv.

[d] Ubi supra, note [a].

[e] Quæ collectanea edidisse existimamus, imperante Severo, cum Papiniano in consiliis fuit. Regnante quidem Alexandro, nil perniciei christianis machinatus est Ulpianus, quos Mammææ et filio ejus acceptos esse noverat. Ad dominorum ergo suorum studia sese composuit aulicus homo. Nec Alexandri Mammææque gratiam retinuisset, si ecclesiam, cui favebant, ad sanguinem usque persecutus fuisset. Basnag. ann. 228. num. iii.

[f] As before, p. 46.

[g] Τον δε δη Φλαβιανον, τον τε Χρηστον αποκτεινας, ινα αυτος διαδεξηται, και αυτος ε πολλω ὑστερον ὑπο των δορυφορων, επιθεμενων οἱ νυκτος, κατεσφαγη. Dio. Cass. l. 80. p. 1369.

[h] Εν ὑποψιᾳ δε τοις τρατοπεδοις γενομενος, (τας δε αιτιας ακριβως ικ εχω

'were much offended with him; the reason he could not 'say exactly, because the accounts were different.'

IV. There are in the Pandects several fragments of his, which by some learned men are understood to relate to the christians. I shall here allege one or two.

1. In a treatise of his concerning Courts of Justice were these words. 'They[i] may be reckoned physicians, who undertake the cure of the body, or of any particular distemper, in the ears, the throat, the teeth; but, if they use incantations, or invocations, or, to use the common word of impostors, exorcisms; these are no sort of medicine, although there are people who boast of having received benefit by them.'

Whether Ulpian here refers to Jews or christians, or heathens, I cannot certainly say. Bingham[k] says: 'Some 'think the order (of exorcists) was as old as Tertullian, 'because Ulpian the great lawyer who lived in Tertullian's 'time, in one of his books speaks of exorcising as a thing 'used by impostors, by whom, probably, he means the 'christians. Gothofred thinks, he means the Jewish exor-'cists, who were commonly impostors indeed.'

2. From the third book of his work, Concerning the Duty of a Proconsul, are cited these words: 'The[l] deified Severus and Antoninus have permitted those who follow the Jewish superstition to enjoy magistracies. But they imposed upon them some conditions, which did not prejudice their superstition.'

When Ulpian wrote that book of his work, as Schulting[m] says, Antoninus Caracalla was living. Therefore the blessed, or deified, is to be understood of Septimius Severus only, and not to be applied to both the emperors here mentioned.

Whether by 'the Jewish superstition,' be here meant the

διεξελθειν, διαφορα γαρ ἱστορηκασι περι της αυτȣ προαιρεσεως·) αναιρειται. Zos. l. i. p. 638.

[i] Medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur; ut, puta, si auricularum, si fistulæ, vel dentium; non tamen, si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) exorcizant. Non sunt ista medicinæ genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profuisse cum prædicatione adfirment. D. lib. l. Tit. 13. l. i. sect. 3. De extraordinariis Cognitionibus, &c.

[k] Bingham's Antiquities, &c. B. 3. ch. iv. sect. 3.

[l] Eis qui judaïcam superstitionem sequantur, D. Severus et Antoninus honores adipisci permiserunt; sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt, quæ superstitionem eorum non lederent. De Decurionibus, &c. D. L. l. Tit. 2. l. iii. sect. 3.

[m] Adeoque legendum Divus Severus, et Antoninus, non Divi, ut habet Florentinus. Schulting. Jurispr. Vet. p. 552.

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Jewish religion only, or whether the christians also were intended, has been doubted.

3. However, it may not be improper for me, before I conclude this chapter concerning Ulpian, to observe, that some learned lawyers are of opinion, that[n] in our Corpus Juris, or Collection of ancient Roman laws, there is not preserved one edict against the christians, nor any thing that is against them.

And says Witsius[o] in the place to which we referred just now: 'The books of Ulpian concerning the Duty of a 'Proconsul are not now extant. But there are in the Pan-'dects many fragments of them: in which, however, there 'is not one word about the christians. From the third book 'of that work is cited a law of Severus and Antoninus, al-'lowing the Jews to possess magistracies; but it is not at 'all probable, that christians are here included. The design 'of Ulpian was to collect the laws against the christians; 'the same malignity of temper would induce him to sup-'press every thing that was favourable to them.'

That being our case, we must submit to it. Through a mistaken friendship, and misguided zeal, all edicts against the christians have been suppressed, and none of them admitted into the Pandects.

Since, therefore, the collections of Ulpian, so far as they related to the christians, are entirely lost, we can only make some general reflections upon them; which every reader is able to do. I have cited the passage of Lactantius, and have also alleged the observations of divers learned moderns relating to this subject, and need not add any thing more. I shall only say, that if ever 'the seventh book' of that work of Ulpian should be found, it would be a great

[n] Istud addo, in Corpore Juris nostro nullum contra christianos edictum, imo nihil, quod illis adversum existimari certo possit, inveniri. In quâ sententiâ etsi Baldúinus non fuit, sed Ulpianum cumprimis accusat, quod christianos, l. i. sect. 3. ff. de extraordin. cognit. exorcistas appellavit; sunt tamen viri docti, qui plane alterius commatis homines eo homine comprehendi existimant. N. H. Gundling. Præf. ad Balduin. Comm. de Constant. Imp. Leg. Ecc. et Civilibus, p. 16, 17.

[o] Non exstant quidem hi de Officio Proconsulis libri Domitii. Multa tamen in Pandectis supersunt eorum fragmenta: sed in his nullum verbum de christianis. Unus locus exstat ex libro tertio, ubi laudatur hoc, de quo disputamus, Severi et Antonini rescriptum, quo Judæis permittitur honores adipisci. Hæc cum retulisset Balduinus, ita infit: 'An Ulpianus, quo magis christianos 'ureret, hoc commemoravit? Ut Julianus Imperator odio christianorum favisse 'Judæis dicitur.' Quum ergo totus in eo fuerit Ulpianus, ut ea quæ adversa christianis erant, ad eos vexandos colligeret, faventia vero maligne supprimeret, non est probabile, hoc, quod de Judæis prodere voluit, ad christianos pertinere. Wits. ut supra, num. lxii.

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curiosity, and would afford us a great deal of light and instruction.

Dr. Jortin, in his Discourses concerning the christian religion, at p. 58, says, 'If Ulpian's treatise on the Duty of 'Proconsuls were extant, we should know what edicts had 'been published against the christians by the emperors, 'down to the time of Alexander Severus.'

CHAP. XXVII.

DION CASSIUS.

I. *His work and time.* II. *His account of the siege, and taking of Jerusalem by Titus.* III. *His account of Domitian's persecution of the christians.* IV. *Nerva's favourable treatment of the christians.* V. *That Marcia, concubine of Commodus, was friendly to the christians.* VI. *His account of the shower, by which Marcus Antoninus, and his army, were saved in Germany.*

I. DION CASSIUS COCCEIANUS,[a] son of Apronianus, who in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian was governor of Cilicia, and afterwards of Dalmatia, was a native of Nice in Bithynia. He was made a senator of Rome in the reign of Commodus, and had the honour of several considerable posts and employments under the succeeding emperors. He was twice consul, the second time with Severus Alexander, in the eighth year of that emperor's reign, A. D. 229. After which, with the emperor's leave, he retired into his own country, and dwelt at Nice. He wrote the Roman History in eighty books, from the very beginning to the reign of Alexander. A great part of his work is lost. There is, however, an epitome of his work from the time of Pompey to the end of it in the reign of Alexander, which was made by John Xiphilinus, nephew to the patriarch of Constantinople. But then, as Dion's History is justly admired, not-

[a] Suid. V. Διων, ὁ Κασιος χρηματισας, ὁ επικλην Κοκηιος· οἱ δε Κοκκηιανος. Phot. cod. 71. p. 105. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 15. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 10. Tom. 3. p. 319, &c. Reimarus, de Vitâ et Scriptis Dionis. ap. Dion. T. ii. p. 1533, &c. Cav. H. L. T. ii p. 146. Tillem. Hist. des Emp. T. iii. Alexandre, art. 27, 28. Crevier's Hist. of the Rom. Emp. vol. viii. p. 347, &c.

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withstanding some defects, so Xiphilinus's Epitome is likewise in good esteem. And in some places we find fragments of Dion himself; and the Epitome oftentimes represents Dion in his own words.

Though Dion's History was not published till some time afterwards, I may well place him in the year 230, he having then been, from the time of his admission into the senate, almost forty years in a public character. And he was employed above twenty years in this work, ten years in making collections, and twelve more in digesting his materials, and putting them in order. And it is likely, that his work was published soon after the year 230.

II. I begin my extracts from this author, with his account of the siege and taking of Jerusalem, to which a reference was made[b] formerly.

'In[c] the mean time,' says he, 'Titus, who was appointed general in the war with the Jews, endeavoured to gain them by embassies and fair promises. When they refused to enter into treaty, he determined to subdue them by the force of arms. For a while they fought with equal success; but having gained some advantages over them, he laid siege to Jerusalem, which was encompassed by three walls. The Romans, drawing near, attacked and battered them with their engines. And indeed they had a numerous army, having in their camp large supplies from divers barbarian kings, who joined them as auxiliaries. The Jews likewise were very numerous, having with them the people out of the country, and others who agreed with them in their religious rites, and not only such of their nation as lived in other parts of the Roman empire, but also people from the countries situate beyond the Euphrates. And as they fought from the walls, they had an advantage in throwing darts and stones; and as often as favourable opportunities offered, they made sallies, and annoyed the Romans, by overthrowing and destroying their platforms and batteries, and by other ways. Moreover[d] the Romans were in want

[b] See vol. vi. p. 478.

[c] Dion. lib. 76. p. 746, &c. al. p. 1079—1082.

[d] *Το δε δη πλειστον οἱ Ῥωμαιοι τῃ ανυδριᾳ εκακοπαθεν, και φαυλον και πορρωθεν ὑδωρ επαγομενοι.* p. 1080.

On the contrary, Josephus, l. v. cap. ix. sect. 3. p. 350, in Havercamp. represents the Romans to have had great plenty of water. Reimar thinks this account of Dion more probable. I shall transcribe part of his note upon the place. Josephus contra, vices mutatas refert, ut fontes Judæis etiam ante Titi adventum exaruerint, nunc Tito uberiores manârint. Sed hæc aut comparate intelligenda sunt, aut a pacis auctore Judæis jactata. Probabilius Dio aquæ inopiâ Romanos dicit laborâsse. Nam fontes totâ Palæstinâ rari, circa Hierosolymam rarissimi: plurima aqua ex cisternis: et imbribus cessantibus,

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of water, and were forced to go a great way to fetch it; though sometimes they got none but what was very indifferent. At such seasons the Jews made excursions, and fell upon the soldiers as they were dispersed abroad in the country. For they undermined the ground, and made passages under their very walls, to come at the Romans; but afterwards Titus stopt up all those passages.'

'While these things were doing, many were wounded and killed on both sides. Titus himself was wounded by a stone on the left shoulder, which weakened his arm ever after. At length the Romans became masters of the outer wall; and then encamping between the two walls, they attacked the inner walls; but with doubtful success; for the besieged being now inclosed in a lesser compass, were the better able to make a vigorous defence. However, Titus now renewed to them offers of peace by heralds, which he sent to them; but they peremptorily refused to accept of them. Moreover, if any of them were taken prisoners, and they who deserted, privately corrupted the water of the Romans, and killed them when they found any of them alone; for which reason Titus determined to receive no more of them. In the mean time the Romans were greatly dispirited, as is common in long sieges, and suspecting the truth of what was given out, that the city was impregnable, some went over to the besieged; who, though they were themselves in great want of provisions, readily received them, and cherished them, to let the besiegers know, that they also had deserters.'

'Though the Roman engines battered down the inner wall, yet the Jews were not overcome, but killed many who were striving to get within it. However, at length the Romans prevailed; and thus a way was opened for them to the temple. Nevertheless[e] they did not immediately attack it, being restrained by a certain superstitious respect for it; but in the end they moved forward and took possession of it, Titus compelling them so to do. At which time the Jews of all sorts, the meaner people, their elders, and the priests, exerted themselves to the utmost; thinking themselves hap-

majus sitis quam famis periculum; ut testatur Hieronymus ad Amos, cap. 4. T. iii. edit. Martianæi. p. 1401. Conf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 3; Joel i. 20. Strab. xvi. p. 761. Accedebat, bello sæviente, multorum fontium et cisternarum obturatio. Reimar. p. 1080. sect. 30.

[e] Ου μην και παραχρημα, δια το δεισιδαιμονησαι, εσεδραμον· αλλ' οψε ποτε, τω Τιτω σφας καταναγκασαντος, εισω προεχωρησαν. p. 1081. And Josephus says, that the Roman soldiers had a respect for the temple. Των μενγε στρατιωτων ουκ εστιν ὁστις ου μετα φρικης εις τον ναον αφεωρα, και προσεκυνει. κ. λ. De B. l. vi. cap. ii. sect. 3.

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py in being employed to fight for the temple, or to die near it; nor were they overcome, though they were few against many, till a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they willingly surrendered; some yielded themselves to be killed by the Romans, some killed each other, others killed themselves, and some threw themselves into the flames; and it appeared to them not a calamity, but victory, and safety, to be so happy as to perish with the temple.'

'Many were taken prisoners, and among them Bargioras their general; who only was put to death at the time of the triumph. Thus[f] Jerusalem was taken on a Saturday, the day still respected by the Jews above any other. From that time it was appointed, that all who adhere to their religion should annually pay a didrachm to the capitol of Jupiter. Upon this occasion both the generals [Vespasian and Titus] received the appellation of emperor; but neither took the surname of Judaicus, although triumphal arches, and other honours customary after great victories, were decreed to them.'

Such is the account of this great event, which we have in Dion Cassius. It is indeed short and defective: nevertheless, it is a testimony to the ruin of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea under Titus and Vespasian. The account is imperfect; but then we may conclude, that we here have Dion himself, and not his abridger, who was a christian. We must not much wonder at the conciseness; that may be owing to the contempt which the author had for the Jewish people, who were scorned and despised by the great men among the Romans, and by all heathens in general. Dion agrees with Josephus in many particulars, which every reader may be able to recollect, by comparing our accounts formerly given from Josephus himself. But he differs from him so much, and is so defective, that we may be apt to think he did not borrow from

[f] Οὑτω μεν τα Ἱεροσολυμα εν τῃ τυ Κρονυ ἡμερᾳ εξωλετο. p. 1081.

So writes Dion. But Cardinal Noris computes, that this happened on Sunday. Eo anno Ebul, mensis in anno Judæorum sextus, juxta hodiernos ipsorum cyclos, cœpit die 26 Augusti. Ejus vero dies octavus fuit secundus Septembris, idemque dies Dominicus, sive Solis, qui postremus urbi toto orbe celeberrimæ illuxit. Noris, De Epoch Syro-maced. Diss. i. cap. 3. p. 53. Lipsiæ. 1696.

And, as Mr. Reimer observes, Josephus does not say, that Jerusalem was taken on the Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. And if it had been taken on that day, he would not have omitted that circumstance. Nec Josephus eâ die captam urbem adnotavit, non omissurus, credo, si ita fuisset. Reimar, in Dionis loc. Et supra. Notandus autem est error Dionis, ut aliorum, qui Hierosolyma fere semper Sabbato capta tradiderunt, sibi hodiernum persuadent, &c. Id. ibid.

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him; indeed, I should very much question, whether Dion had read Josephus's seven books of the History of the Jewish War. If he never read them, it is very likely, that he never read the other works of that Jewish historian. It seems to me, that though Dion spent several years in making collections for his large history of the Romans, he was not very curious or inquisitive about that part of it which related to the Jewish people.[g] By which means he was led to give the very imperfect history, which we have seen, of the final period of their commonwealth. It is in this way that I would account for his saying nothing of the miseries of the grievous famine endured by the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem; and his omitting the numbers of those who perished, or were made captives, in the siege, and during the war, which are so particularly mentioned by Josephus. However we see in him, that the several parts of the city were taken, one after another, and that the temple was consumed by fire, and that the Jews were very resolute and obstinate in their defence of themselves. Whence it may be inferred, and concluded, that they suffered a great deal, before they were subdued and overthrown.

III. We now proceed to another remarkable passage, which is in the history of the emperor Domitian. 'And[h] in the same year, [that is, when Domitian and Flavius Clement were consuls, or the year of Christ 95] Domitian put to death, beside many others, Flavius Clement the consul, although he was his cousin, and had for his wife Flavia Domitilla, who also was his relation. They were both accused of the crime of impiety [or atheism]. Upon which same account many others likewise, who had embraced the Jewish customs, were condemned; some of whom were put

[g] Dion, in his account of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, betrays great ignorance of the Jewish people in several respects. Vid. lib. 37. p. 121, &c. al. p. 36, 37. He says, 'The Temple, which they had built to their God at Jerusalem, was large and magnificent, but open at the top.' Which is a great mistake. *Και αυτῳ νεων τε μεγιστον και περικαλλεστατον, πλην καθ' ὁσον αχανης τε και ανωροφος ην, εξεποιησαν.* p. 122.

[h] *Και τῳ αυτῳ ετει αλλους τε πολλους και τον Φλαβιον Κλημεντα ὑπατευοντα, καιπερ ανεψιον οντα, και γυναικα, και αυτην συγγενη ἑαυτου, Φλαβιαν Δομιτιλλαν εχοντα, κατεσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανος. Επηνεχθη δε αμφοιν εγκλημα αθεοτητος, εφ' ἡς και αλλοι ες τα των Ιουδαιων ηθη εξοκελλοντες πολλοι κατεδικασθησαν. Και οἱ μεν απεθανον· οἱ δε των γνωσιων εστερηθησαν· ἡ δε Δομιτιλλα υπερωρισθη μονον εις Πανδατερειαν. Τον δε δη Γλαβριωνα τον μετα του Τραιανου αρξαντα, κατηγορηθεντα τα τε αλλα, και οἱα οἱ πολλοι, και ὁτι και θηριοις εμαχετο, απεκτεινεν· εφ' ῳ πω και τα μαλιστα οργην αυτῳ υπο φθονου εσχεν, ὁτι υπατευοντα αυτον ες τον Αλβανον επι τα Νεανισκευματα ωνομασμενα καλεσας, λεοντα αποκτειναι μεγαν ηναγκασε· και ος ου μονον ουδεν ελυμανθη, αλλα και ευτοχωτατα αυτον κατειργασατο.* L. 67. p. 766. al. p. 1112.

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to death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods. Domitilla was only banished into Pandateria. Glabrio, who had been consul with Trajan, [in the year 91,] accused also, beside other matters, of the same crime with the rest, and because he had fought with wild beasts, he put to death; against whom he was particularly incensed from a principle of envy. For having sent for him in his consulship to Albanum, at the time of the Juvenalia, he made him enter the lists with a great lion; but he was so far from being hurt in the combat, that with wonderful dexterity he killed the lion.'

Who Flavius Clement was, and how he was related to Domitian, was shown before, in our chapter of[i] Suetonius. Domitilla we suppose to have been daughter of Domitilla, Domitian's sister; she therefore was Domitian's niece. Undoubtedly, she[k] and her mother were so named from Flavia Domitilla, wife of the emperor Vespasian, and mother of Titus and Domitian, and of their sister Domitilla, just mentioned.

Some difficulties there are, arising from a comparison of this account of Dion with that of Suetonius, formerly quoted. But they were then considered, and need not be again stated[l] here.

Here are three persons named, as accused of impiety, and suffering upon that account. Two of them were put to death, and one was banished.

Domitilla we conclude to have been a christian. It is probable, that[m] Clement also was a christian, or favourer of them. Glabrio's christianity is not so evident. However, some learned men[n] have been willing to allow them all three the character of christians, and martyrs; but[o] Tillemont does not put Glabrio in that number. I likewise think it may be questioned, whether he was a christian, though

[i] See vol. vi. pag. penult.

[k] Inter hæc Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Latinæque conditionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Romanam recuperatorio judicio pronuntiatam——Ex hac liberos tulit, Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 3.

[l] As note [i].

[m] Vere autem martyrem fuisse Clementem Consulem constat ex Dione. Pearson. Opp. Post. p. 215. sect. 22.

[n] Vero igitur proximum est, fidei causâ Clementem, Domitillam, Glabrionemque damnatos fuisse. Basnag. ann. 95. num. 5.

Nec alios sub eo quam exules habemus in probis ecclesiæ monumentis, Flaviam illam Domitillam, et S. Joannem apostolum. Antipas in Asiâ populi furore passus est. Nisi forte Glabrionem, quem judaïsmi, et Flavium Coss. quem atheismi nomine interfectos testis est Dio. Christianismi nomine interfectos intelligamus. Dodw. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 16.

[o] Vid. Domitien. art. xiv. et note [i]. sur la Persécution de Domitien. M. E. T. ii. p. 523.

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accused of that or judaism. It is not unlikely, that some designing and malicious people took the opportunity to accuse Glabrio of what would, at that time especially, render him obnoxious to Domitian. And the emperor made no scruple of laying hold of this pretence to destroy a man, against whom he had a grudge of three or four years' standing, ever since the year 92. Nor is this the first instance we have met with of men unfairly charged with christianity by their enemies. Pliny's letter to Trajan affords some such instances, and there may have been many more.

According to Dion's account, Glabrio was a man who had indulged himself in the hazardous and unreputable diversion of fighting with wild beasts; which can by no means agree with the character of a christian. For skill in that exercise he was much celebrated: and Domitian sent for him to Albanum, at the feast of the Juvenalia, even in the time of his consulship, to add to the splendour of the shows; and perhaps hoping to have destroyed him that way. But Glabrio was victorious, though the lion was very formidable; and Domitian, instead of being well pleased therewith, was provoked. However, he let him escape at that time; but now he laid hold of the pretence of irreligion to put him to death.

Dion Cassius calls Domitilla 'wife of Clement.' Eusebius[p] from Bruttius calls her 'niece of Clement.' Hence some[q] have argued, that there were two of this name, who suffered for christianity in the time of Domitian, one a virgin, the other a married woman, and banished into different places, one to the island Pontia, the other to Pandateria. I rather think, that[r] there was but one Domitilla, who suffered at this time, the wife of the consul Clement, and niece of Domitian. Eusebius and Jerom have not mentioned more than one; which surely they must have done, if there had been two. Domitilla was banished into Pontia, as Bruttius says. It was easy for Dion to mistake Pandateria for Pontia. Jerom[s] has particularly mentioned the confinement of Domitilla in the island Pontia; nor does he call her

[p] H. E. l. iii. cap. 18. p. 89.

[q] See Tillemont sainte Flavie Domitille, vierge et martyre, avec son oncle Clément consul et martyre. Mem. Ecc. Tom. ii. p. 124, &c.

[r] Vid. Basnag. ann. 95. num. vii. et viii.

[s] Deleta [Paula] ad insulam Pontiam, quam clarissimæ quondam feminarum sub Domitiano principe pro confessione nominis christiani, Flaviæ Domitillæ nobilitavit exilium; videnque cellulas, in quibus illa longum martyrium duxerat, sumptis fidei alis Jerosolymam et sancta loca videre cupiebat. Hieron. ep. 86. [al. 27.] T. iv. p. 672. fin.

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virgin, as he would have done, if he had supposed that to have been her condition.

Jerom tells us, that Paula, in her voyage from Rome to Jerusalem near the end of the fourth century, saw the place of her habitation in that island; where, as he says, she 'suffered a long martyrdom.' Possibly, when other exiles were recalled, Domitilla was not. Her near relation to Domitian, whose memory was infamous, might some way or other be an obstacle.

What we have principally to observe, is the attestation here given by this noble and diligent historian to the progress of christianity, and the sufferings of its professors. It had now got footing in the imperial family. Clement suffered death upon account of it; and his wife Domitilla was banished to a remote and unwholesome island, where persons were wont to be sent for state-crimes, or other like offences.

It is generally allowed, that Clement[t] was a christian, as well as Domitilla; some have supposed, that[u] his whole family was christian. That, I think, is more than we can say; but it is very likely, that some of their servants were christians. Many were accused and condemned upon the same account; some suffered death, others confiscation of goods; others were banished, as Domitilla. This is at least[v] the fourth heathen author, who has afforded us a testimony to the persecution of the christians in the reign of the emperor Domitian; and though it was but short, it seems to have been felt by many persons.

IV. In the month of September, in the year 96, Domitian was succeeded by Nerva; of whom Dion says: 'He[w] published a pardon for those who were condemned for impiety, and recalled those who were banished.' And after the mention of a law of the same emperor concerning slaves, he adds: 'And besides, he forbade the accusing of any men upon account of impiety, or Judaism.'

It has been a question among learned men, whether Domitian, by any edict, put an end to the persecution of

[t] Ipsum etiam Clementem christianum fuisse, nonnulli colligunt ex Suetonio, cap. 15. quia contemtissimæ inertiæ hominem appellat; quâ notâ christiani solent inuri. Reimar. ad Dionem. p. 1113. sect. 82.

[u] ——et totam Clementis familiam fuisse christianam, verisimillimum est. Id. ib. sect. 83.

[v] See Juvenal, vol. vii. p. 263. Suetonius. p. 270, 271. Bruttius, p. 367. and now Dion Cassius.

[w] *Και ὁ Νερουας τους τε κρινομενους επ' ασεβειᾳ αφηκε, και τους φευγοντας κατηγαγε——Τοις δε δη αλλοις υπ' ασεβειας υπ' ιουδαϊκου βιου καταιτιασθαι τινας συνεχωρησε.* Lib. 68. p. 769. al. 1118

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the christians before his death. This[x] passage of Dion has been thought sufficient by some to determine the question, and to assure us, that the persecution did not cease till after the beginning of Nerva's reign.

We may be satisfied of this passage likewise, that it is not Xiphilinus's, but Dion's, in his own words, though perhaps contracted. The style is the style of a heathen, and not of a christian; and this passage may be supposed to confirm the supposition of the severity of Domitian's persecution, though it was not long. Beside those put to death, or banished by him, there were others under accusation, or under a sentence of condemnation, who now escaped by the lenity or goodness of Nerva.

I may add a short passage from Orosius, a christian writer, who says, 'That[y] Nerva, by his first edict, recalled 'all such as had been exiled; and the apostle John, im-'proving this general indulgence, then returned to Ephe-'sus.'

V. I shall take one passage more from this author, concerning Marcia, concubine of the emperor Commodus. 'She[z] is related to have had a great affection for the christians, and to have done them many good offices, she having a great ascendancy over Commodus.'

What is here said may be true; for the christians enjoyed a great peace in the reign of this emperor; and Marcia, though[a] a woman of low condition, had a great influence upon him; she sometimes gave him good advice; and the honours paid to her were little below those of an[b] empress. I need not add any other particulars of her history.

But[c] this paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilinus's

[x] See vol. vi. ch. ix. sect. 6.

[y] Hic primo edicto suo cunctos exules revocavit. Unde et Joannes apostolus, hâc generali indulgentiâ liberatus, Ephesum rediit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 11. p. 485.

[z] Ἱστορειται δε αυτη πολλα τε υπερ των χριστιανων σπευδασαι, και πολλα αυτους ευεργετηκεναι, ἀτε και παρα τῳ Κομμοδῳ παν δυναμενη. Lib. 72. p. 819. al. p. 1206.

[a] Huic Marcia, generis libertini, formâ tamen meretriciisque artibus pollens, cum animum ejus penitus devinxisset, egresso e balneo veneni poculum dedit. Victor Epit. cap. xvii.

[b] Επει δε την γνωμην αυτου ταυτην ανηνεγκε προς Μαρκιαν, ἡν ειχε την παλλακιδα τιμωτατην, ἡ ουδεν τι απειχε γαμετης γυναικος, αλλα παντα ὁσα σεβαση πλην του πυρος. Herodian. l. i. p. 486. Sylburg.

[c] Hæc de Marciâ christianis favente non Dionis esse, sed Xiphilini, suspicor; quod etiam innuit præmissa formula, ἱστορειται δε. Neque tamen hodie scio, an apud alios scriptores christianos merita ejus prædicata legantur. Eoque minus Dioni id tanti poterat videri, quod commemoraret. Reimar. ad Dion. p. 1207. sect. 34.

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than Dion's; the style at least is Xiphilinus's. In the other passages before quoted, Dion speaks of impiety, or atheism, or judaism, but never useth the word christians. Another thing that may make us doubt, whether this observation be entirely Dion's, is the phrase, 'it is related.' For at the beginning of the reign of Commodus he says: 'These[d] things, and what follows, I write not from the report of others, but from my own knowledge and observation.' However, the sense may be Dion's; but I wish we had also his style without any adulteration.

VI. Dion's account of the extraordinary shower, by which Marcus Antoninus and his army were preserved in Germany, was observed formerly, together with Xiphilinus's remarks upon it; to which,[e] therefore, the reader is now referred.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE PERSECUTION OF MAXIMIN THE FIRST, OR THE THRACIAN.

MAXIMIN the first, or Lucius Maximinus the Thracian,[a] succeeded Severus Alexander in the year 235, and died in 238. The[b] excessive cruelty of his disposition is acknowledged by heathen historians.

Sulpicius Severus, passing from Septimius Severus to Decius, mentions this persecution, without numbering it. He says, that[c] Maximin persecuted the clergy of some churches; which implies, that this persecution was local only, and not general.

[d] Λεγω δε ταυτα τε και τα λοιπα, ουκ εξ αλλοτριας ετι παραδοσεως, αλλα' εξ οικειας ηδη τηρησεως. Ib. p. 818. al. p. 1205.

[e] This vol. p. 186—188.

[a] Sed, occiso Alexandro, Maximinus primum e corpore militari, et nondum senator, sine decreto Senatûs, Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est, filio sibimet in participatum dato. Capitolin. Maximin. cap. 8. p. 24. Conf. Pagi ann. 238. 4. Basn. ann. 235. num. ii.

[b] Sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, nonnulli Phalarim vocarent. Senatus eum tantum timuit, ut vota in templis publice privatimque mulieres etiam cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille unquam urbem Romam videret. Id. ib.

[c] Interjectis deinde annis 38, pax christianis fuit; nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. S. Sev. lib. ii. cap. 32. p. 247.

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Says Eusebius: 'The emperor Alexander being slain, 'after he had reigned thirteen years, he was succeeded by 'Maximin; who being[d] filled with hatred against the 'family of Alexander, in which there were many christians, 'raised a persecution; appointing, that the presidents only 'of the churches should be put to death, as being the men 'who spread abroad the doctrine of the gospel. At which 'time Origen composed his book, Of Martyrdom, which he 'inscribed to Ambrose and Protoctetus, presbyter of the 'church of Cæsarea; forasmuch as they were at that time 'in great danger of suffering death. And they gained great 'honour by that confession.' That book of Origen, which is an exhortation to martyrdom, is still extant; I made several valuable extracts from it[e] formerly. It appears hence, that Ambrose and Protoctetus were imprisoned, though the place is not now exactly known.

Orosius, not very disagreeable to Eusebius, says, 'that[f] 'Maximin's persecution proceeded chiefly from aversion to 'the christian family of his predecessor Alexander, and his 'mother Mammæa: and that his persecution was intended 'against the clergy, and particularly against the presbyter 'Origen.' So Orosius. And some learned men are of opinion, that Origen, though he sent his Exhortation to Martyrdom to the two above-named confessors, retired[g] himself, and lived privately a part of this reign.

It has been argued by Pagi,[h] and other learned[i] men, that this persecution did not reach to Africa.

There was at this time a persecution of the christians in Pontus and Cappadocia, as appears from[k] Firmilian's letter

[d] Ὁς δη κατα κοτον τον προς τον Αλεξανδρȣ οικον εκ πλειονων πιστων συνεστωτα, διωγμον εγειρας, τȣς των εκκλησιων αρχοντας μονȣς, ὡς, αιτιȣς της κατα το ευαγγελιον διδασκαλιας, αναιρεισθαι προσταττει. H. E. l. vi. cap. 28.

Maximinus adversum ecclesiarum sacerdotes persecutionem facit. Chron. p. 174. [e] Vol. ii. p. 489, 490. [f] Sed continuo, hoc est tertio quam regnabat anno, a Pupieno Aquileiæ interfectus, et persecutionis et vitæ finem fecit. Qui maxime propter christianam Alexandri, cui successerat, et Mammææ matris familiam, persecutionem, in sacerdotes et clericos, et doctores, vel præcipue propter Origenem presbyterum miserat. Oros. l. vii. cap. 19. p. 509. [g] See Tillem. in Origène, art. 21. and Moshem. p. 469.

[h] Vid. Pagi ann. 235. num. iii. [i] Basnag. ann. 235. num. v.

[k] Ante viginti enim et duos fere annos, temporibus post Alexandrum Imperatorem, multæ istic conflictationes et pressuræ acciderunt, vel in commune omnibus hominibus, vel privatim christianis. Terræ etiam motus plurimi et frequentes exstiterunt, ut per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerent,—ut ex hoc persecutio quoque gravis adversum nos christiani nominis fieret; quæ, post longam retro ætatis pacem repente oborta, de inopinato et insueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est. Serenianus tunc fuit in nostrâ provinciâ præses, acerbus et dirus persecutor. In hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelibus, et huc atque illuc persecutionis metu fugi-

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to Cyprian; but it is not clear, that it was occasioned by any edict of Maximin. But the president was bigoted and cruel, and the christians were greatly molested by him. However, the neighbouring provinces being peaceable, the christians left their own country, and went thither.

Mr. Mosheim, to[l] whom I refer, has very good observations upon this persecution. He allows, that[m] during that whole reign christians suffered in some places. There may therefore, as I apprehend, have been more sufferers, than now we have the exact knowledge of.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE EMPEROR PHILIP.—THE QUESTION CONSIDERED, WHETHER HE WAS A CHRISTIAN.

I. *His time.* II. *Reasons for this inquiry.* III. *An argument, showing, that he was not a christian, and the judgments of divers learned men concerning it.*

I. THE emperor Gordian was succeeded by PHILIP, who took his son into partnership with him. He[a] was an Arab, son of a captain of Arabian robbers. He[b] reigned five years and somewhat longer. His[c] time is computed from March in the year of Christ 244, to July in 249.

II. Of this emperor Eusebius tells the following story. 'When[d] Gordian had reigned six whole years, he was suc-

entibus, et patrias suas relinquentibus, atque in alias partes regionum transeuntibus, (erat enim transeundi facultas, eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum, sed localis fuisset,) &c. Firmilian. ad Cyprian. ep. 75. p. 222. Oxon. p. 146. Baluz.

[l] De Reb. Christianorum, &c. p. 467—470.

[m] Hinc facile credimus illis, qui per totum illud, quod Maximinus regnavit, triennium vexatos passim christianos fuisse censent. Ib. p. 468.

[a] Igitur Marcus Julius Philippus Arabs Thraconites, sumto in consortium Philippo filio, Romam venere. Victor. de Cæsar. cap. 28.

[b] Marcus Julius Philippus imperavit annos quinque.——Is Philippus humillimo ortus loco fuit, patre nobilissimo latronum ductore. Victor. Epit. cap. 28. Conf. Eutrop. l. ix. sect. iii. et Capitolin. iii. cap. 29. p. 124.

[c] Hoc etiam anno uterque Philippus pater et filius Impp. circa mensem Julium occisi sunt, sexto imperii anno inchoato. Pagi ann. 249. num. v Conf. Basnag. ann. 244. n. iv.

[d] H. E. l. vi. cap. 34.

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'ceeded by Philip and his son. It is[e] reported, that this 'emperor, as being a christian, on the last day of the vigils 'of Easter, desired to partake in the prayers of the church 'with the rest of the people; but that the bishop would 'not permit him, till he had made confession of his sins, 'and had placed himself in the number of the lapsed, and 'among the penitents. And if he had not done that, he 'would never have been admitted by the bishop, because 'of his many crimes. And[f] it is said, that he readily com-'plied, and that he manifested a sincere fear of God by his 'deeds.'

It is obvious to observe, that Eusebius speaks only upon the ground of report and common fame; nor does he name the bishop, nor the place where it happened. Chrysostom[g] is supposed to supply that defect, as he ascribes a like action to Babylas bishop of Antioch; but then he does not name the emperor.

I forbear to transcribe the absurd and inaccurate account of the same thing in[h] the Paschal Chronicle.

According to the Acts or Passion of the Martyr Pontius,[i] Philip and his son were converted by the same Pontius, and baptized by Fabian bishop of Rome. And, fabulous as those Acts may be, Huet seems to rely upon them, and believes, that[k] those emperors were baptized by Fabian.

In a chapter following that before quoted, Eusebius, among other proofs of Origen's great reputation at that time, says, he[l] wrote a letter to the emperor Philip, and another to his wife Severa. Which[m] is also mentioned by Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men; who likewise there calls Philip the first christian emperor, and says, those letters were still extant. Nevertheless I think it does not appear what was in those letters, nor that ever they were seen either by Eusebius, or Jerom.

In Jerom's Latin edition of Eusebius's Chronicle,[n] Philip

[e] Τουτον κατεχει λογος——κ. λ. προθυμως λεγεται.

[f] Και πειθαρχησαι γε

[g] Chrys. de S. Babyla contr. Julian. et Gent. T. ii. p. 544, 545.

[h] Page 270.

[i] Tunc beatissimus Pontius ad episcopum urbis Romæ nomine Fabianum, qui ecclesiæ Dei præerat, convolavit, et omnia ei ex ordine pandit—Aliâ vero die cum simul ad Principes venissent, et sacramenta eis divina demonstrâssent, baptismi gratiam consecuti sunt. Passio S. Pontii. num. xiii. T. ii. p. 133. edit. Baluz.

[k] Sic igitur sentio, Christi sacris a Fabiano Papâ initiatum fuisse Philippum. Origen. l. i. cap. 3. p. 19.

[l] H. E. l. vi. cap. 36.

[m] Quodque ad Philippum Imperatorem, qui primus de Regibus Romanis christianus fuit, et ad matrem [uxorem] ejus, literas fecit, quæ usque hodie extant. De V. I. cap. 54. de Origene.

[n] Philippus Philippum filium

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is said to be the first christian emperor; and in like manner speak[o] Orosius, and some other christian authors.

All which has occasioned a debate among learned men of late times, whether Philip was a christian or not: Baronius,[p] Huet,[q] and[r] some others, taking the affirmative side of the question, others the negative. Tillemont[s] says, it is not without difficulties. And Mr. Mosheim[t] has done his utmost to perplex this question; and the more to increase the difficulty, argues that[u] he might be a christian secretly, though not openly. And upon the whole, according to him, it is a point not to be decided, whether the two Philips, father and son, were christians or not.

III. For my own part I should think, that we might spare ourselves the trouble of inquiring into the privacies of this emperor, and may[v] do better to determine his character by his public conduct. But without indulging harangue or complaint, I shall now immediately refer to some ecclesiastical historians, where, so far as I am able to judge, the question is fairly treated, and rightly decided. They are [w]Pagi, [x]Basnage, [y]Cellarius, [z]Frederick Spanheim, not forgetting[a] the great Scaliger.

1. My first argument is, that divers ancient christian writers expressly say, that Constantine was the first Roman emperor who made profession of the christian religion.

The first to be quoted is Lactantius, contemporary with

suum consortem regni fecit, primusque omnium ex Romanis Imperatoribus christianus fuit. Chr. p. 174.

[o] Hic primus imperatorum omnium christianus fuit, &c. Oros. l. vii. cap. 20. [p] Baron. ann. 246.

[q] Origen. l. i. cap. iii. n. 12. [r] Our writers of Universal Ancient History, in the article of Roman History, B. 3. chap. xxiii. vol. xv. p. 408, &c. note (L). [s] Hist. Emp. Tom. iii. L'Emp. Philip. note 1.

[t] De Reb. Christianor. ante C. M. p. 471—476.

[u] Neque desunt argumenta, quæ hos Imperatores, clam licet et secreto, ad sacra christiana transiisse probabile reddant. Sed his rationibus quum aliæ possint opponi æque validæ ac speciosæ, quæstio illa quæ tot viros doctos exercuit, de Philippi Arabis, ejusque filii, religione, in medio relinqui debet. Mosheim. Insti. p. 110.

[v] Quæ vero signa in eo sunt christianæ pietatis? Nullum ejus rei vestigium apparet. Nobis vero id valde dubium est, quia nec ullus idoneus auctor ostendit, vel deorum templa clausisse, vel Christo aliud dedicâsse, vel aliud egisse, quod christianam vitam et professionem probaret. Cellar. Diss. p. 323.

[w] Ann. 244. n. iv. et seqq. ann. 247. num. vi. et seqq. Vid. et Fr. Pagi. Breviarium Pont. Roman. T. i. p. 40, &c. [x] Basnag. ann. 244. n. vi. &c. [y] Cell. Diss. de primo Principe Christiano. sect. xxi. &c. p. 322.

[z] Spanhem. Opp. T. ii. p. 405, &c. Quâ disquiritur, quo jure Philippi Impp. Pater et Filius, pro Christianis habeantur.

[a] Animadversion. in Euseb. p. 234.

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Eusebius, but rather older, who,[b] in his inscription of his Institutions to Constantine, addresseth him in the character of the first emperor of the Romans who had forsaken the errors of Gentilism.

In like manner Sulpicius Severus, who published his Sacred History in the year 400, or soon after. 'That,'[c] says he, 'was the end of the persecution; from that time 'there have been christian emperors, of whom Constantine 'was the first.'

Theodoret, at the end of his Ecclesiastical History, says, that[d] before Constantine all the Roman emperors were enemies to the christians.

Chrysostom says, 'that[e] all the Roman emperors, Augus-'tus, Tiberius, Caius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and after him 'all the rest, were Gentiles, till the time of the blessed 'Constantine; and all of them opposed the church, some 'indeed with greater, others with less violence, however all 'of them in some measure. And as they all lived in im-'piety, that alone was an encouragement to the people to 'oppose the christians.'

Nor can Eusebius be omitted, who, at the conclusion of his Life of Constantine, says, 'that[f] he was the only Roman 'emperor, who hitherto had worshipped the true God with 'sincere piety, and had embraced and recommended the 'doctrine of Jesus Christ.'

Pagi therefore says, he[g] is persuaded, that all which

[b] Quod opus nunc nominis tui auspicio inchoamus, Constantine, imperator maxime, qui primus Romanorum principum, repudiatis erroribus, majestatem Dei singularis ac veri cognovisti et honorâsti. Inst. l. l. c. 1.

[c] Sed finis persecutionis illius fuit ab hinc annos ix et lxxx. a quo tempore christiani imperatores esse cœperunt. Namque tum Constantinus rerum potiebatur, qui primus omnium Romanorum principum christianus fuit. Sacr. Hist. l. ii. cap. 33. p. 248. Cleric.

[d] *Και γαρ προ της Κωνσταντινου του μεγαλου βασιλειας, οσοι Ρωμαιων εγενοντο βασιλεις, κατα των θειασωτων της αληθειας ελυττησαν.* Theod. H. E. l. v. cap. 39. p. 248.

[e] *Ελληνες ησαν βασιλεις Αυγουστος, Τιβεριος, Γαϊος, Νερων, Ουεσπασιανος, Τιτος, και μετ' εκεινον απαντες εως των του μακαριου Κωνσταντινου χρονων του βασιλεως. Και παντες ειτοι, οι μεν ελαττον, οι δε σφοδροτερον επολεμουν την εκκλησιαν· επολεμουν δ' ουν ομως απαντες. Ει δε τινες αυτων και ησυχαζειν εδοξαν, αυτο τουτο το τους βασιλευοντας καταδηλους ειναι επι ασεβειᾳ, υποθεσις πολεμων εγινετο, των αλλων κολακευοντων αυτους, θεραπευοντων εν τῳ της εκκλησιας πολεμῳ.* Chr. Contr. Jud. et. Gent. T. i. p. 578. Bened.

[f] *Μονος μεν Ρωμαιων βασιλεως τον παμβασιλεα Θεον υπερβολῃ θεοσεβειας τετιμηκοτος· μονος δε τοις πασι πεπαρρησιασμενως τον του Χριστου κηρυξαντος λογον. κ. λ.* De Vitâ Const. l. iv. cap. 75.

[g] Verum, re maturius examinatâ, nunc non dubito, quin Eusebius quod habet de christianâ professione Philippi, ex incertâ auditione retulerit. Ann. 244 n. v.

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Eusebius says about the christianity of Philip, he had received from uncertain tradition.

2. All heathen writers are silent about the christianity of Philip and his son.

It seems to me, that[h] Spanheim does rightly insist on this argument of no small weight. Nor has[i] Julian in his Cæsars taken any notice of it. If Philip had been a christian, they would some of them have reproached him upon that account, and they would have reproached his christianity, with the crimes of which he was guilty; for his treachery to the young Gordian was well known, and was very odious, and[k] is spoken of as such.

3. Philip celebrated the secular games at Rome in the thousandth year of the city, and in the usual manner, with great magnificence: as we are assured by ancient medals, and by christian as well as by heathen writers.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, that[l] at that time innumerable beasts were slain in the Circus, and there were theatrical shows in the Campus Martius for three days and three nights. And[m] Orosius acknowledgeth, that the secular games were celebrated by Philip with great magnificence; though he will have it, that all was designed to the honour of Christ.

Capitolinus,[n] one of the writers of the Augustan History, is very particular in representing the great number and various sorts of beasts produced to public show, or slain

[h] Primo silent isti historici, qui res Philipporum Deciorumve ex professo quondam tradiderunt——Certe apud Ælium Spartianum, Julium Capitolinum, Ælium Lampridium, Aurelium Victorem, Eutropium abbreviatorem, Zosimum,——nulla vestigia deprehendas christianæ in Philippis religionis. Span. p. 413. [i] Julianus Imp. in Satyrâ suâ de Cæsaribus, de Philippo tacet, non facturus, siquidem hic christianus fuisset, &c. Ibid. p. 413. m. [k] Ita Philippus impie non jure obtinuit imperium. Capitolin. Gordian. iii. cap. 31. p. 127.

[l] Regnantibus Philippis, millessimus annus Romanæ urbis expletus est: ob quam solemnitatem innumerabiles bestiæ in circo magno interfectæ; ludique in Campo Martio theatrales tribus diebus et noctibus populo pervigilante celebrati. Euseb. Chr. p. 174.

[m] Ita magnificis ludis augustissimus omnium præteritorum hic natalis annus a christiano imperatore celebratus est. Nec dubium est, quin Philippus hujus tantæ devotionis gratiam et honorem ad Christum et ecclesiam reportavit, &c. Oros. l. vii. c. 20.

[n] Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romæ elephanti xxx. et 11——tigres x. leones mansueti lx.——gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille: hippopotamus, et rhinoceros unus——equi feri xl. et cætera hujusmodi animalia, innumera et diversa; quæ omnia Philippus ludis secularibus vel dedit, vel occidit——Nam omnia hæc Philippus exhibuit secularibus ludis et muneribus atque Circensibus, quum millesimum ab urbe conditâ annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit. Capitol. Gordian. iii. cap. 33. p. 132—134.

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by Philip upon occasion of this solemnity. And other heathen authors, as well as ancient medals, bear witness to his celebrating this festival with great magnificence, as[o] Eutropius, whom I transcribe below, and refer to the[p] Victors.

4. Once more, finally, the Philips were deified after their death, as[q] Eutropius says; which shows, that they were reckoned to be heathens. And Philip put Gordian in the number of the gods, as Capitolinus[r] says, in which he acted like a heathen.

Upon the whole therefore, I can see no reason to believe, that the emperor Philip was by belief or profession a christian: though he might be favourable to some who were so.

As I do not love to be singular, I shall now transcribe the judgments of several learned men upon this point. Says Crevier: 'He[s] is said to have been a christian; but if 'he was, it seems to me very strange, that none of the pagan 'writers who have spoken of him should have mentioned it. 'Zosimus, in particular, who is full of venom against christianity, and who takes a pleasure in loading Constantine 'with the most atrocious calumnies, would surely not 'have spared Philip. The christian writers, upon whose 'authority the notion of this prætorian præfect's christianity 'is founded, certainly deserve respect. But their accounts 'are so confused, so full of circumstances, either palpably 'contradictory, or absolutely refuted by history, that the 'weight of their testimony is considerably diminished. 'Though Mr. Tillemont inclines to their opinion, I am not 'afraid to own, that what he himself has written upon this 'subject makes me of a different mind. If Philip did profess our religion, he was certainly a bad christian. I had 'rather believe, that being born in the neighbourhood of 'the country which was the cradle of christianity, he might 'thence acquire some tincture of it; and that he favoured 'it, as Alexander Severus had done, but without re-

[o] His imperantibus, millesimus annus Romæ urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu spectaculorumque celebratus est, &c. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. 3.

[p] Vide Victor. de Cæsar. cap. 28. et Epit. cap. 28.

[q] Ambo inde ab exercitu interfecti sunt; senior Philippus Veronæ, Romæ junior. Annis v. imperaverunt; inter Divos tamen relati sunt. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. 3.

[r] Denique Philippus quum eum interfecisset, neque imagines ejus tolleret, neque statuas deponeret, neque nomen abraderet, sed Divum semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem facerat, serio animo et peregrinâ calliditate veneratus est. Capitolin. ut supra, p. 128.

[s] History of the Roman Emperors, vol. viii. p. 419.

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'nouncing his idolatrous superstition to which he adhered 'when emperor.' And afterwards,[t] 'The celebration of the 'secular games, in which all the pomp of the pagan super-'stition was displayed, is a direct proof of the public pro-'fession which Philip made of his attachment to idolatry. 'It is a violation of all probability to suppose, without any 'evidence, that the emperor could celebrate them without 'taking part in the sacrifices that accompanied them, or 'rather which were the essential part of them, and the very 'foundation of the whole festival.'

Pagi, at the conclusion of one part of his argument upon this subject, has an observation which may be reckoned sage and pertinent. 'There[u] is no more reason,' says he, 'to believe what Eusebius here says of the christianity of 'the emperor Philip, than what he says of Abgarus king 'of the Edessens, that having heard of the fame of Christ's 'miracles, he wrote a letter to him; and that our Lord re-'turned him an answer, promising to send to him one of 'his apostles. Nor is there any more regard to be had to 'Jerom, when he calls the emperor Philip a convert to 'christianity, than when he speaks of the lettèrs of Paul 'to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul. The first christians,' says he, 'wholly intent upon propagating our faith, and being 'men of great candour, oftentimes too easily admitted stories 'which were favourable to our religion; of which there are 'many instances.' A remarkable observation of a Franciscan monk, but a truly learned man.

Cellarius has an observation to the like purpose. 'The[v] 'more greedily this story was received by our ancestors,

[t] Ib. vol. ix. p. 9.

[u] Hic tantum dicam, non majorem fidem adhibendam Eusebio, Philippum imp. christianum facienti, quam eidem affirmanti Abgarum Edessenorum regem, auditis Christi miraculis, ad ipsum literas dedisse, et Christum mutuas ad eum literas scripsisse, quibus se missurum ad ipsum unum ex apostolis suis pollicitus est——Nec etiam major fides Hieronymi de conversione Philippi imperatoris loquentis, quam cum in lib. de Script. Eccles. de Senecâ scribit: 'Quem non ponerem in catalogo sancto-'rum, nisi me illæ epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis Pauli ad 'Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum.' Priores christiani, fidei nostræ promovendæ toti addicti, et summo animi candore præditi, sese sæpe nimis faciles in iis, quæ religioni favebant, præbuerunt, ut innumera exempla demonstrant. Pagi ann. 244. num. vii.

[v] Quam cupide autem hoc creditum a majoribus fuit, tanto id minus fit vero simile, si veteres auctores excutiantur. Qui adseverant christianum fuisse, ideo videntur in hanc opinionem ingressi, ut millesimum Urbis annum Christi potius quam deorum cultori vindicarent. Oros. l. vii. cap. 28. de Constantino Magno. 'Primus imperatorum christianus, excepto Philippo, qui christianus 'annis admodum paucissimis ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, 'ut millesimus Romæ annus Christo potius, quam idolis dicaretur.' Cellar. Diss. de primo Principe Christiano. num. xxii. p. 322.

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'the more carefully ought we to examine their testimony 'concerning it; for they seem (some of them at least) to 'have embraced this opinion about Philip; being desirous 'to have it thought, that the secular games of the thousandth 'year of the city of Rome were celebrated to the honour of 'Christ, and not of the gods.' I must not allow myself to take any thing more from this author; though his Observations upon the christianity ascribed to Philip appear to me very clear and solid; and I recollect, that I did before transcribe some of his thoughts upon this point at p. 351, note [v].

CHAP. XXX.

THE EMPEROR DECIUS.

I. *His time, and character.* II. *Accounts of his persecution.* III. *A persecution at Alexandria, before the publication of his edict.* IV. *That this persecution was universal.*

I. WE sometimes meet with chronological difficulties, where they might be little expected. Eusebius in his Chronicle says, that[a] Decius reigned only one year and three months; and in his History, that[b] he and his sons were slain before he had reigned two years; which[c] account Baronius follows. But learned men are now rather of opinion, that[d] Decius reached to the third year. And it is computed, that[e] he reigned from July or August 249, to November or December 251.

Eutropius,[f] and Victor[g] in his Cæsars, say, he reigned two years; the other Victor[h] says, thirty months. He was

[a] Romanorum vicesimus quintus regnavit Decius anno uno, menses iii. Chron. p. 175. [b] H. E. l. vii. cap. i.

[c] Ann. 254. n. xlix. [d] Déce a certainement commencé la troisième année de son règne, comme on le voit par ses médailles. Tillem. H. E. T. iii. p. 599. Brux.

[e] Vid. Pagi, ann. 251. num. xxx. Basnag. ann. 249. num. iii.

[f] Post hos Decius, e Pannoniâ inferiore, Bubaliæ natus, imperium sumsit—Cum biennio ipse et filius ejus imperâssent, uterque in barbarico interfecti sunt, et inter Divos relati. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. iv. [g] Cap. 29.

[h] Decius, e Pannoniâ inferiore—imperavit menses triginta. Hic Decium filium suum Cæsarem fecit; vir artibus cunctis virtutibusque instructus, placidus et communis domi; in armis promptissimus. Vict. Epit. cap. 29.

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born in Pannonia; and, as has been observed, he is the first of the many Roman emperors who were natives of Illyricum. His name, as inscribed upon[i] medals, is Caius Messius Trajanus Decius. He has a very good character in the epitome of[k] Victor, and[l] Zosimus, heathen authors; but he is little taken notice of by christian writers, excepting upon account of his persecution. Some of their passages I shall transcribe, sufficient to afford my readers a general notion of it.

II. The author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, that Decius[m] began to persecute the christians as soon as he began to reign; but he does not tell us what the edict was, nor the occasion of it.

Eusebius writes to this purpose. 'Philip[n] having 'reigned seven years, he was succeeded by Decius, who, 'being an enemy to Philip, raised a persecution against the 'churches: in which Fabian at Rome having been perfected 'by martyrdom, he was succeeded by Cornelius in that 'bishopric. In Palestine Alexander, bishop of the church 'at Jerusalem, is again brought before the governor's tri-'bunal at Cœsarea for Christ's sake; and having made a 'second glorious confession is put in prison, being now 'venerable for his age and grey hairs. Having died in 'prison, after a noble and illustrious confession before the 'governor's tribunal, he was succeeded in the bishopric of 'Jerusalem by Mazabanes. In like manner Babylas, having 'died in prison at Antioch, after a public confession of the 'faith, was succeeded in that church by Fabius. How 'many and how great sufferings Origen endured at that 'time, imprisonment, chains, fetters upon his legs, his feet 'stretched in the stocks to the fourth hole for several days, 'menaces to burn him alive, and other torments, the judge 'all the while carefully endeavouring that he might not die 'under them, may be fully known from some letters written 'by him.'

Origen was then in the sixty-sixth or sixty-seventh year of his age; but neither his age, nor his learning, nor his many works, nor the greatness of his fame, secured him from a share in this trial. And Alexander before men-

[i] Vid. Noris. Ep. Syro-Maced. Diss. 3. cap. 10. p. 344, 345. Lips.

[k] See note [h].

[l] Δεκιῳ μεν ων αριστα βεβασιλευκοτι τελος τοιονδε συνεβη. Zos. l. i. p. 644. in.

[m] Exstitit enim post annos plurimos exsecrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret ecclesiam. Quis enim justitiam, nisi malus, persequatur? Et, quasi hujus rei gratiâ provectus esset ad illud principale fastigium, furere protinus contra Deum cœpit, ut protinus caderet. De M. P. cap. 4.

[n] H. E. l. vi. cap. 39.

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tioned, bishop of Jerusalem, was also a truly excellent and valuable man. They who desire to know more of him, may see his history more at large in another[o] place. Origen survived that trial, being set at liberty at the period of the persecution; but he died a few years after.

III. The beginning of the Decian persecution[p] must be dated in the year 249, or the beginning of 250; but there was a persecution raised against the christians at Alexandria in the year 248, whilst other churches enjoyed great peace under the emperor Philip. This persecution lasted a whole year, and was concluded by nothing but a sedition and disturbance among the gentiles themselves. Of this we have an account in the fragment of a letter of Dionysius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch. That fragment is preserved in Eusebius, and as the account is authentic, as well as curious, I am induced to transcribe it here. 'The[q] persecution 'with us, says he, had not its beginning from the imperial 'edict; but began a whole year before. A soothsayer and 'poet, such as he was, stirred up the multitude of the gen-'tiles against us, exciting them to contend for the superstition of their country. Being stirred up by him, and 'having it in their power to do as they pleased, they 'thought that religion lay in nothing more than killing us. 'First of all they lay hold of a man of great age named 'Metras, requiring him to repeat some profane words; he 'not doing as they desired, they laid many blows upon his 'body with clubs, and pricked him in the face and eyes 'with sharp reeds, and then leading him into the suburbs, 'they stoned him to death. After that, dragging a faithful 'woman named Quinta to their idol temple, they require 'her to fall down and worship it; but she refusing so to 'do, they tied her feet, and dragged her through the city, 'which is paved with sharp stones, and having dashed her 'against millstones, and scourged her, they led her to the 'same place without the city, and stoned her. They then 'broke into the houses of many pious men, robbing and 'plundering them of what they had. If they found any 'thing valuable, that they kept for their own use; but 'lumber, and utensils made of wood, they threw out in the 'streets; so that the city looked as if it had been taken 'by an enemy. However, many of the brethren retired, 'and saved themselves by flight, "joyfully taking the 'spoiling of their goods," like to those mentioned by Paul, 'Heb. x. 34. Nor do I yet know of more than one, that

[o] See vol. ii. p. 415—420. Basnag. ann. 249. ii. &c.

[p] Pagi ann. 250. num. iii. iv.

[q] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 41.

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'fell into their hands, who has denied the Lord. Moreover, 'at this time they laid hold of an admirable virgin, of a 'great age, named Apollonia; they struck her upon the 'cheeks, and beat out all her teeth; then lighting a fire 'without the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless 'she would join with them in pronouncing certain profane 'words; but she, begging a short respite, and being let 'loose, presently threw herself into the fire, and was con-'sumed to ashes. Serapion they seized in his own house, 'and having tortured him with grievous torments, and 'broken all his limbs, they threw him headlong from the 'upper part of his house. Nor had we, says this bishop of 'Alexandria, a safe passage any where, through high 'streets, or narrow lanes, neither by night nor by day; but 'continually, and every where, the people were universally 'crying out; 'If any man refuse to pronounce such or such 'impious words, let him be immediately taken up and 'thrown into the fire.' So things went on for some time, 'till a sedition among themselves, and a civil war returned 'this cruelty upon them. We had then a short breathing 'time; but presently news came of the end of that reign 'which had been favourable to us; and all were seized 'with fears of an impending storm. Then came the edict, 'which was very terrible, putting us in mind of what was 'foretold by the Lord, that "if it were possible, they should 'seduce even the elect,"' Matt. xxiv. 24.

Dionysius proceeds to relate the consequences of the imperial edict at Alexandria, and other places in Egypt. Some were overcome by fears of suffering, and sacrificed; others (divers of which are named by him) patiently and courageously endured various kinds of death, under exquisite torture. But I transcribe nothing more here. But it is observable, that many christians fell in the time of this persecution; and when it was over, there were in many places disputes about the manner of receiving such as had lapsed, when they desired to be reconciled to the church.

IV. Sulpicius Severus[r] calls the persecution under Decius the seventh persecution, as does[s] Jerom in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, in the chapter of Alexander bishop of Jerusalem. Orosius[t] also reckons Decius the

[r] Mox, Decio imperante, jam tum septimâ persecutione sævitum in christianos. S. Sev. l. ii. cap. 32. al. 46.

[s] Septimâ autem persecutione sub Decio, quo tempore Babylas Antiochiæ passus est, ductus Cæsaream, et clausus in carcere ob confessionem Christi, martyrio coronatus. De V. I. cap. 62.

[t] Idem continuo, in quo se etiam ob hoc Philippos interfecisse docuit, ad

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seventh persecutor of the church, and says, 'That by his 'cruel edicts he sent many of the saints to receive crowns 'from Christ for the torments which they endured.' In[u] Augustine likewise it is the seventh persecution. There can be no doubt but[v] it was universal, as it was ordered by an imperial edict.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE EMPEROR GALLUS.

His time, and that he was a persecutor.

DECIUS was succeeded by Gallus and Volusian near the end of the year 251. Gallus is not mentioned among the persecuting princes by Sulpicius Severus, or Orosius, or Augustine, or the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors; nevertheless he must have been a persecutor.

Says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, 'Decius[a] 'being slain with his sons, when he had not yet completed 'the second year of his reign, he was succeeded by Gallus, 'at which time died Origen in the seventieth year of his 'age. And Dionysius in his letter to Hermammon speaks 'thus of Gallus: But Gallus did not attend to the fate of 'Decius, nor consider what was his ruin; but stumbled 'upon the same stone, which lay before his eyes. When 'his empire was in a happy state, and all things succeeded 'according to his wishes, he[b] persecuted those truly holy 'men who prayed to God for his health and prosperity; 'and with them drove away those prayers which they offer-'ed up for him.' Thus he writes of Gallus.

As there is little notice taken of this matter by ancient ecclesiastical writers, Pagi[c] argues, that this was only a

persequendos interficiendosque christianos, septimus post Neronem, feralia dispersit edicta, plurimosque sanctorum ad coronas Christi de suis cruciatibus misit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 21.

[u] De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. cap. 52.

[v] Vid. Basnag. ann. 250. num. iv. v.

[a] H. E. l. vii. cap. 1.

[b] ——τους ἱερους ανδρας τους περι της ειρηνης αυτȣ και της ὑγιειας πρεσβευοντας προς τον Θεον ηλασεν· ȣκουν συν εκεινοις εδιωξε και τας ὑπερ αυτȣ προσευχας. Ibid. p. 250.

[c] A. 252. num. x. xii. xvi.—xxi.

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local persecution, and that it was felt in few places, except Rome, where Cornelius, and afterwards Lucius, bishops of that city, were banished by this emperor. As the conduct of Gallus is so particularly mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria, I have been apt to think, that some christians suffered in that city, or in the countries near it. Mosheim's[d] observations upon this persecution may be consulted.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE EMPERORS VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS.

I. *Valerian's time, and character.* II. *General accounts of his persecution from several christian writers.* III. *How long it lasted.* IV. *Accounts of this persecution from Dionysius bishop of Alexandria.* V. *The emperor Gallienus's edict, restoring peace to the churches.* VI. *Farther accounts of that persecution from Cyprian bishop of Carthage.* VII. *The remarkable history of Marinus, who suffered Martyrdom at Cæsarea in Palestine, after the publication of the fore-mentioned edict of Gallienus.*

I. VALERIAN having enjoyed many offices and dignities in the state with great applause, and[a] been highly celebrated for his prudence, modesty, gravity, and other virtues, was proclaimed emperor in the year 253; and his son Gallienus was taken into partnership with him in the same year. It is not needful for me to enlarge in his history. But about the seventh year of his reign, in 259 or 260 at the latest, he was taken prisoner by Sapor king of Persia; where[b] he lived the remainder of his days in a miserable captivity.

[d] Flagrantibus his christianorum certaminibus, Decius cum filiis anno ccli. necabatur; in cujus locum Gallus cum filio Volusiano succedebat. Is sequenti anno bellum in christianos, quod ultimis Decii temporibus remissius gestum erat, aut novis edictis propositis, aut antiquis renovatis, instaurari jubebat: unde multa iterum mala christianis in variis orbis Romani provinciis subeunda erant, &c. De Reb. ante C. M. p. 527.

[a] Trebell. Poll. in Valerian. cap. i. ii. p. 171, &c.

[b] Id. in Valerian. cap. 3. p. 178, &c. et Cæcilius de M. Persecut. cap. 5. Oros. lib. vii. cap. xxii. Euseb. Chron. p. 176.

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II. He is reckoned the eighth persecutor of the christians by[c] Sulpicius Severus, [d] Orosius, [e] Augustine. The author of the Deaths of Persecutors does not mention the number of persecutions; nevertheless he speaks distinctly of this, and says, 'That[f] Valerian shed the blood of many righteous 'men in a short time.' As does Orosius likewise, and says that this persecution was universal all over the Roman empire.

III. The persecution began in the year 257, and ended in other parts of the empire in 259, when Valerian was taken captive by the Persians; but at Alexandria it continued till the year 261, when Gallienus overcame Macrian, in whose power Egypt had been till that time. Then Gallienus sent the same favourable edicts to Alexandria, which had been sent before to several other parts of the empire. Dionysius[g] speaks of this persecution having lasted 'forty-'two months,' or three years and a half; which ought to be understood of Egypt only, not of the rest of the empire. In that manner some difficulties relating to this point are adjusted and cleared up by[h] Pagi, to whom I refer, and to [i] Basnage, who does not much differ from him.

IV. Of this persecution we have some authentic accounts in Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, and his deacon Pontius, all contemporaries, which therefore cannot but deserve our regard.

Says[k] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History: 'In the 'mean time Gallus being slain, when he had scarcely 'reigned two years, he was succeeded by Valerian and his 'son Gallienus. Here it will be worth the while to attend 'to what Dionysius says in his letter to Hermammon. 'Concerning this too John had a revelation. For he says; 'Rev. xiii. 5, "And there was given unto him a mouth 'speaking great things, and blasphemies. And power was 'given unto him to continue forty and two months." It is 'wonderful to observe, how both these things were fulfilled 'in Valerian; and it deserves to be considered what he was

[c] Inde Valerianus octavus sanctorum hostis. S. Sever. l. ii. cap. 32.

[d] Valerianus siquidem, mox ut arripuit imperium, octavus a Nerone, adigi per tormenta christianos ad idololatriam, abnegantesque interfici jussit, fuso per omnem Romani regni latitudinem sanctorum sanguine. Valerianus illico, nefarii auctor edicti, a Sapore Persarum rege captus, imperator populi Romani ignominiosâ apud Persas servitute consenuit, &c. Oros. l. vii. cap. 22.

[e] De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. cap. 52.

[f] Non multo post Valerianus, quoque, non dissimili furore correptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit. De M. P. cap. 5.

[g] Ap. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 10. in.

[h] Ann. 261. n. viii. et seqq.

[i] Ann. 257. num. iii.

[k] H. E. l. vii. cap. 10.

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before; how mild and how kind he was to the men of God. For none of the emperors before him were so favourable and benevolent to them; not even those[1] who are 'said to have been openly christians; as he was in the beginning of his reign; and his house was full of pious men, 'and was a church of God. But his master, and the chief 'of the magicians of Egypt, [he means Macrian, presently 'afterwards mentioned by name,] persuaded him to alter 'his measures, telling him that he ought to kill and persecute those men who opposed and obstructed his incantations, and then he might be happy.'

Soon after the arrival of Valerian's edict at Alexandria, before the end of the year 257, as seems[m] most probable, Dionysius was summoned before Emilian, then præfect of Egypt, of which he writes to this purpose in his letter to Germanus. 'I[n] came to Emilian, says he, not alone. I 'was attended by my fellow-presbyter Maximus; and also 'by Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon deacons, and a brother from Rome, who was then at Alexandria. Emilian 'did not then say to me, You ought not to hold assemblies; 'for that was needless; nor was that his chief concern, but 'that we should not be at all christians; he therefore commanded me to forsake that way of worship. For he 'thought, that if I would change my mind, others would 'do so likewise. I answered, and as I apprehend not improperly, though in short, "We ought to obey God, rather 'than men," Acts v. 29. And I plainly and openly declared, that I worship him, who alone is God, and no 'other; and that I could not alter my mind, nor cease to 'be a christian. After which he ordered us to go to 'Cephro, a small village near the desert. But it may be 'worth the while to transcribe here the very words of both 'of us from the public register. "When Dionysius, Faustus, 'Maximus, Marcellus, and Chæremon, were brought in, 'Emilian the præfect said: I have not only written to you, 'but I have also by word of mouth represented to you the 'humanity of our lords, the emperors, which they show to 'you. For they grant to you the privilege of living in 'safety, if you will turn to that which is agreeable to 'nature, and will worship the gods, which are the preservers 'of their empire, and will forsake that which is contrary to 'nature. What therefore do you say to this? I hope you 'will not be ungrateful to their humanity: forasmuch as

[1] Meaning, probably, Severus, Alexander, and Philip. [m] Vid. Pagi ann. 257. n. iv. Basnag. 247. num. vi. [n] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vii. cap. 11. p. 257.

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'they endeavour to bring you to that which is right. Dionysius answered: All men do not worship all the gods; 'but they worship such as they think to be gods. We 'worship and adore the one God, maker of all things, who 'also has put the empire into the hands of the sacred and 'august emperors Valerian and Gallienus. Him we worship, and to him we continually pray that he will prolong 'their empire in safety and prosperity. Emilian the governor then said to them again: Who forbids you to 'worship him also, if he be God, together with them who 'are by nature gods? For you are commanded to worship 'the gods, particularly those whom all know to be gods. 'Dionysius answered: We worship no other. Emilian 'the governor then said to them; I see that you are both 'ungrateful and insensible of our august emperors' lenity 'toward you. You therefore may not stay any longer in 'this city, but shall be sent into Lybia, to a place called 'Cephro; for I have chosen that place for you, agreeably 'to the order of the august emperors. Nor shall it be lawful for you, or any others, to hold assemblies, or to meet 'together in the places called cœmeteries. If any one does 'not go to the place which I have appointed, or is found 'in any assembly, he brings danger upon himself; for a 'needful observation will not be neglected. Depart therefore to the place whither you are ordered." Nor could I, 'says Dionysius, obtain the delay of one day, though I was 'sick. At Cephro he had a large number of the faithful 'with him, partly such as came thither from Alexandria, 'partly such as came from other places of Egypt. And 'here, says he, "God opened a door to us for preaching the 'word," 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 3. At first the people of 'the place were rude, and ready to pelt us with stones; but 'afterwards, not a few of the Gentiles, "forsaking idols, 'turned unto God," 1 Thess. i. 9.——And, as if for that 'purpose God had brought us to them, "when we had fulfilled that ministry," he removed us, Acts xii. 25. For 'Emilian, as if desirous to send us into some more uncomfortable place than Lybia itself, gave orders for dispersing 'some others in several villages of Mareotis, and us he 'commanded to reside in the district of Colluthio, near the 'great road, that we might be the nearer at hand to be 'brought to Alexandria, if he should think fit.'

Afterwards. 'Moreover,' says[o] Eusebius, 'the same 'Dionysius in his letter to Domitius and Dydimus writes 'again of the persecution in this manner. "It is needless

[o] Ibid. p. 260.

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'to mention the names of all our people that have suffered, 'since they are many, and most of them unknown to you. 'It may suffice therefore to assure you, that persons of both 'sexes, and of every age and condition, and soldiers, and 'country people, have been victorious in this combat, and 'have been crowned, some by scourging, some by fire, 'others by the sword. Nevertheless in all this space of 'time, some there are who do not yet appear to be accepta-'ble to the Lord; me in particular he seems pleased to re-'serve for some other season, according to the words of the 'prophet, Is. xlix. 8, "In an acceptable time have I heard 'thee, and in a day of salvation have I accepted thee." 'Then after a few words intervening he says: "At present 'I have only with me Caius and Peter, deprived of the rest 'of the brethren." And soon afterwards: "Some have hid 'themselves in the city, that they may privately visit the 'brethren; as Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, 'presbyters: for Faustinus and Aquila, being much known, 'travel up and down in Egypt. The deacons that survive 'after those who have died of the plague, are Faustus, 'Eusebius, Chæremon; Eusebius, I say, whom God has 'qualified from the beginning, and furnished with great 'resolution and ability for fulfilling the office of ministra-'tion to the confessors in prison, and for burying the bodies 'of the perfect and blessed martyrs, not without the utmost 'peril. For to this very day the præfect does not cease to 'treat our people in the most cruel manner, killing some, 'and torturing others, and making others pine away in fet-'ters and dungeons, forbidding any to be admitted to them, 'and strictly inquiring likewise whether his orders are 'obeyed. Notwithstanding which, such is the courage and 'alacrity with which God inspires the brethren, the afflicted 'are not without the consolation suited to their exigence.' So writes Dionysius.

In these fragments of Dionysius's letters which Eusebius has preserved, and, as I think, judiciously inserted in his Ecclesiastical History, we have valuable memoirs of Valerian's persecution. And as we see not only the fortitude of those who were perfected by martyrdom, but also the resolution and courage, the discretion, and the amiable and friendly tenderness of the christian brethren, in relieving and comforting each other, which are truly admirable and exemplary.

In the chapter[p] next following, Eusebius mentions three men, and a Marcionite woman, at Cæsarea in Palestine, who

[p] L. vii. cap. 12.

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in Valerian's persecution were condemned to wild beasts, and were crowned with martyrdom.

V. Then in the next chapter he writes to this purpose. 'But[q] not long after, Valerian being taken captive, and reduced to slavery by barbarians, his son, who then reigned alone, acted more prudently in his empire. He immediately by edicts put a stop to the persecution against us, and gave command, that the presidents of our religion should be at liberty to perform the usual offices of their function. The edict is to this purpose: "The emperor Cæsar, Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pious, Happy, Augustus, to Dionysius, and Pinna, and Demetrius, and to the other bishops. I have directed, that the favour of my indulgence should be published throughout the whole world; that all may depart from the places of worship. You are therefore empowered to make use of this copy of my edict, that none may trouble you. And that you may perform what is lawful for you to do, has been already granted by me. And let Aurelius Cyrenius our high-steward observe this edict now given by me." This, says Eusebius, has been translated from the Roman tongue. There is also another edict of the same emperor, sent to other bishops, and appointing, "that the places called cœmeteries should be restored."'

In his[r] Chronicle likewise Eusebius observes, that Valerian being taken captive by the Persians, Gallienus gave peace to the churches.

VI. I began with Dionysius, and have carried on the history of Valerian's persecution from him; but as Cyprian suffered martyrdom in this persecution, dying on the 14th Sept. 258, and there are some authentic memoirs of his sufferings, I shall now allege some things from them also.

Cyprian seems to have been one of the first persons in Africa, who was called upon to make public confession in this persecution; and I therefore immediately take the beginning of the proconsular acts of his passion, which I shall transcribe below in the original, and also translate literally. 'The[s] emperor Valerian being consul the fourth

[q] Cap. 13.

[r] Valeriano in Persas ducto, Gallienus nostris pacem reddidit. Chr. p. 176.

[s] Imperatore Valeriano quartum, et Gallieno tertium consulibus, tertio Calendarum Septembrium, Carthagine in secretario, Paternus proconsul Cypriano episcopo dixit: Sacratissimi imperatores Valerianus et Gallienus literas ad me dare dignati sunt, quibus præceperunt, eos qui Romanam religionem non colunt, debere Romanas cæremonias recognoscere. Exquisivi ergo de nomine tuo. Quid mihi respondes? Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Christianus sum, et episcopus. Nullos alios deos novi nisi unum et verum Deum, qui fecit cœlum

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'time, and Gallienus the third time, [that is, the year of 'Christ 257,] on the thirtieth day of August, at Carthage, 'in the secretary's office, Paternus the proconsul said to 'Cyprian the bishop; The most sacred emperors, Valerian 'and Gallienus, have vouchsafed to send to me a letter, 'wherein they command, that they who do not observe the 'Roman religion, should now perform the Roman rites. I 'therefore have made inquiry after you. What answer do 'you make to me? Cyprian the bishop said; I am a chris-'tian, and a bishop. I know no other gods, but the one 'true God, who made the heaven, and the earth, and the 'sea, and the things that are in them. This God we chris-'tians serve, to whom we pray night and day, for you, and 'for all men, and for the safety of the emperors themselves. 'Paternus the proconsul said; And do you persist in this 'purpose? Cyprian the bishop answered; A good purpose, 'agreeable to God, cannot be altered. Can you then, ac-'cording to the command of Valerian and Gallienus, go an 'exile to the city Curubis? Cyprian said; I go. Paternus 'the proconsul said: The emperors have written to me not 'concerning bishops only, but also concerning presbyters. 'I desire therefore to know of you who are the presbyters 'that live in this city. Cyprian the bishop answered; By 'your own laws it has been wisely enacted, that informers 'should not be encouraged; therefore they cannot be dis-'covered and accused by me; but they will be found in 'their cities. Paternus the proconsul said; I now inquire 'after those who are in this place. Cyprian said; Since

et terram, mare, et quæ in eis sunt omnia. Huic Deo nos christiani deservimus; hunc deprecamur diebus ac noctibus, pro vobis, et pro omnibus hominibus, et pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum. Paternus proconsul dixit: In hac ergo voluntate perseveras? Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Bona voluntas, quæ Deum novit, immutari non potest. Paternus proconsul dixit: Poteris ergo secundum præceptum Valeriani et Gallieni, exul ad urbem Curubitanam proficisci? Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Proficiscor. Paternus proconsul dixit: Non solum de episcopis, verum etiam de presbyteris mihi scribere dignati sunt. Volo ergo scire ex te, qui sint presbyteri, qui in hac civitate consistunt. Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Legibus vestris bene atque utiliter censuistis, delatores non esse. Itaque detegi atque deferri a me non possunt: in civitatibus autem suis invenientur. Paternus proconsul dixit: Ego hodie in hoc loco exquiro. Cyprianus dixit: Cum disciplina prohibeat, ut quis se ultro offerat, et tuæ quoque censuræ hoc displiceat, nec offerre se ipsi possunt. Sed a te exquisiti invenientur. Paternus proconsul dixit: A me invenientur. Et adjecit: Præceperunt etiam, ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec cœmeteria ingrediantur. Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre præceptum non observaverit, capite plectetur. Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Fac quod tibi præceptum est. Tunc Paternus proconsul jussit beatum Cyprianum episcopum in exilium deportari. Acta Proconsul. Pass. S. Cyprian. p. 11, 12.

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'our religion forbids men to offer themselves to sufferings, 'and since it is contrary to your own laws, they cannot offer 'themselves; but they may be found if inquired after. 'Paternus the proconsul said; They shall be found by me. 'And he added; The emperors have also ordered, that no 'assemblies should be held in the cœmeteries, and that 'none enter into those places. If therefore any one does 'not observe this wholesome command, he shall be put to 'death. Cyprian the bishop answered; Do as you are 'commanded. Then Paternus the proconsul ordered, that 'Cyprian the bishop should be carried into exile.'

His deacon Pontius accompanied him to the place of his exile, where he arrived on the thirteenth or fourteenth of September, in the same year, 257.

About the same time many others suffered in Africa, upon account of their profession of christianity. For we have a letter of Cyprian,[t] written during the time of his being at Curubis, which is inscribed to 'nine bishops by 'name, and beside them to others, presbyters, deacons, and 'the rest of the brethren in the mines, martyrs of God the 'Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Whilst Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus[u] succeeded Paternus as proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment; who then went to his gardens or country-house near Carthage, by orders, as it seems, of the proconsul.

Moreover, as there were many uncertain reports in Africa, Cyprian[v] had sent to Rome, and received thence some in-

[t] Ep. 76. al. 77.

[u] Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno proconsuli Galerius Maximus proconsul. Act. Pass. p. 12.

[v] Sciatis autem eos venisse, quos ad Urbem propter hoc miseram, ut quomodocumque de nobis rescriptum fuisset, exploratam sibi veritatem ad nos referant. Multa enim varia et incerta opinionibus ventilantur. Quæ autem sunt in vero, ita se habent. Rescripsisse Valerianum ad senatum, ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi in continenti animadvertantur; Senatores vero, et viri egregii, equites Romani, dignitate amissâ, etiam bonis spolientur, et, si ademtis facultatibus christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur; Matronæ ademtis bonis in exilium relegentur; Cæsariani, quicumque vel prius confessi fuerant, vel nunc confessi fuerint, confiscentur, et vincti in Cæsarianas possessiones descripti mittantur. Subjecit etiam Valerianus imperator orationi suæ exemplum literarum, quas ad præsides provinciarum de nobis fecit; quas literas quotidie speramus venire, stantes secundum fidei firmitatem ad passionis tolerantiam, et expectantes de ope et indulgentiâ Domini vitæ æternæ coronam. Xistum autem in cœmeterio animadversum sciatis, octavo iduum Augustarum die et cum eodem Quartum. Set et huic persecutioni quotidie insistunt præfecti in Urbe; ut, si qui sibi oblati fuerint, animadvertantur, et bona eorum fisco vindicentur. Hæc peto per vos ut collegis nostris innotescant, ut ubique hortatu eorum possit fraternitas corroborari, et ad agonem spiritalem præparari, &c. Cyp. ep. 79. al. 80.

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telligence which might be relied upon, and was to this effect; 'that the emperor Valerian had ordered, by a re-'script sent to the senate, that bishops, presbyters, and 'deacons, should be put to death without delay; that sena-'tors, and persons of quality, and Roman knights, should 'be deprived of their dignity and their goods; if after that 'they persist in being christians, they should be beheaded; 'that ladies of quality should be deprived of their goods, 'and sent into exile; that the emperor's freedmen, who 'have confessed, or shall hereafter confess, shall lose their 'goods, which are to be seized by the treasury; and that 'they be sent chained to the emperor's estate, and that they 'be put in the list of slaves to work there. To his own re-'script the emperor Valerian has subjoined copies of letters 'to be sent to the presidents of the provinces; which letters 'we daily expect, standing prepared for the trial, and 'hoping to obtain, through the divine aid and goodness, 'the crown of eternal life. We are also assured, that Xistus '[the bishop of Rome] was put to death in the cœmetery 'on the sixth day of August, and with him Quartus. We 'also learn, that the præfects in the city are intent to exe-'cute the emperor's orders; and if any are brought before 'them, they are punished, and their goods confiscated. These 'things, says Cyprian in his letter to Successus, I am de-'sirous should be made known by you to my brethren, that 'all may be prepared for the combat that now lies before us.'

When those orders for the governors of the provinces arrived at Carthage is not certain; but very probably before the end of August.

Galerius[v] Maximus the proconsul, who had succeeded

[v] Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno proconsuli Galerius Maximus proconsul, qui sanctum Cyprianum episcopum ab exilio revocatum sibi jussit præsentari. Cumque Cyprianus sanctus—de civitate Cucurbitanâ, in quâ exilio præcepto Aspasii Paterni tunc proconsulis datus fuerat, regressus esset, ex sacro præscripto in hortis suis manebat.—Et cum illic demoraretur, repente Idibus Septembris, Tusco et Basso consulibus, venerunt ad eum principes duo,—qui et in curriculum eum levaverunt, in medioque posuerunt, et in Sexti perduxerunt, ubi idem Galerius Maximus proconsul, bonæ valetudinis recuperandæ gratiâ, secesserat.—Cumque oblatus fuisset, Galerius Maximus proconsul dixit: Tu Papam te sacrilegæ mentis hominibus præbuisti? Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Ego. Galerius Maximus dixit: Jusserunt te sacratissimi imperatores cæremoniari. Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Non facio. Galerius Maximus ait: Consule tibi. Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Fac quod tibi præceptum est. In re tam justâ nulla est consultatio. Galerius Maximus, collocutus cum consilio, sententiam vix ægre dixit verbis hujusmodi: Diu sacrilegâ mente vixisti, et plurimos nefariæ tibi conspirationis homines aggregâsti.—Et his dictis, decretum ex tabellâ recitavit; Thasicum Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet. Cyprianus episcopus dixit; Deo gratias. Apost. p. 12, 13.

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Paternus, was at Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, for the sake of his health. 'On the 13th day 'of September, [A. C. 258,] an officer with soldiers was sent 'by the proconsul to Cyprian's gardens, where he had 'been some while, to bring him before him. Cyprian's 'cause was deferred for that day. The next morning, the '14th of September, he was led to the proconsul's palace, 'surrounded by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong 'guard of soldiers. After some time the proconsul came 'out into the hall, and Cyprian being set before him, he 'said; Are you Thascius Cyprian? Cyprian the bishop 'answered; I am. Galerius Maximus the proconsul said; 'The most sacred emperors have commanded you to sacri-'fice. Cyprian the bishop answered; I do not sacrifice. 'Galerius Maximus said; Be well advised. Cyprian the 'bishop answered; Do as thou art commanded. In so 'just a cause there needs no consultation. The proconsul 'having advised with his council, spoke to Cyprian in 'angry terms, as being an enemy to the gods, and a se-'ducer of the people. And then read his sentence out of a 'tablet; It is decreed, that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded. 'Cyprian the bishop said; God be praised.'

That is the account in the Acts of his passion, which I have translated literally; and Pontius[x] writes to the like purpose. Cyprian was then led away to the field of Sexti, a large level spot of ground, encompassed with trees, the boughs of which were then loaded with spectators. And in the presence of a great multitude of people Cyprian was there beheaded, according to the sentence pronounced upon him, on Sept. 14, in the year of Christ[y] 258.

VII. I have set before my readers some authentic memoirs of Valerian's persecution from Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian of Carthage. There is another remarkable story in Eusebius, which must not be omitted.

'In[z] the mean time,' says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, 'when peace had been restored to all the churches 'every where, Marinus, a military man, and eminent upon 'account of his birth and riches, suffered martyrdom for 'Christ at Cæsarea in Palestine. A centurion's place was 'vacant; he put up for that office, to which he had a claim 'by the order of his promotions. When he was about to 'receive that honour, another appeared before the tribunal, 'asserting, that according to the ancient laws of the

[x] S. Cyprian. Vit. p. 9, 10. [y] If any are desirous to see the history of this bishop of Carthage more at large, they may consult vol. iii. p. 1—15. [z] L. vii. cap. 15.

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'Romans, Marinus could not be admitted into that office, 'forasmuch[a] as he was a christian, and did not sacrifice to 'the emperors; and that the office did of right belong to 'him. Achæus the judge, being much moved, asked 'Marinus what were his sentiments. Perceiving that he 'confidently affirmed he was a christian, he allowed him the 'space of three hours to consider of the matter. When the 'three hours were expired, he returned to the tribunal. 'And when called upon again to deliver his sentiments, he 'made a profession of the faith with greater cheerfulness 'than before. Whereupon he was immediately had out to 'be put to death, and so was perfected.'

Eusebius adds, 'Then[b] Asturius, who is still celebrated 'for religious zeal and courage, a Roman senator, and in 'esteem with the emperors, who was present at the death 'of the martyr, taking up the body, laid it upon his shoul-'ders, and covering it with a rich cloth carried it off, and 'interred him in a decent manner.'

Mr. Mosheim's[c] observations upon this remarkable history are to this purpose. 'Marinus was not condemned by 'the edict of Valerian, which had been abrogated by Galli-'enus, but by the ancient law of Trajan; for an accuser 'was received. The man who confessed himself to be a 'christian was required to renounce the faith: when he 'would not, he was without delay led out to punishment. 'In[d] this instance therefore it is apparent, that the ancient 'laws of the emperors against the christians still retained 'their force, though milder had been enacted; And therefore 'under merciful emperors, who were lovers of peace, the 'presidents might punish christians, who were accused, and 'confessed themselves such. The body of Marinus was 'carried off by Asturius, a Roman senator, and buried; 'nor did he suffer for it; the reason is, that by Trajan's 'law the judge had no right to punish any but such as were 'accused; and there was nobody who was willing, or who 'dared, to accuse so considerable and honourable a man as 'Asturius was.'

[a] Χριστιανὸς γε ὄντι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι. Ib. p. 263. C.

[b] Ibid. cap. 16. [c] De Reb. &c. p. 557.

[d] Ex hoc igitur exemplo liquet, antiquas imperatorum in christianos leges, aliis etiam et mitioribus latis, vim suam retinuisse, et præsides propterea etiam sub clementibus imperatoribus, pacisque temporibus, in christianos accusatos et fassos animadvertere potuisse. Cadaver Marini Asturius, Senator Romanus, vir maximæ auctoritatis, humeris suis auferebat, et sepulturæ tradebat; idque faciebat impune ac sine periculo. Ratio in promptu est. Sine accusatore judici non licebat punire ex Trajani lege. Tanti autem nominis et dignitatis virum, amicum præterea imperatorum, nemo accusare vel volebat vel audebat. Moshem. ibid.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

AMELIUS.

I. *His history and time.* II. *His testimony to St. John's gospel, with remarks.*

I. THE next testimony will be the noted passage of Amelius, a Platonic philosopher, fellow-disciple[a] and intimate acquaintance of Porphyry, who wrote against the christians. Amelius,[b] as Suidas says, was of Apamea. Porphyry[c] in the Life of Plotinus calls him a Tuscan; but then he expressly says, that[d] when Plotinus died, Amelius was at Apamea in Syria; which may give occasion to think, that he was originally of that place, though perhaps he was born in Tuscany. Moreover Porphyry mentions a book of his inscribed[e] to Hesychius of Apamea, whom he had adopted for his son. His proper name, as we also learn from Porphyry, was Gentilian; and he chose to have his surname written with an *r*, Amerius, as indeed it is in Eunapius, and not Amelius; the last in Greek denoting negligence, the former integrity. According to Porphyry's account, he was the most[f] studious and laborious of all the disciples of Plotinus,[g] with whom he spent twenty-four years at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year of Christ 246, to the beginning of the year 269. Amelius[h] was a diligent ob-

[a] Vid. Eunap. de Vita Porphyr. p. 19, 20.

[b] Αμελιος, Απαμεος, φιλοσοφος, μαθητης Πλωτινυ, διδασκαλος Πορφυριυ, συγχρονισας Αμμονιῳ και Ωριγενῃ. Suid.

[c] Εσχε δε ακροατας μεν πλειυς· ζηλωτας δε και δια φιλοσοφιαν συνοντας, Αμελιον τε απο της Τυσκιας, ϐ το ονομα ην Γεντιλιανος το κυριον· αυτος δε δια τυ Ρ Αμεριον αυτον καλει, απο της Αμεριας η της Αμελειας πρεπειν αυτῳ καλεισθαι λεγων. Porph. de Vitâ Plotin. cap. vii. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 104.

[d] Τελευτωντι δε αυτῳ, εγω μεν ὁ Πορφυριος ετυγχανον εν Λιλυβαιῳ διατριβων, Αμελιος δε εν Απαμειᾳ της Συριας. Ib. cap. 2. p. 95.

[e] ——ἁ Ιϐτινῳ Ἡσυχιῳ τῳ Απαμει, ὁν υἱον εθετο, κεχαριϛαι. Ib. cap. 3. p 98. ——φιλοπονιᾳ δε υπερϐαλλομενος, των κατ' αυτον παντων. Ib. cap. 3. p. 98.

[g] Προηλθε δε αυτῳ ὁ Αμελιος, τριτον ετος αγοντι εν Ῥωμῃ κατα το τριτον της Φιλιππυ ϐασιλειας ετος, και αχρι τυ πρωτυ της Κλαυδιυ ϐασιλειας παραμεινας, ετη ὁλα συγγεγονεν εικοσι και τεσσαρα. Ibid.

[h] Φιλοθυτυ δε γεγονοτος τυ Αμελιυ, και τα ἱερα κατα νυμενιαν, και τας ἑορτας εκπερμοντος· και ποτε αξιυντος τον Πλωτινον συν αυτῳ παραϐαλειν, εφη· εκεινυς δει προς εμε ερχεσθαι, ϐκ εμε προς εκεινυς. κ. λ. Ib. cap. x. 111, 112.

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server of the sacred rites, which his master Plotinus regarded very little. I have placed Amelius at the year 263, because Porphyry[i] intimates, that he published little or nothing before the tenth year of Gallienus, when he had been eighteen years with Plotinus. This will suffice for his history.

II. 'Moreover,' says Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'Amelius,[k] a celebrated philosopher among the 'moderns, and a great admirer of the Platonic philosophy, 'though he has not mentioned the evangelist's name, bears 'testimony to his doctrine, saying, in these very words; 'And this plainly was the Word, by whom, he being him-'self eternal, were made all things that are, as Heraclitus 'also would say; and by Jove the same, whom the barba-'rian affirms to have been in the place and dignity of a 'principal, and to be with God, and to be God; by whom 'all things were made, and in whom every thing that was 'made has its life and being. Who descending into body, 'and putting on flesh, took the form of man; though even 'then he gave proof of the majesty of his nature; nay, and 'after his dissolution he was deified again, and is God, the 'same he was before he descended into body, and flesh, 'and man.'

I suppose that all will agree with Eusebius, and other ancient christian writers, that by 'the barbarian' Amelius intended the evangelist John, and that he here refers to his gospel. He calls him 'barbarian,' because, though he wrote in Greek, that was not his native language, and he was of Jewish or Hebrew extraction; or, as Cyril[l] expresseth it, he was a Hebrew of Hebrews, and not a Greek.

This passage of Amelius is a testimony to St. John's whole gospel, which, I think, he had read.

[i] Ibid. cap. 4. p. 99. Et conf. cap. 3. p. 98.

[k] *Εικοτως δητα και των νεων φιλοσοφων διαφανης γεγονως Αμελιος,——ει και μη επ' ονοματος ηξιωσε τυ ευαγγελιστυ Ιωαννυ μνημην ποιησασθαι, επιμαρτυρει δ' εν ομως ταις αυτυ φωναις, αυτα δε ταυτα προς ρημα γραφων. Και υτος αρα ην ὁ Λογος, καθ' ὁν αιει οντα τα γινομενα εγινετο, ὡς αν και ὁ Ἡρακλειτος αξιωσειε· και νη Δι' ὁν ὁ βαρβαρος αξιοι εν τῃ της αρχης ταξει τε και αξια καθεστηκοτα προς Θεον ειναι· δι' υ παντ' 'απλως γεγενησθαι· εν ῳ το γενομενον ζων και ζωην, και ον πεφυκεναι· και εις σωματα πιπτειν, και σαρκα ενδυσαμενον, φανταζεσθαι ανθρωπον· μετα και τυ τηνικαυτα δεικνυειν της φυσεως το μεγαλειον· αμελει και αναλυθεντα παλιν αναθεωσθαι και Θεον ειναι οιος ην προ το εις σωμα, και την σαρκα, και τον ανθρωπον καταχθειναι.* Euseb. Pr. Ev. L. xi. cap. 19. p. 540.

[l] *Βαρβαρον υν, ὡς γε οιμαι, τον θεσπεσιον Ιωαννην αποκαλει, διατοι της γλωττης ταχα πυ το ἑτεροθρυν· 'Εβραιος γαρ ην εξ 'Εβραιων, και υκ απο γε της 'Ελληνων χωρας τε και γης.* Cyr. contr. Julian. l. viii. p. 283.

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1. That he refers to the beginning of St. John's gospel is manifest. See ch. i. 1—4, and ver. 14.

2. He also says, 'that the Word, after he had descended into body, and had put on flesh, even then he 'gave proof of the majesty of his nature.' Here Amelius must refer to the great works performed by our Lord, as related in the following parts of that gospel.

3. Finally, Amelius says, that 'after his dissolution he was deified again, and was the same that he was before he descended into body.' Here, I think, he had in his eye John xvii. 5, "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thy own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." And ch. xvi. 5, "But now I go my way to him that sent me, and none of you asketh me, Whither goest thou?" Comp. ch. xiv. 4—8; and xx. 17; and other places.

Upon the whole I cannot but think, that Amelius had read over St. John's gospel from the beginning to the end.

This same passage is also quoted at length by[m] Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to the emperor Julian.

It is likewise quoted by Theodoret in his work against the gentiles; he introduceth it in this manner; 'Plutarch[n] 'also and Plotinus had heard of the sacred gospels. This 'is apparent from Amelius, who presided in the school of 'Porphyry; for he greatly admires the proëm to John's 'theology, saying, in these very words: "And this plainly 'was the Word."'

Here is some inaccuracy. Amelius did not preside in the school of Porphyry; but he was an eminent man of the school of Plotinus, where Porphyry was also in great repute.

Theodoret from this passage of Amelius concluded, that 'Plutarch and Plotinus were acquainted with our gospels.' It is, I suppose, no more than a probable supposition. Theodoret might be hence led to think as much of Plutarch; but we cannot affirm it. We see no proofs of it in his works; nor can we certainly say, that Plotinus was acquainted with our gospels, or had read them. But I suppose it may be reckoned certain, that he had heard of the christians, and had some knowledge of them. It is manifest from a passage of Porphyry, in his life of Plotinus,[o] which will be alleged in the chapter of Porphyry.

[m] Cont. Jul. l. viii. p. 283.

[n] *Και μεν δη και των θειων ευαγγελιων οτε Πλυταρχος και ο Πλωτινος ὑπηκουσατην. Δηλοι δε τυτο σαφως ὁ Αμελιος, της Πορφυριυ πρωτευσας διατριβης. Ὑπεραγαται γαρ το της Ιωαννυ θεολογιας προοιμιον υτωσι λεγων. κ. λ.* Theod. Gr. Aff. Serm. 2. p. 500. T. iv.

[o] Porphyr. de Vitâ Plotin. cap. xvi. p. 118. ubi supra.

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And it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable, that from the school of Plotinus we have so many testimonies to christianity. One of his disciples was Porphyry, who wrote so learnedly and so bitterly against the christians. Amelius, just quoted, who had read St. John's gospel, was another of the same school. And Longinus, from whom we shall also have a testimony, was well acquainted with those two disciples, and their master Plotinus. I think it may be hence concluded, that the learned men of that time had some knowledge of the christians. Their reading and considering the sacred books of the christians, depended upon their inquisitiveness, and openness to conviction, in things of religion.

Augustine speaks of a Platonic philosopher, who[p] 'greatly admired the beginning of St. John's gospel, and 'said, "It deserved to be written in letters of gold, and to 'be set up in the most conspicuous place in every church."' Whether that Platonic philosopher was Amelius, or another, we cannot say certainly.

Basil, in a homily upon the beginning of St. John's gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was 'with God, and the Word was God,"[q] says, 'I have known 'many, who are aliens from the word of truth, and boast 'themselves of their worldly wisdom, who have admired 'this text, and have also dared to insert it in their own 'writings.' Basil does not name them, and therefore we cannot say who they were.

[p] ——Quod initium sancti evangelii, cui nomen est Secundum Joannem, quidam Platonicus, sicut a sancto sene Simpliciano, qui postea Mediolanensis ecclesiæ præsedit episcopus, solebamus audire, aureis literis conscribendum, et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat. De Civ. Dei, l. x. cap. 29.

[q] *Ταυτα οιδα πολλης και των εξω τυ λογυ της αληθειας μεγα φρονυντων επι σοφιᾳ κοσμικῃ, και θαυμασαντας, και τοις ἑαυτων συνταγμασιν εγκαταλεξαι τολμησαντας.* Basil. hom. 16. in illud, in Principio erat Verbum. Tom. ii. p. 134. A. B. Edit. Bened. 1722.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

LONGINUS.

I. *His time and character.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures, with a curious observation upon a fragment ascribed to him.*

I. SAYS Suidas; 'Longinus[a] Cassius, a philosopher, 'master of Porphyry the philosopher, a man of great learn-'ing and exact judgment in things of literature. He 'flourished in the time of the emperor Aurelian, by whom 'he was put to death, as an accomplice with Zenobia wife 'of Odunatus.' After which Suidas mentions the titles of several of his works, and says, he wrote many others.

Longinus Cassius. He is generally called Dionysius Longinus.

Suidas says, he lived in the time of Aurelian, who did not begin to reign before the year of Christ 270, and by whom Longinus was put to death. Tanaquil Faber[b] says, that Suidas would have expressed himself more accurately if he had said, that 'Longinus flourished under Gordian, 'Decius, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius.' For, indeed, the reigns of most of the Roman emperors about that time were very short. Tanaquil Faber adds: 'And[c] therefore 'Longinus was contemporary with Origen:' which also is another just observation. Photius says, that[d] Longinus flourished in the time of Claudius, whose reign began in the year 268. I place him at the year of Christ 264, the twelfth of Gallienus; for he did not die before the year 273; and he could not then be young, as may be concluded from the number of his works; and he is always reckoned one of Porphyry's masters.

[a] *Λογγινος ὁ Κασσιος, φιλοσοφος, διδασκαλος Πορφυριυ τυ φιλοσοφυ, πολυμαθης και κριτικος γενομενος. Ην δε επι Αυρηλιανυ τυ Καισαρος, και ανηρεθη ὑπ' αυτυ, ὡς συμπνυς Ζηνοβια, τῃ Οδυνατυ γυναικι.* Suid.

[b] Tanaquilli Fabr. notæ ad Suidæ testimonium. Vid. Longin. ex editione Jac. Tollii.

[c] Itaque Origeni *συγχρονος* fuit Longinus. Fab. ibid. And Longinus is reckoned by Porphyry among the other gentile writers, which had been read and studied by Origen. Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 220. C.

[d] ——*επι Κλαυδιυ δε ετος ηκμαξε.* Phot. cod. 265. p. 1470.

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His father's name is not known. 'His[e] mother was 'Frontonis, sister of Fronto, of Emesa, the orator, who was 'at Rome in the time of the emperor Severus, and afterwards 'taught rhetoric at Athens; where he died when he was 'about sixty years of age, leaving[f] Longinus the critic his 'heir.' So says Suidas. Nevertheless Longinus did not lose his parents whilst very young; they[g] accompanied him in his travels; as we learn from a letter of his to Marcellus, a part of which is preserved in Porphyry's Life of Plotinus; whom[h] he saw, and continued some while with Ammonius and Origen, probably meaning Ammonius Saccus, and our Origen, called Adamantius.

Learned men[i] are not agreed about the place of his nativity. Some think he was an Athenian; others think it more likely, that he was born at Emesa in Syria, the place of his uncle's, and probably of his mother's nativity. His connexions with Zenobia, to whom he was master in the Greek language, and privy-counsellor, are proofs of his being in that part of the world in the latter part of his life; and there is a letter[k] of his written to Porphyry, when in Sicily, desiring him to come to him in Phœnicia. In his excellent remaining work, Of the Sublime, he[l] reckons himself among the Greeks; and so he might do, and be born in Syria; the people of that country being often called Greeks by ancient writers.

Eunapius says, 'that[m] Longinus was esteemed a living 'library, and walking museum. He had a kind of estab-'lished authority to judge of ancient authors. If[n] any man 'presumed to remark upon an ancient author, his sentence 'was not allowed of till the judgment of Longinus was 'known.' Porphyry[o] and Zosimus[p] extol Longinus in the like manner.

[e] Suid. V. *Φροντων, Εμισηνος.* [f] *Και αδελφης Φροντωνιδος παιδα οντα Λογγινον τον κριτικον κληρονομον κατελιπεν.* Suid. ut supr.

[g] *——ες ἁπαντας μεν ὑπηρξεν ιδειν ἡμιν, δια την εκ παιδων επι πολλες τοπες ἁμα τοις γονευσιν επιδημιαν.* De Vit. Plot. cap. 20. p. 127.

[h] Vid. ib. p. 128. [i] De patriâ Longini inter doctos multum disputatur; sed mihi quidem placet J. Jonsii conjectura, qui eum Atheniensem censet fuisse. Z. Pearce de Vitâ et Scriptis Longini, p. 1.

[k] *Αξιων γαρ με απο της Σικελιας κατιεναι προς αυτον εις την Φοινικην. κ. λ.* Porph. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 19. p. 123. [l] *——ει και ἡμιν ὡς Ἑλλησιν εφειται τι γινωσκειν. κ. λ.* De Sublim. cap. xii. 6. p. 92. Tollii.

[m] *Λογγινος δε κατα τον χρονον εκεινον βιβλιοθηκη τις ην εμψυχος, και περιπατων μουσειον· και κρινειν γε τες παλαιες επετετακτο.* Eunap. de Vit. Porph. p. 16. [n] *Και ει τις κατεγνω τινος των παλαιων, ου το δοξασθεν εκρατει προτερον, αλλ' η Λογγινου παντως εκρατει κρισις.* Ib. p. 17.

[o] Porph. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 14. p. 116. Cap. 21. p. 135.

[p] Zos. lib. i. p. 659.

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I must add, that Longinus is quoted by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation, where[q] he calls him a writer of our time. By Photius,[r] in the place before referred to, he is called Longinus the critic. He is also mentioned by Jerom[s] and Theophylact;[t] and with a view to his distinguishing excellence, his critical skill, upon whose judgment the sentences of all others depended. Not now to repeat any thing of Suidas, I take notice of this as a proof of the taste and candour of our christian ancestors; among whom, as well as among others, a judgment according to Longinus was a proverbial expression, denoting a right judgment.

Zenobia queen of the Palmyrens, who also called herself 'queen of the east,' contended with the Roman emperors after the death of her husband Odenatus, which happened in the year 267. In the end she was overcome, Palmyra was taken, and she also was taken prisoner; Aurelian[u] then sat in judgment upon her and her people in a place near the city Emesa;[v] when he determined to give Zenobia her life, and reserve her to do honour to his triumph. Many of her officers and counsellors were condemned to suffer death, and among them Longinus, who was supposed to have dictated a letter of Zenobia to Aurelian, written, as the emperor thought, in a haughty strain. It is manifest from Vopiscus, that this judgment of Aurelian was disliked by many. However, at this time Longinus showed himself to be[w] not a philologer only, but a philosopher, and[x] so died as to comfort those who bewailed his fate.

[q] ——*τα παρα Λογγινῳ τῳ καθ' ἡμας*. Pr. Ev. lib. xv. p. 822, &c. Vid. et lib. x. cap. 3. p. 464.

[r] *Ου το προοιμιον Λογγινος μεν ὁ κριτικος αγωνιςικον νομιζει*. Cod. 265. p. 1470.

[s] Criticum diceres esse Longinum, Censoremque Romanæ facundiæ. Ad Rusticum, ep. 95. [al. 4.] p. 776.

[t] *Μη μοι ȣν τας Λογγινȣ κρισεις περιαπτε, μη και δοξης τισιν αυτος γε ȣ κατα Λογγινον κρινειν*. Theophyl. ep. xvii.

[u] ——*επανελθων εις την Εμισαν, εις κρισιν ηγαγε Ζηνοβιαν τε και τȣς ταυτῃ συναραμενȣς*. Zos. l. i. p. 659. in.

[v] Ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium, Zenobiam ad pœnam poscentium. Sed Aurelianus, indignum existimans mulierem interimi, occisis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani esset ostentui. Grave inter eos qui cæsi sunt, de Longino philosopho fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Græcas literas dicitur; quem quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistola ipsius dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta. Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 30. p. 486.

[w] I allude to a passage in Porphyry's Life of Plotinus: *αναγνωσθεντος δε αυτῳ τȣ τε περι αρχων Λογγινȣ, και τȣ Φιλαρχειȣ, φιλολογος μεν, εφη, ὁ Λογγινος, φιλοσοφος δε ȣδαμως*. De Vit. Plotin. cap. 14. p. 116.

[x] Zos. l. i. p. 659.

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II. I now proceed to observe some testimonies in the writings of this great critic.

1. In his Treatise of the Sublime, which we still have, but not complete, he says; 'So[y] the lawgiver of the Jews, 'who was no ordinary man, having formed a just sentiment 'concerning the power of the Deity, he also declared it in 'a suitable manner, thus writing in the beginning of his 'laws: "God said: Let there be light, and there was light. 'Let the dry land appear, and it was so."'

Undoubtedly Longinus refers to the first chapter of the book of Genesis; and as he was convinced, that Moses 'was no ordinary man,' and openly declared his high opinion concerning him, it may be reckoned not unlikely that he had read over his Pentateuch.

From this passage Casaubon, in his notes upon Vopiscus, argues, that Longinus[z] was a christian, or much inclined to be so. But that does not appear; for Longinus[a] swears by the gods as other heathens did; we have proofs of it in some of his fragments undoubtedly genuine.

2. Beside this, there is a fragment of a work ascribed to him, which was first published by Dr. Hudson, and has been since repeated in the bishop of Rochester's edition of Longinus. It is to this purpose.

'And[b] for a conclusion of this whole discourse concern-'ing Greek orators, and their manner of writing, I now just 'mention Demosthenes, Lysias, Æschines, Aristides, Isæus, 'Timarchus, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Crithinus, and Xeno-'phon, to whom must be added Paul of Tarsus, of whom I 'may say, that he first excelled in an argument which is 'not of the demonstrative kind.'

This fragment[c] was received by Dr. Hudson from L. A.

[y] Ταυτῃ και ὁ των Ιουδαιων θεσμοθετης, ουχ ὁ τυχων ανηρ, επειδη την του θειου δυναμιν κατα την αξιαν εγνωρισε, καξεφηνεν, ευθυς εν τῃ εισβολῃ γραψας των νομων. Ειπεν ὁ Θεος, φησι. Τι, Γενεσθω φως, και εγενετο· γενεσθω γη, και εγενετο. De Sublim. cap. 9. p. 60. Toll.

[z] Extat hodieque Longini περι ὑψους libellus vere aureolus, ex quo semi-christianum fuisse, non male fortasse colligas, propter illud quod facit de Mosis scriptis judicium. Casaub. ad Vopisc. cap. 30. p. 486.

[a] ——ὡστε νη τους θεους. Ep. Ad. Porph. De Vitâ Plotini, cap. 19. p. 122. Et inter Fragment. ap. Tollium, p. 250. Τι γαρ ω προς θεων. Ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. xv. p. 823. et inter Fragm. p. 254. Toll.

[b] Κορωνις δ' εστω λογου παντος και φρονηματος Ἑλληνικου Δημοσθενης, Λυσιας, Αισχινης, Αριστειδης, Ισαιος, Τιμαρχος, Ισοκρατης, Δημοσθενης ὁ και Κριθινος, Ξενοφων, προς τουτοις Παυλος ὁ Ταρσευς, ὁν τινα και πρωτον φημι προϊταμενον δογματος αναποδεικτου. Longini Fragm. 1. apud Pearce. p. 259.

[c] Hoc Longini de Rhetoribus testimonium extat in præstantissimo codice Evangeliorum Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ Urbinatis, signato Num. 2. Quod mecum communicavit Laur. Alex. Zacagnius. Hudson.

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Zacagni, who transcribed it from a very good manuscript of the gospels preserved in the Vatican library. But Fabricius[d] plainly declares his opinion concerning this last clause relating to Paul of Tarsus, that it is not genuine; nor have I any thing to say in favour of its genuineness; probably it was added by a christian.

3. However, I shall here insert some curious observations upon this fragment ascribed to Longinus, in which a testimony is given to St. Paul's abilities as an orator. I have received them from the learned Mr. James Merrick without any prohibition to publish them; and I believe my readers will be pleased with seeing them here.

'I transmit to you,' says Mr. Merrick, 'an observation 'communicated to me in conversation some years since by 'a very ingenious friend, which may deserve to be con-'sidered in any future disquisition concerning the authen-'ticity of the fragment. Δημοσθενης ὁ και Κριθινος is one of 'the orators mentioned in it; by which person my friend 'understood Dinarchus to be meant, alleging, that a com-'mentator on Hermogenes (Syrianus, if I rightly remem-'ber) affirms, that Dinarchus was called Δημοσθενης Κριθινος, 'which name, as the above-mentioned gentleman supposed, 'was designed to intimate, that the eloquence of Dinarchus 'bore the same proportion to that of Demosthenes, that 'barley bears to wheat. From this curious discovery, (for 'such it seems,) made by my learned friend, who also 'added, that hordeaceus rhetor occurs in Suetonius de 'Illustr. Rhetor. cap. 2. I am inclined to draw this con-'clusion, That we owe the words, Δημοσθενης ὁ και Κριθινος, 'if they originally stood in the fragment, of which I am 'speaking, not to Longinus, but to some less knowing 'critic, who having somewhere met with Δημοσθενης Κριθινος, 'was not aware, that it was a name given to Dinarchus, but 'thought that it had belonged to an orator whose real name 'was Demosthenes, and who was also called Κριθινος, in 'order to distinguish him from the more celebrated orator 'of that name. If, therefore, we admit the fragment as 'genuine, we should, I imagine, read Δειναρχος, ὁ και Δημοσ-'θενης Κριθινος.'

'P. S. Not having an opportunity of consulting the com-

[d] Περι συνθεσεως λογων. Lib. de sublimi oratione, sect. 39. Longinus ipse testatur se de hac satis copiose tractâsse in duobus commentariis.——Extat et similis argumenti liber inter Dionysii Halicarnassei opera, de quo, lib. 3. cap. 32. Ex illis Longini petitum videtur testimonium de Rhetoribus, quod ex codice MSS. Vaticano Evangeliorum cum Hudsono Zacagnius communicavit.—Postrema de Paulo apostolo a christiano homine adjecta sunt. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 31. T. iv. p. 445.

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'ments on Hermogenes, I have looked into Fabricius's 'Bibliotheca Græca, and find there, Vol. iv. p. 434, Dinarchus mentioned in the Index of Authors quoted by Hermogenes, and styled Hordeaceus Demosthenes. Again, 'in the same volume, p. 467, I find him mentioned in the 'Index of Authors taken notice of in the Comments of 'Hermogenes, (but placed by mistake after Diodorus,) by 'the title of Κριθινος Demosthenes.'

Whether this fragment be rightly ascribed to Longinus or not, these observations will be allowed to be curious.

CHAP. XXXV.

NUMENIUS.

His testimony to the scriptures of the Old Testament.

'NUMENIUS,[a] of Apamea in Syria,' says Suidas, 'a 'Pythagorean philosopher. This is the man who charged 'Plato with stealing from the writings of Moses his senti-'ments concerning God, and the original of the world, say-'ing: "What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?"'

The same saying is in Clement of Alexandria. 'And[b] 'Numenius, the Pythagorean philosopher, writes expressly: '"What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?"'

The same is also quoted from Clement by Eusebius[c] in his Evangelical Preparation.

Eusebius presently afterwards[d] quotes 'the first and the 'third book of Numenius concerning What is Good; Where 'Numenius speaks of the rites and institutions of several 'nations, particularly the Brachmans, the Jews, the Ma-'gians, and the Egyptians; and mentions Jannes and 'Jambres, two sacred Egyptian scribes, who, when the 'Jews were expelled Egypt, being reckoned very skilful 'in the magical art, were by common consent[e] chosen to

[a] Νεμηνιος, Απαμεος, απο Συριας, φιλοσοφος Πυθαγορειος. Οὑτος εστιν ὁ την τȣ Πλατωνος εξελεγξας διανοιαν, ὡς εξ Μοσαϊκων τα περι Θεȣ και κοσμȣ γενεσεως αποσυλησασαν, και δια τȣτο φησι· τι γαρ εστι Πλατων, η Μωσης αττικιζων; Suid. V. Νεμηνιος.

[b] Clem. Str. l. i. p. 342. Pa. p. 411. Oxon.

[c] L. ix. cap. 6. p. 411.

[d] Ib. cap. 7, et 8. p. 411.

[e] Μεσαιῳ γεν, τῳ Ιȣδαιων εξηγησαμενῳ, ανδρι γενομενῳ, Θεω ευξασθαι δυνατωτατω. Ib.

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'oppose Musæus, [meaning Moses,] who was very power-
'ful in his prayers with God, that they might remove the
'calamities brought by him upon that country.'

Numenius is quoted several times by Origen in his books against Celsus; I shall take notice of those places by and by. He is also quoted twice or thrice by Theodoret. I do not recollect that he is at all quoted by Augustine in any of his works, nor by Cyril of Alexandria in his answer to the emperor Julian. Porphyry, as quoted by[f] Eusebius, chargeth Origen with reading and borrowing from Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius. Porphyry says, that[g] the Commentaries of Severus, Cronius, Numenius, Gaius, and Atticus, Platonic philosophers, were read in the school of Plotinus. He likewise says in the same work, the Life of Plotinus, that[h] Amelius was very diligent in learning the opinions of Numenius, and out of them composed Commentaries of near an hundred books. Finally, Porphyry, in his book De Antro Nympharum, quotes[i] Numenius and his friend Cronius.

From Macrobius[k] we learn, that Numenius was reproached by some with having divulged or exposed the Eleusinian mysteries, and to be avenged of him, Ceres and Proserpine appeared to him in a very strange manner.

We now return to Origen; who quotes[l] the first book of Numenius the Pythagorean, concerning What is Good, or Concerning the Good; and[m] a book of his concerning the Immortality of the Soul. And still once more after this manner: 'I[n] know also that Numenius, a skilful commen-
'tator upon Plato, and well acquainted with the Pythagorean
'doctrines, in many places of his writings has quoted the

[f] —συνηθη γαρ αει τῳ Πλατωνι—τοις τε Νουμηνιου και Κρονιου. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 220.

[g] De Vitâ Plotini, cap. xiv.

[h] Ibid. cap. iii.

[i] Νουμηνιος και ο τουτου ἑταιρος Κρονιος. De Antro Nymph. p. 263. Vid. et p. 271.

[k] Numenio denique inter philosophos occultorum curiosiori offensam numinum, quod Eleusinia sacra interpretando vulgaverit, somnia prodiderunt, visas sibi ipsas Eleusinias Deas habitu meretricio ante apertum lupanar ludere prostantes, &c. Macrob. Somnium Scip. l. i. cap. 2. p. 9.

[l] Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 13. sect. 15.

[m] Ibid. l. v. p. 269. sect. 57.

[n] Εγω δ' οιδα και Νουμηνιον τον Πυθαγορειον——πολλαχου συγγραμματων αυτου εκτιθεμενον τα Μωϋσεως και των προφητων, και ουκ απιθανως αυτα τροπολογουντα, ὡσπερ εν τῳ καλουμενῳ, Εποπτι, και εν τοις περι Αριθμων, και εν τοις περι Τοπου. Εν δε τριτῳ περι τ' αγαθου εκτιθεται και περι του Ιησου ἱστοριαν τινα, το ονομα αυτου ου λεγων, και τροπολογει αυτην· ποτερον δ' επιτετευγμενως, η αποτετευγμενως, αλλου καιρου εστιν ειπειν. Αλλ' ουκ εν εκεινῃ σεμνυνομεθα· αποδεχομεθα δ' αυτον μαλλον Κελσου και αλλων Ἑλληνων, βουληθεντα φιλομαθως και τα ἡμετερα εξετασαι, και κινηθεντα ὡσπερ τροπολογουμενων, και ου μωρων συγγραμματων. Ib. l. iv. p. 198. sect. 51.

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'books of Moses and the prophets, and has allegorized 'them in no improbable manner; as in his book called the 'Epops, and in his books concerning Numbers, and those 'concerning Place. And in his third book concerning 'What is Good, he relates a history concerning Jesus with-'out mentioning his name, and allegorizeth it; whether 'rightly or not, I do not now stay to inquire. He also 'relates a history concerning Moses, and Jannes and 'Jambres. Not that I think this a matter to be much 'boasted of; nevertheless, we have more reason to be 'pleased with him, than with Celsus and other Greeks; 'forasmuch as he had read our scriptures, and candidly 'paid a regard to them as no contemptible writings, and 'worthy to be allegorized.'

To this passage of Origen there is a reference in Grotius, Of the Truth of the Christian Religion, or in the Notes upon him; where it is said, 'that[o] divers heathen authors have 'made mention of Jesus, as Suetonius, Tacitus, the younger 'Pliny, and many others. And Origen, in his fourth book 'against Celsus, lets us know, that in Numenius the Pytha-'gorean there was a history concerning Jesus.'

Having now, as I think, paid a due regard to the quotations of Numenius, which are in our early christian writers, I must take the liberty to say, that the time of Numenius is uncertain. And I cannot but doubt, whether he lived after the coming of our Saviour. Says Tillemont: 'It[p] is 'thought, that we ought to place about the time of Marcus 'Aurelius the celebrated philosopher Numenius, of whom 'Eusebius and Theodoret have made great use in their ar-'guments with the heathens. Theodoret does in effect say 'that he lived after Christ.' Nevertheless that manner of speaking seems to show that Tillemont hesitated; for Theodoret speaks plainly enough, if we could rely upon him, as accurate and well informed. Having quoted Plotinus, he says: 'And[q] many other like things are said by 'him, and Plutarch, and Numenius, and others of that sect. 'For[r] these men living after the coming of our Saviour, 'have joined many parts of the christian theology with their 'own doctrines.' And Origen likewise, in the place before referred to, speaks in this manner. First he quotes Chry-

[o] Testantur idem et pagani——ut Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius junior, et post hos multi. Historiam quandam de Jesu etiam apud Numenium Pythagoricum exstitisse, docet nos Origenes contra Celsum quarto. Grot. de Verit. Rel. Chr. l. ii. sect. ii.

[p] Théodoret dit en effet, qu'il a vecu après Jésus Christ. L'Emp. Marc Aurèle, art. 31.

[q] Gr. Aff. l. ii. p. 500.

[r] Μετα γαρ δη την τε Σωτηρος ἡμων επιφανειαν ουτοι γενομενοι, της χριστιανικης θεολογιας πολλα τοις οικειοις ανεμιξαν λογοις. Ibid.

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sippus, and then adds: 'The[s] like things may be seen in the 'latter philosophers who lived not long ago, as Plutarch, 'and Numenius, in his second book of the Immortality of 'the Soul.'

J. Tollius, in his notes upon a fragment of Longinus, where Numenius is mentioned, supposeth he lived in the times of the[t] Antonines; and Jonsius likewise thought it probable, that[u] Numenius flourished in the time of Antoninus the pious. And indeed it is easy to show, as Jonsius has done, that Numenius lived before Origen, and some others, who read him, or have quoted him; but I do not perceive any marks of his real time alleged from any.

I therefore am still in suspense. It is, I think, remarkable, that Suidas, who tells us in whose reigns lived Plutarch, and Dion Cassius, and Dion Chrysostom, and Aristides, and Numenius the orator, and many others, says nothing of that kind of Numenius the philosopher. He knew that he was of Apamea in Syria, but does not mention the name of the emperor in whose time he lived. And Numenius, as we have seen, is often joined with Plato and Cronius: but the time of Cronius is uncertain, so far as I know. Nor have I observed any thing in the quotations of the works of Numenius, made by Eusebius, or others, that can determine his age; for any thing that is observable in those quotations, he might live when gentilism was at its height, and in all its splendour. He was acquainted with the writings of Moses and the prophets; but I discern not any references to the scriptures of the New Testament. That history concerning Jesus, which Numenius has allegorized, as Origen says, 'without naming him,' may have been somewhat different from what has been generally apprehended. Perhaps it related to Joshua, successor of Moses in the government of the people of Israel. For if that history had related to the Lord Jesus, it might be expected that we should see it repeated over again in Eusebius or Theodoret, or some other writer since Origen. After all, as I apprehend, such a reference as that in Origen is of little importance; he has not quoted the passage; nor so much as hinted what was the subject of the history.

[s] Η δη δε και παρα τισι των νεωτερων, και χθες και πρωην γεγενημενων. Ut supr. l. v. sect. 57.

[t] Floruit sub Antonino et Vero, Apameâ Syriæ oriundus——Hujus dicebatur Plotinus scripta compilâsse. Defendit autem Plotinum Amelius libro De Differentiâ Doctrinæ Plotini et Numenii, quem Porphyrio inscripsit; ut est apud Porphyrium in Vitâ Plotini. Toll. in Longin. p. 248.

[u] Si conjecturæ hæc res committenda, sub Antonino Pio Numenium floruisse dixerim J. Jons. de Scriptorib. Hist. Philosoph. l. iii. cap. 10. p. 264.

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I could not omit Numenius, as he has quoted Moses and the prophets, and allegorized some part of their writings; but I know not when he lived. I put him down here, being desirous to join him with Amelius and Longinus, two learned critics and philosophers. Numenius, as we learn from Origen, made use of 'Moses and the prophets,' and allegorized some parts of them. If he had lived after the publication of the books of the New Testament, it is reasonable to believe that he would have made use of them likewise. As it does not appear that he took any notice of them, it seems to me probable that he lived before the rise of the christian religion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE EMPEROR AURELIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *How the christians are mentioned by him in a letter to the senate of Rome.* III. *His conduct toward Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch.* IV. *His persecution of the christians.*

I. AURELIAN,[a] a man of mean original, but of a severe disposition, and a great captain, having performed good services in the times of Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius the second, was, after the death of this last, proclaimed emperor in the year 270, and died in 275. Some have ascribed to him a reign of six years; but now it is the opinion of the best chronologers that[b] he did not complete his fifth year, and died after he had reigned four years and four months and some days.

II. Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse is the sixth and last of the Augustan writers, but not the worst of them; for he is generally reckoned as learned a man and as regular an historian as any of them.

In his Life of the Emperor Aurelian, he makes mention of a letter of his to the senate of Rome, written, probably, in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270 or[c] 271, upon

[a] Aurelianus, modicis ortus parentibus, a primâ ætate ingenio vivacissimus, &c. Vopisc. Aurelian, cap. 4. p. 420. [b] Vid. Pagi ann. 275. num. ii. iii. Basn. ann. 270. num. vi. [c] Vid. Basnag. ann. 291. num. ii.

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occasion of an incursion made into Italy by some people of Germany.

'There[d] is,' says Vopiscus, 'a letter of Aurelian concerning the Sibylline books, which I insert here to confirm the account which I have given. "I wonder that you, holy fathers, have so long hesitated about opening the Sibylline books; just as if your consultations were held in some church of the christians, and not in the temple of all the gods."'

The meaning of the emperor[e] is very evident. The christians were reckoned a profane and atheistical sort of men, without temples, without rites and ceremonies, or however, averse to all the rites of the public establishment. The emperor tells the senate, that they were as backward to open those books, which should inform them what sacrifices ought to be offered up for the good of the public, as if they were so many christians met together, who were averse to all sacrifices; and not the Roman senate sitting in the temple of all the gods, the very place of whose assembly admonished them of their duty, to take in the direction and assistance of the gods in this difficult conjuncture.

This passage affords a good argument that the true Sibylline books which were in the hands of the Romans, and were still made use of by them, were full of heathen superstition, and not agreeable to the christian doctrine or worship, as some have supposed. This is manifest from the whole context before and after this letter of Aurelian. There are divers other proofs of it, occurring in the Lives of the Roman Emperors, written by these Augustan historians, particularly in the[f] Life of Gordian the third, written by Julius Capitolinus, and in the[g] Life of Gallienus, written by Trebellius Pollio.

But that is not now our principal concern. The design of alleging this passage is to show, that Vopiscus the

[d] Est epistola Aureliani de libris Sibyllinis. Nam ipsam quoque indidi ad fidem rerum. Miror vos, Patres Sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitâsse libris, proinde quasi in christianorum ecclesiâ, non in templo deorum omnium, tractaretis. Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 20. p. 463.

[e] Vid. Annot. in Vopisci, loc. et Basnag. ann. 271, num. ii. et ante Dom. 4. num. x. xi.

[f] Fuit terræ motus eousque gravis imperante Gordiano, ut civitates etiam terræ hiatu cum populis deperirent; ob quæ, sacrificia per totam urbem totumque orbem terrarum, ingentia celebrata sunt. Et Cordus quidem dicit, inspectis libris Sibyllinis, celebratisque omnibus, quæ illic jussa videbantur, mundanum malum esse sedatum. Jul. Capit. Gordian. cap. iii. 22. p. 118.

[g] Pax igitur Deûm quæsita, inspectis Sibyllæ libris, factumque Jovi Salutari, ut præceptum fuerat, sacrificium. Treb. Poll. Gallien. cap. 5. p. 198.

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Augustan writer, and the emperor Aurelian, were not unacquainted with the christians and their principles.

However, there is another thing which may be observed here; that this passage may lead us to think, Aurelian was not free from superstition. And there are some other things said of him, which may concur to support this supposition. For his mother[h] is said by Vopiscus to have been a priestess of the temple of the Sun, which was in the place where his parents dwelt; and this her son appears also to have had a peculiar respect for that deity. This is an observation for which I am indebted[i] to Mr. Mosheim; and I have brought it in here for the sake of some things which may follow hereafter.

III. For there are some other things concerning this emperor in christian writers, which must now be taken notice of.

Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by the second council held in that city upon his account in[k] the year 269, and Domnus was appointed in his room; but Paul, being supported by Zenobia, kept his seat for some time after that, till near the end of the year 272, or the beginning of 273, when Aurelian was master of Antioch. 'Paul[l] therefore,' says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, 'having fallen from the faith, and from the episcopate, 'Domnus took upon him the care of the church of Antioch. 'But when Paul refused to leave the house of the church, 'a petition was presented to the emperor Aurelian, and he 'rightly determined the matter, giving orders that the house 'should be delivered to them to whom the bishops of the 'christian religion in Italy and Rome should write. Thus,' as Eusebius adds, 'the fore-mentioned person was with 'great disgrace thrust out of the church by the secular 'power.'

IV. Upon that history, and particularly upon that passage of Eusebius, divers remarks were made formerly[m] which need not be repeated here. I proceed to the only

[h] Matrem quidem ejus Callicrates Tyrius, Græcorum longe doctissimus scriptor, sacerdotem templi solis, in eo vico, in quo habitabant parentes, fuisse dicit, &c. Vopisc. Aurelian, cap. 4. p. 420.

[i] Vix eo inter imperatores ante Constantinum M. quisquam superstitiosior, deorumque commentitiorum studiosior fuit. Mater ejus sacerdos fuerat solis ———et filius idcirco solem summi Numinis loco per totam vitam venerabatur. Orationem, quâ Valeriano de honoribus ab eo acceptis gratias agit, his verbis claudit: Dii faciant, et Deus certus Sol, ut et Senatus de me sic judicet, &c. &c. Moshem. ut supr. p. 559.

[k] See vol. ii. p. 677, &c.

[l] H. E. l. vii. cap. 30. p. 282. D.

[m] See vol. ii. p. 679, &c

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thing farther to be observed concerning Aurelian, that by divers christian authors he is reckoned among the persecutors of the church. Sulpicius Severus quite omits him in his catalogue. Nevertheless Eusebius, presently after the place just cited, adds: 'Thus[n] was Aurelian affected toward us 'at that time, but in the farther advances of his empire his 'mind was altered towards us, owing to the advices of some 'men about him, so that he raised a persecution against us. 'Much discourse there was every where about it. But the 'divine justice arrested him, when he was just signing the 'edicts against us; so, as it were, holding his hand, that he 'should not perform what he had designed; and thereby 'manifesting to all men, that the princes of this world can 'do nothing against the churches of Christ, but when God 'allows it for our correction and amendment.'

In Jerom's Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, 'that when[o] Aurelian had raised a persecution 'against us, he was terrified by lightning that fell near him 'and his companions, and soon after he was slain between 'Constantinople and Heraclea.'

Orosius[p] speaks much to the like purpose, and makes this the ninth persecution.

The author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, 'that[q] 'though Aurelian was not ignorant of Valerian's captivity, 'yet as if he had forgot his guilt and punishment, he pro-'voked the anger of God by his cruel proceedings. How-'ever, he was not able to finish what he designed, but 'perished in the beginnings of his fury. And before his 'cruel edicts had reached the more distant provinces, he 'was slain at a place in Thrace.'

Augustine[r] expressly mentions this among the other heathen persecutions of the christians, and reckons it the ninth.

[n] H. E. l. vii. cap. 30. p. 283. B.

[o] Aurelianus quum adversum nos persecutionem movisset, fulmen juxta eum comitesque ejus ruit; ac non multo post inter Constantinopolim et Heracleam in Cœnophrurio viæ veteris occiditur. Chr. p. 177.

[p] Novissime, cum persecutionem adversus christianos agi nonus a Nerone decerneret, fulmen ante eum magno pavore circumstantium ruit; ac non multo post in itinere occisus est. Oros. l. vii. cap. 23.

[q] Aurelianus, qui esset naturâ væsanus et præceps, quamvis captivitatem Valeriani meminisset, tamen, oblitus sceleris ejus et pœnæ, iram Dei crudelibus factis lacessivit. Verum ille ne perficere quidem quæ cogitaverat licuit, sed protinus inter initia sui furoris extinctus est. Nondum ad provincias ulteriores cruenta scripta pervenerant; et jam Cœnophrurio, qui locus est Thraciæ, cruentus ipse humi jacebat, falsâ quâdam suspicione ab amicis suis interemptus. De M. P. cap. 6. Conf. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. 15. et Victor. Epit. c. 35.

[r] ——Ab Aureliano nonam. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52.

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Mr. Dodwell[s] supposeth that Aurelian's persecution was only intended, and not put in execution; and indeed Eusebius has so expressed himself about this matter in his Ecclesiastical History, as has occasioned some learned men to hesitate about it. But upon more carefully examining his words, and observing the accounts of other authors, learned men[t] have generally, and, as I think, very judiciously determined, that Aurelian not only intended but did actually persecute; but his persecution was short, he having died soon after the publication of his edicts.

Mr. Mosheim is of opinion, that many christians did not suffer at this time; but[u] considering Aurelian's cruel temper, and how much he was addicted to the superstitions of Gentilism, he thinks that if he had lived, his persecution would have exceeded all the former persecutions in severity.

The author of the Deaths of Persecutors before cited, says, that Aurelian provoked God by his 'cruel proceed-'ings,' and calls his 'edict cruel,' or bloody, cruenta scripta.' Possibly that author, who did not live very long after Aurelian, had seen some copies of his edicts; if so, I wish he had inserted in his volume one of them, or only the substance of them; it would have been esteemed very curious by some in our times. By such neglects, and such want of accuracy, we suffer greatly.

[s] Intentata enim duntaxat erat ab Aureliano, non item executioni mandata. De Paucitate M. sect. lxiv. in.

[t] Non intentatam modo, sed executioni quoque brevissimo tempore mandatam, nobis est infixum in animo, &c. Basnag. ann. 275. n. ii. Et conf. Pagi ann. 272. n. iv.—xii. et 273. ii.

[u] Aurelianus, qui Claudium excipiebat, A. cclxx. etsi Diis immodice serviens, et iniqte de christianis sentiens, nihil tamen in eos noxium per quadriennium moliebatur. Quinto vero imperii anno, sive proprià superstitione, sive alienâ motus, bellum in eos parabat; quod, si vixisset, ut crudelis erat, ferocisque ingenii, deorumque amicis et sacerdotibusque obnoxius, præteritis atrocius futurum fuisset, &c. Mosh. De. Reb. &c. p. 558.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

PORPHYRY.

I. *His time and history, and works.* II. *A passage, from Eusebius, of Porphyry in his third book against the christians, concerning Origen, with remarks.* III. *Porphyry's objections against the book of Daniel, in the twelfth book of his work against the christians, extracted from Jerom's Commentary upon the book of Daniel.* IV. *Remarks upon those objections, and upon the answers made to them.* V. *Passages of Porphyry in the fourth book of his work against the christians, where he acknowledgeth the great antiquity of Moses.* VI. *An objection of Porphyry against the prohibition to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil,* Gen. iii. 5. VII. *Passages of Porphyry containing quotations of the books of the N. T.* VIII. *A review of his testimony to the scriptures of the O. and N. T.* IX. *Passages of Porphyry concerning the christian religion, and the affairs of christians.* X. *Of the work ascribed to Porphyry, and entitled, The Philosophy from Oracles.*

I. I HAVE already observed several things relating to Porphyry in the introduction to the chapter of Celsus; where is a general account of all such heathen authors as had written against the christians.

Porphyry's history may be collected from his Life written by Eunapius, and from the Life of Plotinus written by himself; however, I refer[a] also to divers learned moderns, who ought to be consulted by such as are inquisitive.

Porphyry was born at Tyre in Phœnicia, as we are assured by[b] himself, and by[c] Libanius and Eunapius,[d] who also say, that he was descended from honourable ancestors. It

[a] Vid. Suid. Voss. de Hist. Græcis, l. ii. cap. 16. Luc. Holsten. de Vit. et Scriptis Porphyrii. Cav. Hist. Lit. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 262. iv. 263. iii. iv. et alibi. Basnag. ann. 278. n. iii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 27. Tom. iv. p. 180, &c. Tillemont, Diocletien. art. 28—31. Hist. des Emp. Tom. iv.

[b] Εσχε δε και εμε Πορφυριον, Τυριον οντα, εν τοις μαλιστα ἑταιρον. Porphyr. Vit. Plotin. cap. vii. p. 107. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 107.

[c] Πορφυριῳ Τυρος μεν ην πατρις ἡ πρωτη των αρχαιων Φοινικων ἡ πολις· και πατερες δε ουκ ασημοι. Eunap. p. 16.

[d] ——τυ Τυριυ γεροντος. Liban. ap. Socrat. H. E. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 196.

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is computed, that he was born in the twelfth year of Alexander Severus, of Christ 233.

His[e] original name was Meleck, which in the Syriac language signifies King, and with a Latin termination is Malchus; and sometimes he was called in Greek Βασιλευς, King. Longinus, under whom he studied some time, changed his name into Porphyry, signifying in Greek, Purple, which was usually worn by kings and princes.

He was at Rome in the year 253, but made no long stay there. He came thither again in the tenth year of the emperor Gallienus, when he was thirty years of age, as he says[f] himself. As the tenth year of that emperor answers to the year of our Lord 262, or 263, it is concluded, that Porphyry was born in the year of Christ 233. At that time Plotinus had a school at Rome; and Porphyry, being much taken with him, spent there[g] six years under his instructions; at the end of which term, as[h] he says himself, he had a strong propensity to put an end to his own life. Plotinus perceiving it, told him that thought did not proceed from reason, but from a melancholic disorder, and advised him to leave the city. Whereupon in the year 268 he went into Sicily, where[i] he was in the second year of the emperor Claudius, in the year 270, when Plotinus died in Campania.

How long he staid in Sicily is not certain; but Eunapius says, he[k] afterwards returned to Rome, where he acquired great fame for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius says likewise, that he[l] lived to a great age. And Porphyry[m] himself, in his Life of Plotinus, mentions something which happened to him in the sixty-eighth year of his age; at which time, probably, he was about seventy years old. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, that he reached to the latter part of the reign of Dioclesian, and died, as may be supposed, in the year of Christ 302, or 303. Eunapius supposeth, that[n] he ended his days at Rome. Suidas says truly, but without much accuracy, that[o] he

[e] Μαλχος δε κατα την Συρων πολιν ὁ Πορφυριος εκαλειτο τα πρωτα. Τυτο δε δυναται βασιλεα λεγειν. Πορφυριον δε αυτον ωνομασε Λογγινος, εις το βασιλικον της εσθητος παρασημον την προσηγοριαν επιτρεψας. Eunap. ib. p. 16. [f] Vid. Plotin. cap. 4. p. 99. [g] Cap. 5. p. 101.

[h] Ib. cap. 11. p. 113. Conf. Eunap. p. 17.

[i] Porph. de Vitâ Plotini, cap. 2. 6. 7.

[k] Αυτος μεν ων επι την Ῥωμην επανηλθε, και της περι λογοις εχετο σπεδης, ὡστε παρηει, και εις το δημοσιον κατ' επιδειξιν. Eunap. Porph. p. 19.

[l] Φαινεται δε αφικομενος εις γερας βαθυ. p. 21. [m] De Vitâ Plotin. cap. 23. [n] Εν Ῥωμῃ δε λεγεται μεταλλαττειν τον βιον. Eun. ib.

[o] —γεγονως επι των χρονων Αυρηλιανυ, και παρατεινας ἑως Διοκλητιανυ τυ βασιλεως. Suid. V. Πορφυριος.

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lived in the time of Aurelian, and reached to the emperor Dioclesian. Nor is Eunapius much more exact, who, speaking of Porphyry, and some others, says, they[p] flourished in the times of Gallienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus.

Porphyry, as Eunapius[q] assures us, had a wife named Marcella, a widow with five children, to whom he inscribed one of his books; in which he says, he married her, not for the sake of having children by her himself, but that he might educate the children which she had by her former husband, who was his friend; which showed a virtuous and generous disposition; nor indeed do we meet with any reflections made upon his conduct of life. Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to[r] Julian, makes honourable mention of Marcella, as a woman of a philosophical turn of mind, and for that reason esteemed by Porphyry.

Porphyry is called Bataneotes[s] by Jerom and[t] Chrysostom. Baronius[u] hence argued, that Porphyry was a Jew, and was so called from Batanea, a city in Palestine; which opinion is rejected by his learned[v] annotator. Porphyry certainly was a Syrian, as was shown above from unquestioned authority. Fabricius[w] suspects that Porphyry was born at Batanea, a town in Syria, which might be a colony of the Tyrians. Heuman thought, that[x] Porphyry did not put his own name to the work against the christians, but published it under the borrowed and fictitious name of Bataneotes. There are divers other conjectures concerning the original of this appellation, which may be seen in[y] Lucas Holstenius, and[z] Tanaquil Faber, and other learned men. Which of them is right, or whether any one of them be so, I cannot say.

Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History, represents[a] Por-

[p] Eunap. p. 21. [q] *Και προς Μαρκελλαν γε, αυτε γυναικα γενομενην, βιβλιον φερεται, ὴν φησιν αγαγεσθαι, και ταυτα ωσαν πεντε μητερα τεκνων. κ. λ.* Id. ib. [r] Contr. Julian. l. vi. p. 209.

[s] Quod nequaquam intelligens Bataneotes, et sceleratus ille Porphyrius, &c. Pr. in Comment. in ep. ad Galat. T. iv. p. 223.

[t] *Οἱ περι Κελσον και τον Βατανεωτην τον μετ' εκεινον.* In 1 Cor. hom. 6. p. 47. T. x.

[u] Porro eum constat natione Judæum, Bataneæ, quæ est in Judæâ civitas, natum. Hincque est quod S. Hieronymus eum Bataneotem appellat. Baron. ann. 203. n. li. [v] Pagi. ann. 302. n. viii.

[w] Suspicor patriam veram ejus fuisse Bataneam, oppidum Syriæ,—Tyriorum forte coloniam. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 181.

[x] Heuman. Poe. seu Epist. Miscell. T. iii. p. 251.

[y] De Vitâ Porph. cap. 4. [z] Fab. Ep. 1. ep. 64.

[a] *Εκεινος μεν γαρ πληγας εν Καισαρειᾳ της Παλαιστινης ὑπο τινων χριστιανων ειληφως, και μη ενεγκων την οργην, εκ μελαγχολιας τον μεν χριστιανισμον*

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phyry as originally a christian; but having been beaten by some christians at Cæsarea in Palestine, out of resentment and melancholy he was induced to renounce christianity; and afterwards out of hatred against those by whom he had been beaten, he wrote against the christians; and he seems to intimate, that Eusebius had said as much. But nothing of that kind is now to be found in Eusebius; nor do the words of Socrates clearly import that Eusebius had said so. Augustine too[b] has been referred to as confirming this account; but, as Tillemont[c] has observed, the connection of the discourse shows, that Augustine intended no more, than that this philosopher was too proud to embrace christianity. Heuman[d] also has considered this story, and rejects it as a mere fable.

If Porphyry had ever been a christian, it was a thing too remarkable not to have been often and expressly mentioned by christian authors, who have had occasion to speak of him; and he would have been frequently called an apostate as well as Julian.

Porphyry, as cited by[e] Eusebius, speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence argued, that Porphyry went to Alexandria to see Origen; and it is expressly said by[f] Vincentius Lirinensis. But it must be a mistake; for Origen left Alexandria before Porphyry was born, having removed thence[g] in the year 231. But Porphyry may have seen Origen at Cæsarea, or Tyre, where he resided a good while after he had left Alexandria.

Mill, in his Prolegomena, a work which one would not suspect to have been written in haste, calls Porphyry[h] Origen's schoolfellow. Indeed Eunapius makes mention of an Origen whom[i] he so calls; but it is not our Origen. That Origen published but two books only, as we learn

απελειπε. Μισει δε των τυπτησαντων αυτον, εις το βλασφημα κατα των χριστιανων γραφειν εξεπεσεν, ὡς αυτον Ευσεβιος ὁ Παμφιλυ εξελεγξεν, ανασκευασας τυς λογυς αυτυ. Socr. l. iii. c. 23. p. 200.

[b] Quam [sapientiam] si vere ac fideliter amâsses, Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam cognovisses, nec ab ejus saluberrimâ humilitate, tumore inflatus vanæ scientiæ, resiluisses. De Civ. Dei, l. x. cap. 28.

[c] Diocletien. art. 28. [d] Ubi supr. Epist. Miscell. T. iii. p. 53, &c. [e] H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219. C.

[f] Namque impius ille Porphyrius excitum se famâ ipsius Alexandriam fere puerum perrexisse, ibique eum vidisse, jam senem, sed plane talem tantumque, qui arcem totius scientiæ condidisset. Vinc. Lir. Comm. cap. 23. p. 343. Baluz. 1669. [g] See vol. ii. p. 475.

[h] Sub hoc tempore, seu etiam aliquanto post, Origenis condiscipulus, Porphyrius, libros quosdam adversus christianos edidit. Prol. num. 702.

[i] *Συμφοιτηται μεν υν (ὡς αυτος αναγραφει) κρατιστοι τινες ὑπηρχον, Ωριγενης τε, και Αμελιος, και Ακυλινος.* Eunap. Vit. Porph. p. 19.

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from Porphyry himself in the[k] Life of Plotinus; which cannot suit so voluminous an author as our Origen. Moreover Porphyry, in the place where he speaks of his having seen Origen, acknowledgeth, that he was then in great repute among the christians.[l]

Divers other erroneous and groundless opinions concerning Porphyry have been entertained by some learned moderns; which may be seen confuted in Pagi, and other authors, referred to by me at the beginning of this chapter.

Porphyry's works were very numerous; there is a large catalogue of them in Suidas, though not complete; his defects are supplied by Fabricius and Lucas Holstenius. I shall mention but a few of them.

Beside that inscribed to Marcella already mentioned, and his Life of Plotinus, he wrote Of Abstinence from Animals,[m] in four books, still extant.

A Philosophical History, or History of Philosophers, also in four books, quoted several times by Cyril of Alexandria in his work against Julian; mentioned also by[n] Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History. From Eunapius we know, that[o] it concluded with the Life of Plato.

And, probably, in the first book of that work was the Life of Pythagoras, which we now have, but not complete.

Against[p] the Christians, in fifteen books: but there is nothing of this work remaining excepting some fragments, which it is incumbent on me to collect out of several authors in which they are to be found. He was answered by Methodius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinarius of Laodicea in Syria. All which confutations of this adversary of the christians are entirely lost.

They were all very prolix, as appears from Jerom's accounts of them. That of Methodius[q] consisted of ten thou-

[k] Vit. Plotin. cap. 2. [l] Concerning this point may be seen Vales. Ann. in Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 120. et Fabr. de Vit. Plotini, Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 97. in notis. [m] Περι αποχης εμψυχων, δ. Suid.

[n] Πορφυριος μεν γαρ τε κορυφαιοτατε των φιλοσοφων Σωκρατες τον βιον διεσυρεν εν τη γεγραμμενη αυτω φιλοσοφω ἱστορια. Socr. l. iii. c. 23. p. 197. D.

[o] Την φιλοσοφον ἱστοριαν, και τυς των φιλοσοφων αναγων βιυς, ὁ Πορφυριος και Σωτιων ανελεξαντο· αλλ' ὁ μεν Πορφυριος, ειτω συμβαν, εις Πλατωνα ετελευτα, και τυς εκεινε χρονυς. Eunap. Pr. p. 10.

[p] Κατα χριστιανων λογυς ιε. Suid. [q] See a passage before cited from Jerom, in the general account of the early adversaries of the Christians, p. 206, to which I now add here some others.

——et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Siciliâ, ut quidam putant, libri triginta; de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt. Hieron. de V. I. cap. 81.

Extant ejus [Apollinar. Laod.] adversus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cætera opera ejus vel maxime probantur. Id. de V. I. cap. 104.

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sand lines; Eusebius's of twenty books, or more; Apollinarius's thirty books; and the twenty-sixth book, which was taken up in answering Porphyry's objections against the book of Daniel, was very long.

It is generally supposed, that Porphyry's work against the christians was written in Sicily, as is intimated by[r] Eusebius, and[s] Jerom. And by Cave, Porphyry is placed as flourishing in the year 270, where I also place him; and I do so partly out of regard to Suidas, who, as before seen, says he flourished in the time of Aurelian; whose reign commenced before the end of the year 270. Porphyry was then almost forty years of age; at that time he was in Sicily; but I do not recollect any thing that should determine the exact time when he published his work against the christians; for he might reside in Sicily some while; nor is there any remaining evidence, that immediately after coming into that island he set about this work. But we know that it was answered by Methodius, who[t] is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in the year of Christ 311 or 312, near the end of Dioclesian's persecution, if not sooner. Eusebius flourished from the year 315, and after; but when his confutation of Porphyry was published cannot be said exactly; I think it[u] was one of his first works, and might be published before he was bishop. Porphyry's long stay in Sicily was so well known, or so much talked of, that[v] Augustine seems to have thought it to be his native country.

Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, has preserved a letter of Constantine, written soon after the council of Nice, which was held in 325. It is to this purpose: 'As[w] Arius has 'imitated the impious and profane, it is but just, that he 'should undergo the same infamy with them. As there-'fore Porphyry, that enemy of true piety, has received a fit 'reward for his impious writings against religion; so that 'he is made infamous to all future times, and covered with 'reproach, and his impious writings have been destroyed; 'so now it is decreed, that Arius and his followers should

Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est, vicesimo sexto, &c. Præf. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1071.

[r] H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 219. [s] De V. I. cap. 81.

[t] See vol. iii. p. 184. [u] See. vol. iv. p. 73, 74.

[v] ——quia quidam philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius Siculus prodidit, &c. De Consensu Evang. l. i. cap. 15. T. iii. p. 2.

——præsertim qui nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit. Sed non eum esse arbitror Porphyrium Siculum illum, cujus celeberrima est fama. Retract. l. ii. cap. 31. Tom. i.

[w] Socr. l. i. cap. ix. p. 32.

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'be called Porphyrians, that they may bear the denomina-
'tion of those whom they have imitated. And if any
'writing of Arius is found, it should be burnt.' And what follows.

From which I think it may be concluded, that before that time there had been an order for destroying all the books of Porphyry against the christian religion. But that edict had not its full effect; for Apollinarius, who wrote so voluminous a confutation of Porphyry, did not flourish till after the middle of the fourth century; and Libanius, who lived at the same time, was[x] pleased to give a preference to Julian's work against the christians to that of Porphyry, 'the Tyrian old man,' as he calls him. Which implies a supposition, that he had read what Porphyry had written upon that subject, or at least that it was then extant. And Jerom, in his works written in the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, has made large extracts out of some parts of that work of Porphyry. Finally, there was a new edict[y] of Theodosius the younger in 449, for abolishing the works of Porphyry; which affords reason to believe, that they subsisted, and were in being, till that time.

There is another work which is now generally ascribed to Porphyry, and is quoted as his by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration. It is entitled, 'Of[z] the Philosophy from Oracles.' I formerly declared my opinion[a] concerning it, that it is not genuine; before we conclude this chapter we shall have occasion to speak more distinctly about that work.

II. The first passage of Porphyry which I shall transcribe, will be taken from Eusebius; who, in the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of Origen, says, that many of the Greek philosophers, who were his contemporaries, had made honourable mention of him, and some had dedicated books to him. 'But,' as he adds, 'what need I
'to insist on them, when Porphyry,[b] who in our time, whilst
'he was in Sicily, wrote against us, and endeavoured to
'disparage our scriptures, speaking of those who had inter-
'preted them, for want of arguments betakes himself to
'railing, and reviles those interpreters, and among them
'especially Origen; whom, as he says, when he was young,
'he was acquainted with. But let us hear his own words,

[x] Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. iii. cap. 33. in.

[y] See before, p. 206.

[z] Περι της εκ λογιων φιλοσοφιας.

[a] Vol. iv. p. 81.

[b] Ὅτε και ὁ καθ' ἡμας εν Σικελιᾳ κατασας, Πορφυριος, συγγραμματα καθ' ἡμων ενστησαμενος. κ. λ. H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219

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'which are these: "Some," says[c] he, "determined not to 'see the depravity of the Jewish scriptures, but to find out 'a solution of objections that may be brought against them, 'have adopted forced interpretations, inconsistent in them-'selves, and unsuitable to those writings, and such as 'should not only be a vindication of those absurdities, but 'afford likewise a recommendation of their own particular 'opinions. For having given out, that the things delivered 'plainly by Moses are types and allegories, and pretending 'that those writings are inspired, and to be looked upon 'as oracles full of hidden mysteries; and having by this 'means captivated the judgments of men, they with a critical 'pride and vanity set forth their expositions." And after-'wards[d] as he goes on: "An example of this absurd 'method may be observed in a man, whom I saw when I 'was very young, who was then in great esteem, and is so 'still, for the writings which he has left behind him; I 'mean Origen, whose authority is very great with the teach-'ers of this doctrine. For he being a hearer of Ammonius, 'who was so eminent in our time for skill in philosophy, in 'point of learning made great improvements by the instruc-'tions of that master, but with regard to the right way of 'life took a quite different course from him. For Ammo-'nius, a christian by birth, and brought up by christian 'parents, as soon as he was arrived to maturity of age, and 'had gained a taste of philosophy, returned to the way of 'life prescribed by the laws. But Origen, a Greek, and 'educated in the Greek sentiment, went over to the barba-'rian temerity; to which he devoted himself, and corrupted 'himself, and the principles of literature which he had re-'ceived; as to his life, living as a christian, and contrary 'to the laws; with regard to his sentiments concerning 'things, and the Deity, a Greek, and joining Greek senti-

[c] Της δε μοχθηριας των ιȣδαϊκων γραφων ȣκ αποςασιν, λυσιν δε τινες εὑρειν προθυμηθεντες, επ' εξηγησεις ετραποντο ασυγκλωςȣς και αναρμοςȣς τοις γεγραμμενοις· ȣκ απολογιαν μαλλον ὑπερ των οθνειων, παραδοχην δε και επαινον τοις οικειοις φερȣσας. Αινιγματα γαρ τα φανερως παρα Μωϋσει λεγομενα ειναι κομπασαντες, και επιθειασαντες ὡς θεσπισματα πληρη κρυφιων μυςηριων, δια τε τȣ τυφȣ το κριτικον της ψυχης καταγοητευσαντες, επαγȣσιν εξηγησεις. Ib. p. 219, 220.

[d] Ακροατης γαρ ȣτος Αμμωνιȣ——εις μεν την των λογων εμπειριαν, πολλην παρα τȣ διδασκαλȣ την ωφελειαν εκτησατο· εις δε την ορθην τȣ βιȣ προαιρεσιν την εναντιαν εκεινῳ τȣ βιȣ πορειαν αποιησατο. Αμμωνιος μεν γαρ——ευθυς προς την κατα νομȣς πολιτειαν μετεβαλετο. Ωριγενης δε, Ἑλλην εν Ἑλλησι, παιδευθεις λογοις προς το βαρβαρον εξωκειλε τολμημα· ᾡ δε φερων αυτον τε και την εν τοις λογοις ἑξιν εκαπηλευσε· κατα μεν τον βιον, χριςιανως ζων, και παρανομως· κατα δε τας περι των πραγματων, και τȣ Θεȣ δοξας, ἑλληιζων τε και τα Ἑλληνων τοις οθνειοις ὑποβαλλομενος μυθοις. Ib. p. 220.

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'ments with their absurd fables; for he was very conver-
'sant with Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius, as well as
'with the writings of Apollophanes and Longinus, as also
'of Moderatus and Nicomachus, and other learned Pytha-
'goreans. He also read the works of the Stoic Chæremon,
'and of Cornutus. When he had learned from them the
'allegorical method of explaining the Greek mysteries, he
'applied it to the Jewish scriptures." So writes Porphyry
'in the third book of his work against the christians.'

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks.

1. Eusebius supposeth, that Porphyry's book against the christians was written in Sicily. The same is intimated by[e] Jerom.

2. Porphyry speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen; some have hence concluded, that Porphyry went to Alexandria on purpose to see Origen; but that must be a[f] mistake, as was shown just now.

3. Porphyry calls Origen a Greek, and says he was educated in the 'Greek sentiments,' but afterwards, when grown up, he embraced the christian religion; all which Eusebius, who must have well known Origen's history, shows to be false. Origen's father, Leonidas, was a christian, and a martyr for the christian religion. Certainly, I think, our ecclesiastical historian's account may be relied upon, as[g] was formerly observed. This mistake of Porphyry, in my opinion, affords a good argument to believe that he was not originally a christian: if he had, he could not have been so strangely ignorant about christian affairs.

4. From this passage we can conclude, that in the third book of his work, as well as elsewhere, Porphyry made objections against our scriptures, and the christian interpretations of them.

5. None can forbear to observe Porphyry's manner of speaking of the christians, and the christian religion; this he calls the 'barbarian temerity;' they who embraced it, acted 'contrary to the laws;' they who forsook it, 'returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws.' This way of speaking seems not so very becoming a philosopher, who should follow the dictates of reason, whether they have the encouragement of human authority or not. However, we hence perceive, that christianity was not so encouraged at that time, though perhaps it was not openly persecuted. And I humbly conceive, that they who then embraced a life

[e] ——et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Siciliâ. De V. I. cap. 81.

[f] Vid. Vales. in loc.

[g] See vol. ii. p. 470.

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contrary to the laws, may be reasonably supposed to have been as honest and understanding men, as they who in all things complied with the laws; they who lived a life contrary to the laws must have practised some self-denial, which they would not have done without some reason for it.

III. I shall now allege Porphyry's objections against the book of Daniel, which was in the twelfth book of his work against the christians.

1. In the first place I shall transcribe a part of St. Jerom's preface to his Commentary upon the prophet Daniel, written about the year 410, or sooner.

'The[h] twelfth book of Porphyry,' says Jerom, 'was

[h] Contra prophetam Danielem duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum, sed a quodam, qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judæâ; et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrâsse præterita. Denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescieret, esse mentitum. Cui solertissime responderunt Cæsariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, octavo decimo, et nono decimo, et vicesimo; Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto; et ante hos, ex parte, Methodius. Verum, quia nobis propositum est, non adversarii calumniis respondere, quæ longo sermone indigent; sed ea quæ a prophetâ dicta sunt, nostris disserere; id est, christianis; illud in præfatione commoneo, nullum prophetarum tam aperte dixisse de Christo. Non enim solum scribit eum venturum, quod est commune cum cæteris; sed etiam quo tempore venturus sit, docet, et reges per ordinem digerit, et annos enumerat, ac manifestissima signa prænuntiat. Quæ quia vidit Porphyrius universa completa, et transacta negare non poterat, superatus historiæ veritate, in hanc prorupit calumniam, ut ea, quæ in consummatione mundi de antichristo futura diceret, propter gestorum in quibusdam similitudinem, sub Antiocho Epiphane impleta contendit. Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrâsse, præterita. Et tamen sicubi se occasio in explanatione ejusdem voluminis dederit, calumniæ illius strictim respondere conabor——Sed et hoc nôsse debemus inter cætera, Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere, idcirco illum apparere confictum, nec haberi apud Hebræos, sed Græci sermonis esse commentum, quia in Susannæ fabulâ contineatur, dicente Daniele ad presbyteros, *απο τυ σχινυ σχισαι, και απο τυ πρινυ πρισαι*, quam etymologiam magis Græco sermoni convenire, quam Hebræo. Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententiâ responderunt, Susannæ, Belisque, ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraïco, sed partem esse prophetiæ Abacuc, filii Jesu de tribu Levi: sicut juxta lxx. interpretes in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulæ ponitur: 'Homo quidam 'erat sacerdos nomine Daniel, filius Abda, conviva regis Babylonis: quum 'Danielem et tres pueros de tribu Juda fuisse,' sancta scriptura testetur——Et miror quosdam *μεμψιμοιρους* indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum, quum et Origenes et Eusebius et Apollinarius, aliique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur, nec se debere respondere Porphyrio, pro his, quæ nullam scripturæ sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant——Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est: Suctorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hi-

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'written against the book of the prophet Daniel; in which 'he says, that it was not written by him whose name it 'bears, but by another, who lived in Judea in the time of 'Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes: and that the book of 'Daniel does not foretell things to come, but relates what 'had already happened. In a word, whatever it contains 'to the time of Antiochus is true history; if there is any 'thing relating to after times, it is all falsehood; forasmuch 'as the writer could not see things future, but at the most 'only make some conjectures about them. To him several 'of our authors have written answers with great labour and 'diligence, in particular Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in 'three volumes, the 18th, the 19th, and the 20th. Apolli-'narius also in one large book, that is, the 26th, and before 'them, in part, Methodius. As it is not my design to con-'fute the objections of the adversary, which would require 'a long discourse, but only to explain the prophet to our 'own people, that is, christians; I shall just observe, that 'none of the prophets have spoken so clearly of Christ as 'Daniel; for he not only foretells his coming, as do the 'others likewise, but he also teaches the time when he will 'come, and mentions in order the princes of the intermedi-'ate space, and the number of the years, and the signs of 'his appearance. And because Porphyry saw all these 'things to have been fulfilled, and could not deny that they 'had actually come to pass, being overcome by the power 'of truth, he was compelled to say as he did; and because 'of some similitude of circumstances, he asserted, that the 'things foretold as to be fulfilled in Antichrist at the end 'of the world, happened in the time of Antiochus Epipha-'nes. Which kind of opposition is a testimony of truth; 'for such is the plain interpretation of the words, that to 'incredulous men the prophet seems not to foretell things 'to come, but to relate things already past. And though, 'as before said, it is not my intention to confute all his ob-'jections, I shall, as occasion offers, take notice of some of

eronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Adronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse secutum se dicit; Josephi quoque, et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justini, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrant historiam; et post Alexandrum usque ad Cæsarem Augustum, Syriæ, et Ægypti, id est, Seleuci, et Antiochi, et Ptolemæorum bella describunt. Et si quando cogimur literarum secularium recordari, et aliqua ex his dicere quæ olim omisimus, non nostræ est voluntatis, sed ut, ita dicam gravissimæ necessitatis; ut probemus ea quæ a sanctis prophetis ante secula multa prædicta sunt, tam Græcorum, quam Latinorum, et aliarum gentium literis contineri. Hieron. Pr. ad Explan. in Daniel. ad Pammach. et Marcellam. Tom. iii. p. 1071, &c.

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'his weak arguments——And it may be proper for us, 'among other things, to observe now, that Porphyry argued, 'that the book of Daniel was not genuine, because it was 'written in Greek, and therefore certainly was not the work 'of any Jew, but the forgery of some Greek writer. This 'he argued from some Greek words which are in the fable 'of Susanna; to which both Eusebius and Apollinarius 'returned the same answer; That the fabulous stories of 'Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, are not in the Hebrew, 'and are said to have been composed by a person of the 'tribe of Levi; whereas the sacred scripture assures us, 'that Daniel and the three children his companions were of 'the tribe of Judah. And they said, they were not ac-'countable for what was not received by the Jews, nor was 'a part of the sacred scriptures——It ought to be farther 'observed, that in order to understand the latter parts of the 'book of Daniel, an acquaintance with many Greek histori-'ans is absolutely necessary, such as Suctorius, Callinicus, 'Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Possidonius, Claudius, 'Theon, and Andronicus, surnamed Alipius, whom also 'Porphyry says he had followed; as likewise Josephus, 'and Livy, and Pompeius Trogus, and Justin, who all relate 'the history of the last vision, and wrote the history of the 'wars of Syria and Egypt, that is, of Seleucus, and Anti-'ochus, and the Ptolemies, from the time of Alexander to 'the Roman emperor Augustus. And if I also consult these 'profane authors, it is out of mere necessity, that I may 'show the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies, from the 'writings of Greek, and Latin, and other authors.'

From all which we perceive, that Porphyry's work against the christians was much laboured, and that in this argument he displayed all his learning, which was very considerable. Hence also we can perceive the difficulty of undertaking an answer to him; for which very few were fully qualified; in which none of the apologists for christianity seem to have answered expectations. The preface of Jerom to his Commentary upon Daniel, which I have now so largely quoted, is supposed to have been written about the year 407, as before said. In the preface to his Latin translation of Daniel from Hebrew, computed to have been made in 392, or sooner, he says: 'The[i] objections of Por-'phyry against this book are well known from Methodius,

[i] Quæ autem ex hoc prophetâ, imo contra hunc librum, Porphyrius objiciat, testes sunt Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinarius, qui, multis versuum millibus ejus vesaniæ respondentes, nescio an curioso lectori satisfecerint. Hieron. T. i. p. 990.

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'Eusebius, and Apollinarius, who have written prolix 'answers to him. I cannot say whether they have satisfied 'the curious reader.'

Thus writes Jerom, with great freedom, as may be supposed. In short, Porphyry was a formidable adversary. The public was satisfied with Origen's one answer to[k] Celsus; for we hear not of any other attempted afterwards. But against Porphyry, after Methodius wrote Eusebius, and after him Apollinarius, these two last especially very large volumes; and yet altogether seem not to have made out a complete answer.

I now intend to transcribe several articles of Jerom's Commentary upon Daniel, in which some notice is taken of Porphyry.

2. Dan. ii. 40, "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things." 'Which,' as Jerom[l] observes, 'plainly denotes the Romans.' And afterwards: 'But in 'the end of all these kingdoms, of gold, silver, brass, and 'iron, "was cut out" [see ver. 34 and 45] "a stone," 'which denotes our Lord and Saviour, "cut out without 'hands," that is, born of a virgin without the concurrence 'of man. Which, breaking in pieces all the other king-'doms, became a great mountain, and filled all the earth; 'which the Jews and the impious Porphyry refer to the 'people of Israel, who in the end of the world, as they will 'have it, shall be very powerful, and break in pieces all 'other kingdoms, and reign for ever.'

[k] Jerom in one place intimates, that very many had written against Celsus and Porphyry. Adversum impiissimos Celsum atque Porphyrium, quanti scripsere nostrorum? Advers. Rufin. l. iii. T. iv. p. 472. But that may be principally intended of Porphyry, against whom several had written, as we have seen. And many christian writers may have, in their works, occasionally confuted Celsus: but it does not appear that any, beside Origen, had written against him on set purpose: nor did Jerom know of any other; as is evident from the manner of his expressions in divers places. Origenes, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, multis versuum millibus scribunt, adversus Celsum et Porphyrium. Adv. Jovinian. ep. 30. [al. 50.] p. 236. Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. Priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt. Ad Magnum, ep. 83. [al. 84.] p. 655.

[l] Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue refertur ad Romanos, ferrum est, quod comminuit et domat omnia——In fine autem horum omnium regnorum, auri, argenti, æris, et ferri, abscissus est lapis Dominus atque Salvator, sine manibus, id est, absque coitu et humano semine, de utero virginali; et, contritis omnibus regnis, factus est mons magnus, et implevit universam terram. Quod Judæi et impius Porphyrius male ad populum referunt Israël, quem in fine seculorum volunt esse fortissimum, et omnia regna conterere, et regnare in æternum. Hieron. Tom. iii. p. 1081.

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3. Ver. 46, 47, "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation, and sweet odours unto him." 'Upon this place[m] Porphyry says, it is not reasonable to 'believe, that a proud king should worship a captive: as 'if,' says Jerom, 'it were not true that the Lycaonians in-'tended to offer sacrifices to Paul and Barnabas, when they 'were surprised at the greatness of the miracles which they 'had seen. [Acts xiv.] The fault lies in the heathen people, 'who reckon every being above them to be a god. The 'scriptures are not to be blamed, which only relate things 'truly as they happened. And it may be said, that the 'king himself sufficiently explains the grounds of his wor-'ship, and his offering sacrifices and incense, in his own 'words which follow. Ver. 47, "The king answered unto 'Daniel, and said; Of a truth it is, that your God is a God 'of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets; 'seeing thou couldst reveal this secret." Therefore the 'king did not so much worship Daniel as God in Daniel, 'who had revealed those secrets.'

And lest that solution should not satisfy, Jerom proposeth another, which I need not mention.

4.——ver. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts." 'Here,' says[n] Jerom, 'the reviler of the church, (probably meaning Porphyry, 'the same that had been mentioned before,) takes upon him 'to blame the prophet for not refusing those gifts, and for 'readily accepting Babylonish honours; not considering,' as Jerom adds, 'that therefore the king had the dream, and 'the secrets of it had been revealed to Daniel, that he might

[m] Hunc locum calumniatur Porphyrius, quod nunquam superbissimus rex captivum adoraverit: quasi non et Lycaones ob signorum magnitudinem Paulo et Barnabæ voluerint hostias immolare. Error ergo est Gentilium, qui omne quod supra se est deos putant. Scripturæ non debet imputari, quæ simpliciter refert universa quæ gesta sunt. Sed et hoc possumus dicere, quod causas adorandi et immolandarum victimarum, et incensi et sacrificii, ipse rex exposuerit, dicens ad Danielem, 'Vere Deus vester Deus deorum est, et 'Dominus regum'——Ergo non tam Danielem, quam in Daniele adorat Deum, qui mysteria revelavit. Quod si displicet hoc, dicendum est——Ib. p. 1081, 1082.

[n] Et in hoc calumniator ecclesiæ, prophetam reprehendere nititur, quare non recusârit munera, et honorem Babylonium libenter susceperit; non considerans, ideo regem vidisse somnium, et interpretationis mysteria per puerum revelata, ut Daniel cresceret, et in loco captivitatis princeps omnium fieret Chaldæorum, et Dei omnipotentia nosceretur. Quod quidem et in Joseph apud Pharaonem et Ægyptum factum legimus; et in Mardochæo apud Assuerum; ut in utrâque gente haberent captivi et peregrinantes Judæi solatia, videntes hominem gentis suæ Ægyptiorum esse principem vel Chaldæorum, p. 1082.

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'rise, and in the place of his captivity be made chief of all 'the Chaldeans, that the divine omnipotence might be made 'known.' Jerom goes on to say, 'That the like favours 'had been shown to Joseph in Egypt in the time of 'Pharaoh, and to Mordecai in the time of Ahasuerus; that 'in both places the Jewish people, who were there captives 'and strangers, might be comforted and supported, behold-'ing a man of their own nation made lord of the Egyptians 'and Chaldæans.'

5. Having recited the first three verses of the fourth chapter, Jerom says: 'The[o] letter of Nebuchadnezzar is 'inserted in the volume of the prophets, that the book might 'not be afterwards thought to be a forgery, as a certain 'sycophant pretends, but might be known to be the book 'of Daniel himself.'

6. Ch. v. ver. 10, "Now the queen, by reason of the words of the king, and his lords, came into the banqueting-house." 'Her,[p] Josephus reckons the grandmother of Bel-'shazzar; Origen calls her his mother. She therefore was 'acquainted with the things past in former times, which the 'king was ignorant of. Let Porphyry then awake, who 'dreams that she was Belshazzar's wife; and ridicules her 'for knowing more than her husband.'

7. Ch. vii. ver. 7, "After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold, a fourth beast——and it had ten horns." 'Porphyry,' says[q] Jerom, 'puts the two last beasts, that of 'the Macedonians and Romans, in the one kingdom of the 'Macedonians; and then divides it in this manner. By the 'leopard he understands Alexander himself, and the beast '"diverse from the others," he supposes to mean the four 'successors of Alexander; and then he computes ten kings, 'till the time of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who were 'exceeding cruel: and those kings he reckons not of one 'and the same kingdom, for instance, Macedonia, Syria,

[o] Epistola Nebuchodonosor in prophetæ volumine ponitur; ut non fictus alio postea liber, sicut sycophanta mentitur, sed ipsius Danielis esse credatur, p. 1087.

[p] Hanc Josephus aviam Balthasaris, Origenes matrem scribunt. Unde et novit præterita, quæ rex ignorabat. Evigilet ergo Porphyrius, qui eam Balthasaris somniat uxorem; et illudit, plus scire quam maritum, p. 1093.

[q] Porphyrius duas posteriores bestias, Macedonum et Romanorum, in uno Macedonum regno ponit, et dividit; pardum volens intelligi ipsum Alexandrum; bestiam autem dissimilem cæteris bestiis, quatuor Alexandri successores; et deinde usque ad Antiochum, cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sævissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratiâ, Macedoniæ, Syriæ, Asiæ, et Ægypti: sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem; ut videlicet ea quæ scripta sunt, "Os loquens ingentia," non de antichristo, sed de Antiocho, dicta credantur. p. 1100, 1101.

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'Asia, or Egypt; but out of divers kingdoms he forms one 'succession of kings; this he does, that those words, "a 'mouth speaking great things," may be understood to re-'late, not to Antichrist, but to Antiochus.'

Doubtless, this way of interpretation best suited Porphyry's notion, that the book of Daniel was not prophetical, but only related events to the time of Antiochus. However, it may not be amiss to consult Grotius, as well as other commentators upon this place.

8.——ver. 9, "I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn——And, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things."

'In[r] vain does Porphyry imagine, that the little horn 'which came up after the ten horns denotes Antiochus 'Epiphanes. Therefore let us say, as all the writers of the 'church have delivered it to us, that in the end of the world, 'when the Roman empire is to be destroyed, there shall be 'ten kings, who will divide the Roman government among 'themselves.'——And what follows. Upon this place likewise Grotius might be consulted by such as are curious.

9.——ver. 14, "And there was given him a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion—and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

'Let[s] Porphyry answer, to whom among men this can 'agree; or, who is so powerful as to break in pieces and 'trample upon the little horn, which he takes to be Anti-'ochus? If he answers, that the generals of Antiochus were 'overcome by Judas Maccabæus, he ought to show, "how 'he came with the clouds of heaven as the Son of man; 'and how he was brought before the Ancient of days; and 'power, and a kingdom was given unto him, so that all 'people, and nations, and language, should serve him:" 'and his kingdom should be everlasting, and without end.'

[r] Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanem Antiochum suspicatur——Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant——&c. p. 1101.

[s] Hoc cui potest hominum convenire, respondeat Porphyrius: aut quis tam potens sit, qui cornu parvulum, quem Antiochum interpretatur, fregerit, atque contriverit? Si responderit, Antiochi principes a Judâ Maccabæo fuisse superatos, docere debet, quomodo cum cœli nubibus veniat, quasi filius hominis; et offeratur vetusto dierum, et detur ei potestas, et regnum, et omnes populi, tribus, ac linguæ serviant illi; et potestas ejus æterna sit, quæ nullo fine claudatur. p. 1103.

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10. Ch. ix. 1, "In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldæans." Ver. 2, "In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books."

'This[t] is Darius, who together with Cyrus overcame the 'Chaldæans and Babylonians, and not that Darius, in 'whose second year the temple was built, as Porphyry 'pretends, that he may bring down the times of Daniel the 'lower; or he, who was overcome by Alexander the Mace-'donian.'

This Darius, as learned moderns[u] observe, is the same who by heathen historians is called Cyaxares, the son of Astyages. Porphyry[v] is here much blamed by Grotius, for his insinuation to the prejudice of the real time of Daniel, writer of this book.

11. Ch. xi. ver. 20, "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes, in the glory of the kingdom. But within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle."

'He[w] intends Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, son of 'Antiochus the Great, who did nothing worthy of his father, 'or the kingdom of Syria, and died ingloriously. Por-'phyry will have this person not to be Seleucus, but 'Ptolemy Epiphanes——against which Jerom proceeds to 'argue.' For this likewise Porphyry is corrected by[x] Grotius.

12. Upon ch. xi. 21—24, Jerom remarks. 'Such[y] is

[t] Hic est Darius, qui cum Cyro Chaldæos Babyloniosque superavit, ne putemus illum Darium, cujus secundo anno templum ædificatum est, (quod Porphyrius suspicatur, ut annos Danielis extendat) vel eum, qui ab Alexandro, Macedonum rege, superatus est. p. 1107.

[u] See Prideaux, Connexion, at the year before Christ, 612. vol. i. p. 48. and Lowth upon Dan. ix. 1.

[v] 'In anno primo Darii:'] id est, Nabonnedi, ut supra dictum. Improbe Porphyrius, ut Danielem serius vixisse imperitis persuadeat, hunc Darium eum vult esse, ab quo templum est restitutum. Gr. in Dan. ix. 1.

[w] Seleucum dicit, cognomento Philopatorem, filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ et patris gessit imperio, et absque ullis prœliis inglorius periit. Porro Porphyrius non vult hunc esse Seleucum, sed Ptolemæum Epiphanem——p. 1126.

[x] Illud, 'stabat in loco ejus,' et Porphyrium refutat, qui hæc ad Ptolemæum Epiphanem Ægypti regem trahebat, et Hebræos, qui ad Tryphonem, Antiochi Sedetæ tutorem. Gr. ad cap. xi. 20.

[y] Hucusque ordo historiæ sequitur, et inter Porphyrium ac nostros nulla contentio est. Cætera, quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille interpretatur super personâ Antiochi, qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, filius Antiochi Magni, qui post Seleucum undecim annis regnavit in Syriâ, obtinuitque Judæam; sub quo legis persecutio, et Maccabæorum bella narrantur. Nostri autem hæc omnia de antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore

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'the order of the history; nor is there here any difference 'between Porphyry and our people. The rest, which fol- 'lows to the end of the volume, he interprets of Antiochus 'Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, son of Antiochus the 'Great, who after Seleucus reigned eleven years in Syria, 'who subdued Judea; in whose time happened the perse- 'cution of the Jewish laws, and the wars of the Maccabees. 'Our people suppose, that all these things are prophetical 'of Antichrist, who will appear in the last days of the 'world. As many things in the following part of this 'book agree to Antiochus, they say, he was a type of Anti- 'christ; and that those things which were partly verified 'in him, will be more fully accomplished in Antichrist. 'This,' as Jerom says, 'is the manner of scripture, which be- 'forehand represents in types what will be more completely 'fulfilled afterwards. So what is said in the 72d Psalm of 'Solomon cannot all agree to him; in part, and as in a 'shadow and figures, they are said of him, but are more 'completely fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour. As there- 'fore our Saviour had for types Solomon and other saints, 'so Antichrist is to be thought to have had a type of him- 'self in that bad prince Antiochus, who persecuted the 'saints, and profaned the temple. However,' says Jerom, 'let us observe Porphyry's exposition as well as our own. 'In the room of Seleucus, as he and his followers say, came 'up his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who did such and 'such things.——All these things which I have thus re- 'hearsed compendiously, Porphyry, following the guidance 'of Suctorius, has drawn out with great prolixity in an 'insinuating manner; but our people more truly and justly

futurus est. Quumque multa, quæ postea lecturi et expositurí sumus, super Antiochi personâ conveniunt, typum eum volunt antichristi habere; et quæ in illo ex parte præcesserint, in antichristo ex toto esse complenda. Et hunc esse morem scripturæ sanctæ, ut futurorum veritatem præmittat in typis, juxta illud, quod, in Domino Salvatore, in septuagesimo primo psalmo dicitur, qui prænotatur Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire.——Ex parte autem, et quasi in umbrâ et imagine veritatis in Salomone præmissa sunt, ut in Domino Salvatore perfectius implerentur. Sicut igitur Salvator habet, et Salomonem, et cæteros sanctos in typum adventûs sui; sic et antichristus pessimum regem Antiochum, qui sanctos persecutus est, et templum violavit, recte typum sui habuisse credendus est. Sequamur igitur expositionis ordinem, et juxta utramque explanationem, quid adversariis, quid nostris videatur breviter annotemus. Stabit, inquiunt, in loco Seleuci frater ejus Antiochus Epiphanes.——Hæc Porphyrius sequens Suctorium sermone laciniosissimo prosecutus est, quæ nos brevi compendio diximus. Nostri autem et melius interpretantur, et rectius: quod in fine mundi hæc sit facturus antichristus, p. 1127, 1128.

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'explain this of Antichrist, who shall appear in the end of 'the world.'

In his annotations upon ver. 21st, Grotius[a] expresseth an earnest wish for Suctorius, and other writers, made use of by Porphyry, for explaining what follows. In the mean time, he says, we must do the best we can with what we have.

13. Upon ver. 25th and 26th of the same xith ch. Jerom goes on: 'These[a] things Porphyry explains of Antiochus '——But our people, according to the fore-mentioned sense '——interpret all of Antichrist.'

14. I forbear to take any thing from Jerom's comment upon ver. 27—33.

15. Ver. 34, "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holden with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Ver. 35, And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed."

'By[b] "the little help" Porphyry supposes to be intended 'Mattathias, of the town of Modin, who rebelled against the 'generals of Antiochus, and endeavoured to uphold the 'worship of God. He calls it,' he says, "a little help," be- 'cause Mattathias was killed in battle, and afterwards his 'son Judas, called Maccabæus, fell also; and his brothers 'were imposed upon by the treachery of their adversaries. 'Read the books of the Maccabees. All these things, as 'he says, were therefore done, that the pious might be tried, 'and purified, and made white, to a certain time; because 'the victory was deferred to another time. But our people 'explain the little help under Antichrist after the following 'manner.' See 1 Mac. ii. 1—5.

[a] Magno velim, ad explicanda quæ sequuntur, Suctorium mihi dari, quo usus olim Porphyrius. Eum multosque alios cum non habeamus, utendum nobis iis scriptoribus qui restant, et iis quæ ex Porphyrio nobis dedit Hieronymus. Gr. in Dan. xi. 21.

[a] Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemæum, sororis suæ filium, profectus est cum exercitu magno.——Nostri autem, secundum priorem sententiam, interpretantur omnia de antichristo. p. 1128.

[b] Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam significari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin, qui adversum duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in prœlio Mattathias, et postea, Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Macchabæus, pugnans cecidit, et cæteri fratres ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt. Lege Macchabæorum libros. Hæc, ait, omnia idcirco sunt facta, ut probentur et eligantur sancti, et dealbentur usque ad tempus præfinitum; quia in aliud tempus erat dilata victoria. Sub antichristo parvum auxilium nostri intelligi volunt——p. 1130.

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16. Ver. 36, "And the king shall do according to his will. And he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper, till the indignation be accomplished. For that that is determined shall be done."

'This[c] also,' says Jerom, 'we understand of Antichrist. 'But Porphyry and they who follow him think it to be 'said of Antiochus Epiphanes, who set up himself against 'the worship of God, and arrived at such pride, as to order 'his own statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. '"And shall prosper, till the indignation be accomplished." 'This they understand after this manner; that he should 'prevail, till God is offended with him, and appoints his 'death. Forasmuch as the historians Polybius and Diodo-'rus relate, that he did not only oppose himself to the God 'of Judea, but likewise, that moved by avarice he attempted 'to plunder the temple of Diana in Elimais, which was 'very rich; but was hindered by the guardians of the tem-'ple, and by neighbouring nations; and that having been 'agitated by terrifying thoughts and apprehensions, he be-'came mad, and so expired. They say, this happened 'because he had attempted to violate the temple of Diana. 'We say, if that was his end, it befell him because he had 'exercised great cruelty toward the saints of God, and had 'polluted his temple; for it is more reasonable to think, 'that he was punished for what he had done, than for what 'he had only attempted to do, and then forbore from an 'apprehension of guilt.'

17. Afterwards, in his comment upon ver. 44, 45, Jerom again observes what Porphyry said concerning the death of Antiochus, which he had collected out of divers authors:

[c] Quod quidem et nos de antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem, et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici interpretantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Hierosolymis simulacrum suum poni jusserit. Quodque sequitur, 'Et diriget, donec compleatur ira, quia in ipso erit consummatio,' sic intelligunt, tam diu eum posse, donec irascatur ei Deus, et ipsum interfici jubeat. Siquidem Polybius et Diodorus, qui Bibliothecarum scribunt historias, narrant eum non solum contra Deum fecisse Judææ, sed avaritiæ facibus accensum, etiam templum Dianæ in Elimaïde, quod erat ditissimum, spoliare conatum; oppressumque a custodibus templi et vicinis circum gentibus, et quibusdam phantasiis atque terroribus, versum in amentiam, ac postremum morbo interiisse. Et hoc ei accidisse commemorant, quia templum Dianæ violare conatus est. Nos autem dicimus, etiam si accidisset ei, ideo accidisse, quia in sanctos Dei multam exercuerit crudelitatem, et polluerit templum ejus. Non enim pro eo quod conatus est facere, et actâ pœnitentiâ desivit implere, sed pro eo quod fecit, punitus esse credendus est. p. 1131.

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'Which is,[a] that having gone into the east, when he came 'into the province of Elimais, the remotest country of the 'Persians lying that way; when he attempted to plunder 'the temple of Diana, which had in it abundance of rich 'offerings, he was put to flight by the barbarians, who 'greatly respected that temple, and died overwhelmed with 'grief in Tabes, a city of Persia. This he writes by way of 'argument against us in a very artful manner: and if he 'could show that those things are said, not of antichrist, 'but of Antiochus, what is that to us, who do not attempt 'to prove the coming of Christ, nor of his opposite, anti-'christ, out of every text of scripture? Allowing these 'things to be said of Antiochus, what prejudice is that to 'our cause? Rather let him set aside doubtful things, and 'keep to such as are clear. Let him say, who is "that 'stone, which being cut out of the mountain without 'hands," should increase to a great mountain, and was to 'fill the whole earth, and to break in pieces the fourfold 'image; and who is that Son of man who is to come with 'the clouds, and to be brought before the Ancient of days, 'to whom was to be given a kingdom that has no end; and 'whom all people and nations and tongues should serve? 'These things, which are manifest, he passeth over, and 'affirms they relate to the Jews, whom nevertheless we 'know to be still in bondage; and he likewise says, that

[a] Et in hoc loco Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat. Pugnans, inquit, contra Ægyptios, et Libyas Æthiopasque pertransiens, audiet sibi ab Aquilone, et ab Oriente prœlia concitari: unde et regrediens capiet Aradios resistentes.——'Et veniet,' inquit, 'usque ad summitatem ipsius montis,' in Elimaïde provinciâ, quæ est ultima Persarum ad Orientem regio: ibique volens templum Dianæ spoliare, quod infinita donaria habebat, fugatus a barbaris est, qui mirâ veneratione fanum illud suspiciebant, et mortuus est mœrore consumtus in Tabes, oppido Persidis. Hæc ille, in sugillationem nostri, artificiosissimo sermone composuit. Quæ etiam si potuerit approbare, non de antichristo dicta, sed de Antiocho; quid ad nos, qui non ex omnibus scripturarum locis Christi probamus adventum, et antichristi mendacium? Pone enim hæc dici de Antiocho, quid nocet religioni nostræ? Numquid et in superiori visione, ubi in Antiocho prophetia consummata est, aliquid de antichristo dicitur? Dimittat itaque dubia, et in manifestis hæreat: dicatque, quis sit ille lapis, qui, de monte abscissus sine manibus, creverit in montem magnum, et orbem impleverit, et quadriformem imaginem contriverit: qui sit ille filius hominis, qui cum nubibus venturus sit, et staturus ante vetustum dierum et dandum ei regnum, quod nullo fine claudatur; omnesque populi, tribus, ac linguæ ipsi servituri sunt. Hæc, quæ manifesta sunt, prœterit, et de Judæis asserit prophetari, quos usque hodie servire cognoscimus. Et dicit eum, qui sub nomine Danielis scripsit librum, ad refocillandam spem suorum fuisse mentitum; non quo omnem historiam futuram nôsse potuerit, sed quo facta memoraret. Nostri autem extremum visionis hujus capitulum super antichristo sic exponunt. p. 1133.

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'he who wrote the book in the name of Daniel, told lies to 'please and comfort his own people; he pretended to pro-'phesy, but indeed only wrote history.'

Jerom then proceeds to show how our people, as he says, explain the last paragraph of this vision concerning anti-christ; and then he concludes his observations upon this chapter. 'This,'[e] says he, 'I have now shown with some 'prolixity, that I might expose the folly of Porphyry, who 'either was ignorant of these things, or pretended not to 'know them; and likewise to show the difficulty of the 'sacred scriptures, which many people, and even such as 'are very unskilful, pretend to understand, without the grace 'of God, or an acquaintance with the doctrine of our an-'cestors.'

Concerning the death of Antiochus, they who have opportunity may do well to consult 1 Maccabees ch. vi. and 2 Macc. ch. ix. and Josephus[f] in his Antiquities; to whom might be added[g] Polybius, not forgetting[h] the Connexion of that learned modern writer Humphry Prideaux.

18. The beginning of the twelfth chapter of the book of Daniel is in these terms. "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was, since there was a nation, even to that same time. And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

'Hitherto,'[i] says Jerom, 'Porphyry has written with

[e] Hoc ideo prolixius posui, ut et Porphyrii ostendam calumniam, qui hæc omnia ignoravit, aut nescire se finxit: et scripturæ sanctæ difficultatem, cujus intelligentiam absque Dei gratiâ, et doctrinâ majorum, sibi imperitissimi vel maxime vendicant. p. 1134.

[f] L. xii. cap. 9. al. 13.

[g] Ap. Excerpt. Valesii. p. 144.

[h] Connexion, at the year before Christ, 164. p. 200.

[i] Hactenus Porphyrius utcumque se tenuit, et tam nostrorum imperitis, quam suorum male eruditis, imposuit. De hoc capitulo quid dicturus est, in quo mortuorum describitur resurrectio, aliis suscitatis in vitam æternam, et aliis in opprobrium sempiternum?——Sed quid non faciat pertinacia?——Et hoc, inquit, de Antiocho scriptum est, qui vadens in Persidem, Lysiæ, qui Antiochiæ et Phœniciæ præerat, reliquit exercitum, ut adversus Judæos pugnaret, urbemque eorum Jerusalem subverteret; quæ omnia narrat Josephus, historiæ auctor Hebrææ; quod talis fuerit tribulatio, qualis nunquam; et tempus advenerit, quale non fuit, ex quo gentes esse cœperunt usque ad illud tempus. Redditâ autem victoriâ, et cæsis Antiochi ducibus, ipsoque Antiocho in Perside mortuo, salvatus est

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'some sort of reserve and modesty, and has imposed upon 'unskilful people among us, and the ill-instructed on his 'own side; but what can he say upon this paragraph, in 'which the resurrection of the dead is spoken of?—— 'There is nothing which the perverseness of men may not 'do. His explication is this: And this also is written of 'Antiochus, who when he went into Persia, he left an army 'with Lysias, who was governor of Antioch and Phœnicia, 'that he might fight with the Jews, and destroy their city 'Jerusalem; all which things are related by Josephus, the 'Jewish historian, showing, that there was then such dis-'tress as never had been before. But the Jews overcoming, 'and the generals of Antiochus being slain, and himself 'having died in Persia, the people of Israel were delivered; 'even "all they who were written in the book of God," 'that is, who had valiantly stood up for the law. On the 'contrary, they were "blotted out of the book," who had 'apostatized from the law, and joined the interest of Anti-'ochus. Then, says he, they who, as it were, "slept in the 'dust of the earth," and were covered over with the weight 'of affliction, and were, as it were, buried in sepulchres, rose 'out of the "dust of the earth" to unexpected victory. 'The keepers of the law lifted up their heads out of the 'ground, rising to eternal life; and the apostates from it to '"everlasting contempt." The masters and teachers who 'understood the law, "will shine as the firmament," and 'they who had exhorted the lower orders of the people to 'keep God's ordinances, "will shine as the stars for ever 'and ever." He also allegeth the history of the Maccabees, 'in which it is said, that many of the Jews fled into the 'deserts, and hid themselves in caves and holes of the 'rocks, and after the victory came out. This, he says, is

populus Israël: omnes qui scripti in libro Dei, hoc est, qui legem fortissime defenderunt, et e contrario, qui deleti sunt de libro, hoc est, qui prævaricatores exstiterunt legis et Antiochi fuerunt partium. Tunc, ait, hi qui quasi in terræ pulvere dormiebant, et operti erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulcris miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam victoriam de terræ pulvere resurrexerunt: et de humo elevaverunt caput custodes legis, resurgentes in vitam æternam, et prævaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum. Magistri autem et doctores, qui legis notitiam habuerunt, fulgebunt quasi cœlum; et qui inferiores populos exhortati sunt ad custodiendas cæremonias Dei, ad instar astrorum fulgebunt in perpetuas æternitates. Ponit quoque historiam de Macchabæis, in quâ dicitur, multos Judæorum sub Mattathiâ et Judâ Macchabæo ad eremum confugisse, et latuisse in speluncis, et in cavernis petrarum, ac post victoriam processisse;—et hæc μεταφορικως, quasi de resurrectione mortuorum esse prædicta. Tempore autem antichristi talem tribulationem fore, qualis nunquam fuit ex quo gentes esse cœperunt, melius intelligitur. p. 1135.

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'expressed metaphorically, as if it were a resurrection 'from the dead.' I Macc. ii. 28, 29; 2 Macc. viii. 1.

But Jerom says, that the tribulations here spoken of are better understood of the times of antichrist.

Grotius, however, does not altogether reject Porphyry's[k] interpretation.

19.——Ver. 7, "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand, and his left hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for time, times, and a half."

Upon which Jerom observes: 'This[l] "time, and times, 'and half a time," Porphyry interprets, as meaning three 'years and a half; nor do we deny this to be agreeable to 'the style of scripture. And Porphyry, referring this to 'Antiochus, says, that by his means the temple was deserted 'for three years and a half; but,' says Jerom, 'Josephus and 'the book of Maccabees mention no more than three years, 'during which space the temple was defiled, and the image of 'Jupiter stood there by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes. 'Therefore,' as Jerom adds, 'that space of three years and a 'half relates not to Antiochus, but to antichrist.' Of this I may take some further notice hereafter; at present we proceed.

20. Same ver. 7, "And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished."

'That[m] is,' says Jerom, 'When the people of God shall

[k] 'Et multi, de his qui dormiunt in terræ pulvere, evigilabunt.'] Bene vertas: 'Et multi, qui cubârunt in pulverulentâ humo, exsurgent; id est, qui ob religionem ejecti urbe, oppidis, vicis, et villis, non habuerunt ubi caput reponerent, (ut Christus de se loquitur, Lucæ ix. 58.) redibunt in urbem, et alia loca habitata. Reddendum est Porphyrio quod ei debetur testimonium: est enim hunc locum optime interpretatus de iis qui ob legis cultum diu extorres ad sua rediere; sic tamen ut voces mirâ arte ita sint temperatæ, ut resurrectionis mysterium, quod aperte ante evangelium revelari non debuit, innuant magis quam explicent. Nihil potuit dici verius.

'Alii in vitam æternam.' Sensus primus hic est. 'Illi quidem' [consurgent] 'ad vitam longam,' quâ Deus eos donabit ob constantiam et mala tolerata, &c. Grot. ad locum.

[l] Tempus, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, tres et semis annos interpretatur Porphyrius: quod et nos juxta scripturarum sanctarum idioma non negamus——Si itaque superiora refert Porphyrius ad Antiochum, et ad tres et semis annos, quibus templum dicit desertum——Legimus in Mācchabæorum libris. Josephus quoque in eandem consentit sententiam, quod tribus annis templum pollutum fuerit in Jerusalem, et in eo Jovis idolum steterit sub Antiocho Epiphane.———Sub antichristo autem non tres anni, sed tres et semis, hoc est, mille ducenti nonaginta dies, desolationis templi sancti, et eversionis futuræ esse dicuntur. p. 1136. et 1133. bis.

[m] Quando, inquit, populus Dei dispersus fuerit, vel Antiocho persequente,

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'be dispersed in the persecution of Antiochus, as Porphyry 'will have it; or in the time of antichrist, as our people 'truly show, then all these things shall be fulfilled.'[n]

21. Ver. 11, "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days."

'These[o] thousand two hundred and ninety days, Por-'phyry says, were fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, and 'in the desolation of the temple; whereas Josephus and the 'book of Maccabees, as before said, mention three years 'only. Whence it is manifest, that the three years and a 'half are to be understood of the times of antichrist, who 'will persecute the saints for three years and a half, that is, 'a thousand two hundred and ninety days.'

So writes Jerom, not considering that three years and a half, computing 360 days to a year, make no more than twelve hundred and sixty days. To which are added thirty days in the number one thousand two hundred and ninety days; which, possibly, might be accounted for without any very great difficulty.[p]

22. Ver. 12, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days."

'Porphyry[q] says, that the five and forty days over and 'above the one thousand two hundred and ninety, show the 'time of the victory gained over the generals of Antiochus; 'when Judas the Maccabee fought valiantly, and cleansed

ut vult Porphyrius, vel antichristo, ut nostri verius probant, tunc hæc omnia complebuntur. p. 1133. bis.

[n] 'Et cum completa fuerit dispersio manûs populi sancti.'] Id est, cum maxime extra urbes et vicos per agros sparsi erunt pii Judæi. Vide 1 Maccab. ii. 29; 2 Macc. viii. 1. Grot. in loc.

[o] Hos mille, ducentos, nonaginta dies, Porphyrius in tempore Antiochi, et in desolatione templi dicit completos: quem et Josephus et Macchabæorum (ut diximus) liber, tribus tantum annis fuisse commemorant. Ex quo perspicuum est tres ipsos, et semis annos, de antichristi dici temporibus, qui tribus et semis annis, hoc est, mille ducentis nonaginta diebus sanctos persecuturus est——p. 1133. bis.

[p] '——dies mille ducenti nonaginta.'] Jam designatius ostendit dies aliquot excursuros ultra triennium et semestre tempus, post quod totum tempus, et non diutius, cessabit ὁ ἐνδελεχισμος, 'sacrificium juge.' In eo tempore comprehenditur etiam collocatio idoli vastantis in templo. Vide quæ diximus, vii. 25. Grot. in loc.

[q] Porphyrius hunc locum ita edisserit, ut quadraginta quinque dies, qui super mille ducentos nonaginta sunt, victoriæ contra duces Antiochi tempus significent; quando Judas Macchabæus fortiter dimicavit, et emundavit templum, idolumque contrivit, et victimas obtulit in templo Dei. Quod recte diceret, si Macchabæorum liber tribus et semis annis templum scriberet esse pollutum, et non tribus. p. 1134. bis.

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'the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and offered sacrifices 'in the temple; which might be rightly said, if the book of 'Maccabees had related that the temple was polluted three 'years and a half, and not three years.'

So writes Jerom. But this additional number of 'five 'and forty days' may be understood to reach to the time of the death of Antiochus, when the deliverance of the Jewish people would be completed, and their tranquillity further secured.[r]

Jerom, as we have seen, insists upon the term of 'three 'years,' mentioned by Josephus and the book of the Maccabees; and indeed Josephus in[s] one place computes the time of the desolation of the temple, as said by Jerom, at 'three years.' In other places[t] he mentions 'three years 'and a half.' According to different computations of the beginning and ending of the troubles of the Jewish people, the numbers may vary a little without any detriment to the true[u] history. Prideaux has shown largely, as well from the books of the Maccabees as from Josephus, that[v] the desolation of the temple happened just three years and six months before it was again restored by Judas Maccabæus. 'And therefore that restoration having been made[w] on the 'twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the Jews, called 'Cisleu, in the 148th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ; 'it follows, that the time of this desolation must have been 'in or about the twenty-fifth day of their third month, called 'Sivan, in the æra of the Seleucidæ 145, which answers to 'the year before Christ 168; then it was, that by the com-'mand of Antiochus, and the wicked agency of Apollonius, 'the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every 'morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, 'and the temple turned into desolation.'

At the end of that period of three years and a half the temple was cleansed and dedicated by Judas Maccabæus; and an annual feast of eight days was appointed in memory

[r] 'Ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque.'] Ad mortem usque Antiochi, indicatam supra, xi. 45. quo tempore Judæi non malis tantum, sed et omni malorum metu levabuntur. Grot. in loc.

[s] Antiq. l. xii. cap. x. [al. cap. 7.] sect. 6.

[t] ——*και κατασχων ετεσι τρισι και μησιν ἑξ.* De B. Jud. Pr. sect. 7.

——*αυτος και τον ναον εσυλησε, και τον ενδελεχισμον των καθ' ἡμεραν εναγιασμων επαυσεν επ' ετη τρια και μηνας ἑξ.* De. B. J. l. i. cap. i. in.

[u] Quorum omnium facilis est conciliatio. Stetit enim in templo idolum tribus annis non amplius. Ab urbe vero captâ et interdictis ritibus sex præterea menses effluxerant, cum diebus paucis, qui numeri rotundi gratiâ negliguntur. Aldrich. ad Joseph. De B. J. l. i. cap. i. sect. i.

[v] Year before Christ 168. Conn. P. 2. B. 3. p. 175.

[w] 1 Mac. i. 59; iv. 52, 54; 2 Mac. x. 5.

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of that deliverance, as related, 1 Macc. iv. 36——to the end, and 2 Macc. ch. x. and by Josephus.[x] Which feast was still observed by the Jews at Jerusalem in our Saviour's time, as we learn from the[y] gospels.

IV. I shall now make some observations upon the preceding objections, and the answers made to them.

1. From what has been now transcribed from St. Jerom, we may be able to form some notion of the nature of that part of Porphyry's work, so far as it related to the book of Daniel; we may likewise be able to discern some defects in the answers which were made to it by christian writers.

Says Dr. Prideaux: 'The[z] prophecies of Daniel concerning the Persian kings, and the Macedonians, that reigned as well in Egypt as Asia, having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, Porphyry could not disprove them by denying their completion: and therefore for overthrowing their authority he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth; and from hence alleged, that being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not therefore be written by Daniel so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name, who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; for which purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant. Such were Callinicus Sutorina, Diodorus Siculus,——and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel was truly, in every particular, acted and done in the order as there related. And from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned; that these prophecies were written after the facts were done; and therefore are rather historical narratives, relating things past, than prophetical predictions, foreshowing things afterwards to come.'——'Jerom[a] and Porphyry exactly agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of Daniel till they come to the 21st verse. But what follows thence to the end of the chapter, was all explained by Porphyry to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But Jerom here differs from him, and saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the viii. and xii. chapters of the same book, relate principally to antichrist; that though some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately fulfilled only in antichrist. And

[x] Antiq. l. xii. c. 10. [al. 7.] sub fin. [y] John x. 22. [z] Connection. p. 2. B. 3, year before Christ 164. p. 206. [a] Ib. p. 207, 208.

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'this, he saith, was the general sense of the fathers of the 'christian church in his time.'

But what need was there to bring in antichrist, in any answers to Porphyry or other heathen adversaries? Some, as[b] Grotius did, may think this one defect in our ancient apologists. Those prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus, and the state of the Jews in his time, were punctually fulfilled. Porphyry himself showed, that all recorded relating to him was actually true; he proved it from the best authors extant at that time. The christians might thank him for it, and stand to their point, that all this was not history, but prophecy formerly delivered; and history had shown the accomplishment. The predictions were so clear, and the fulfilment so manifest, that, as Jerom well said in his preface to his Commentary upon this book, 'a determined adversary was compelled to say, that the book of 'Daniel was not a prophecy of things to come, but a narrative of what had already happened. Which kind of opposition,' as he added, 'was a confession of truth, and 'testimony to it.' And as all things foretold concerning Antiochus were fulfilled, so likewise were the prophecies of the same book concerning the coming of the Messiah. And if there were in it predictions of things after his appearance, and in late ages of the world, the fulfilment might be safely expected and relied upon.

2. Porphyry was in the wrong to deny[c] the genuineness of the book of Daniel; which had been always received by the Jews; as we perceive from the books of Maccabees, and Josephus, and from our evangelists; not now to men-

[b] Inter Græcos autem ad sensum horum vaticiniorum proxime accessit Polychronius, Porphyrii lector diligens, et Chrysostomus. Bene autem intelligi hæc vaticinia refert plurimum: primum ut eo lucidius appareat Dei providentia et præscientia: deinde ne prava interpretatio, tempora confundens, impediat Judæos Messiæ tempora agnoscere. Quod vel maxime ii faciunt, qui quæ de Antiocho Illustri dicta sensum habent manifestum, ad antichristum trahunt, ut Hippolytus, multique alii. Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.

[c] ——cujus ille auctoritatem ut eluderet, scriptos dixit libros post eventum. Quod quam sit impudens, alibi diximus. Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.

A Daniele vero translatio imperii ab Assyriis ad Medos ac Persas, (significata,) inde ad Alexandrum Macedonem; cujus deinde ex parte successores forent Lagidæ, et Seleucidæ: quæque mala populus Hebræus ab his omnibus maxime vero ab Antiocho Illustri, accepturus esset, adeo perspicue, ut Porphyrius, qui historias Græcas suo adhuc tempore extantes, cum vaticiniis istis contulit, aliter se expedire non potuerit, quam ut diceret ea, quæ Danieli tribuebantur, post eventum fuisse scripta. Quod perinde est, quasi quis neget, quæ sub Virgilii nomine extant, et pro Virgilianis habita sunt semper, ab ipso scripta Augusti ævo. Non enim de isto, quod dicimus, magis unquam dubitatum inter Hebræos fuit, quam de hoc apud Romanos. Grot. de V. R. C. l. i. cap. 18.

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tion any later writers. To dispute the real age of Daniel, and the genuineness of his book, is arbitrary and unreasonable; as if a man should deny that Virgil and Horace lived in the time of Augustus, or wrote those works which with general consent are ascribed to them, and received as theirs. The book of Daniel is as genuine as any of those histories which Porphyry made use of in his work against the christians.

3. Porphyry, as we have seen in Jerom, said, that the book of Daniel could not be genuine, because it was written in Greek; this he argued from some Greek words in the history of Susanna, and other spurious things added to the book of Daniel.

Upon this argument I must say, first, that it is a very weak argument, because those stories of Susanna, Bel, and the Dragon, never were received by the Jews, nor by learned men among christians. If Porphyry did not know this, it shows great ignorance. But, secondly, I imagine he did know this, and that, according to the tradition of Jews and christians before his time, the book of Daniel was written in Hebrew, excepting some parts of it in Chaldee; consequently this argument was unfair, and was owing to want of candour; and formed only to impose upon ignorant and uninstructed men; this indeed I take to be the case.

4. By the queen, mentioned, Dan. v. 10, Porphyry, as we learn from Jerom, understood the wife of Belshazzar; which must be a mistake, as is now allowed by all learned men in general, and was shown by Jerom himself. Says Prideaux: 'The[d] queen that entered the banqueting-house to direct 'the king to call for Daniel, could not be his wife; for all 'his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him 'at the feast. [Ver. 2.] And therefore it must have been 'Nitocris, the queen-mother, a lady famous for her wisdom, 'who had the chief management of public affairs, and is 'called the queen by way of eminence.' Nitocris, as it seems, was a lady of too much gravity, and too much engaged about public affairs, to take part in that entertainment.

This then is an error at the best; but I do not think it to be an innocent error; I rather think it to have been a designed and wilful misrepresentation. "When the queen came into the banquet-house, she said to Belshazzar; O king, live for ever. Let not thy thoughts trouble thee—— There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the

[d] Connexion, P. i. B. 2. vol. i. p. 122. year before Christ, 539. See likewise Grotius, and Lowth upon the place.

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'holy gods; and in the days of thy father [or grandfather] light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him"——and what follows, ver. 10——12. This did not please Porphyry; it afforded an argument for the real age, and peculiar wisdom, and prophetic character of Daniel. The real truth, therefore, did not suit Porphyry. This therefore I consider as an unfair argument, and another instance of want of candour. We may be the more confirmed in this supposition, in that, as Jerom says, 'Porphyry ridiculed the queen for pretending 'to know more than her husband.' There is no foundation for ridicule in the history itself.

5. Ch. ii. ver. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts." Here, as we before learned from Jerom, 'Porphyry took upon him to blame 'Daniel for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accept-'ing Babylonish honours.' But there is no ground for such a censure; Daniel was guilty of no mean compliances; he ascribed all his wisdom to God; and upon every occasion preserved his integrity without blemish, and openly professed his zeal for true religion, and the worship of God according to the directions of the law of Moses. It was not decent for him to refuse the honours bestowed by a great king, when no sinful compliances were exacted; and when he might, in the high station to which he was advanced, both promote the interest of true religion, and the welfare of his people in a strange country. Daniel does not appear to have been fond of worldly honours. When Belshazzar made him great promises, he answered: "Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another," ch. v. 17. That remark, therefore, I consider as an instance of Porphyry's malignant temper toward Daniel, and in him toward christians.

6. I shall add no more observations here. I have again and again acknowledged, that Porphyry's work against the christians was a work of great labour, in which he showed great learning; and it might have been of some use to us now if it had been preserved. At the same time it appears to me very probable, that there were in it many mistakes, and many instances of want of candour; and I make no doubt, but that, if it were still extant, it would appear to us very provoking and offensive, as it did to the christians in former times, who saw and read it.

7. Dan. xi. 38, "But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces, or munitions."

In his commentary upon the 30th chapter of Isaiah,

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Jerom[e] blames Porphyry for rendering this 'the god of the town of Modim,' meaning the god who was worshipped there. However, curious readers should consult Grotius, as well as Lowth, upon that text.

8. Jerom seems to say elsewhere, that[f] Porphyry had written largely about Daniel's seventy weeks; if he intends any thing beside what I have already taken notice of, I know nothing of it.

V. Having made such large extracts out of Jerom's Commentary on the book of Daniel, for showing the nature of that part of Porphyry's work, I now proceed to other things.

In the first book of his Evangelical Preparation,[g] Eusebius exposing the absurdity of the heathen polytheism, which had long prevailed in the world; which, as he says, having been first introduced among the Phœnicians and Egyptians, had been propagated among the Greeks and other nations: This, he says, he will show, beginning with the Phœnicians.

'Their affairs are written by Sanchoniathon, an ancient 'author, older, as is said, than the Trojan times; who, they 'say, has written the Phœnician history, with great exact-'ness and fidelity. Philo, not the Jew, but Biblius, has 'translated the whole work into Greek out of the Phœni-'cian language. He[h] is quoted by that person, who in our 'time wrote against us, in the fourth book of his work, in 'these very words. "Sanchoniathon of Berytus writes the 'history of the Jews very exactly, and mentions times and 'places; taking his accounts from the Memoirs of Jerombal,

[e] Hoc annotavimus, ut quod in Danielis extremâ legimus Visione Deum Maozim, non ut Porphyrius somniat 'Deum viculi Modim,' sed robustum Deum et fortem intelligamus. In Is. cap. xxx. T. iii. p. 252. m.

[f] Sin autem supradictos viros magistros ecclesiæ nominavi, illud intelligant, me non omnium probare fidem, qui certe inter se contrarii sunt; sed et distinctionem Josephi, Porphyriique dixisse, qui de hac quæstione plurima disputârunt. Præf. in libr. xi. Comment. in Is. T. iii. p. 283.

[g] Pr. Ev. l. i. cap. 9. p. 30, 31.

[h] *Μεμνηται τυτων ὁ καθ' ἡμας των καθ' ἡμων πεποιημενος συσκευην, εν τεταρτῳ τῳ προς ἡμας ὑποθεσεως ωδε τῷ ανδρι μαρτυρων προς λεξιν. Ἱστορει δε τα περι Ιυδαιων αληθεςατα, ὁτι και τοις τοποις και τοις ονομασιν αυτων τα συμφωνοτατα, Σαγχυνιαθων ὁ Βηρυτιος, ειληφως τα ὑπομνηματα παρα Ιερομβαλυ τυ ἱερεως Θευ τυ Ιευω· ὁς Αβιβαλῳ τῳ βασιλει Βηρυτων την ἱςοριαν αναθεις ὑπ' εκεινυ και των κατ' αυτον εξεταςων της αληθειας παρεδεχθη. Οἱ δε τυτων χρονοι και πρὸ των Τροϊκων πιπτυσι χρονων, και σχεδον τοις Μωσεως πλησιαζυσιν ὡς αἱ των Φοινικης βασιλεων μηνυσι διαδοχαι. Σαγχυνιαθων δε κατα την Φοινικων διαλεκτον, φιλιληθως την παλαιαν ἱςοριαν εκ των κατα πολιν ὑπομνηματων, και των εν τοις ἱεροις αναγραφων συναγαγων και συγγραψας, επι Σεμιραμεως γεγονε της Ασσυριων βασιλιδος, ἡ προ των Ιλιακων, η κατ' αυτυς γε χρονυς γενεσθαι αναγεγραπται. κ. λ.* Præp. Ev. l. i. p. 30, 31.

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'priest of the god Jevo; who dedicated his history to 'Abibal king of Berytus, by whom, as well as by others 'his contemporaries, capable judges of the truth, it was 'approved. Their age was before the Trojan times, and 'approaches near to the times of Moses, as is evident from 'the succession of the kings of Phœnicia. Sanchoniathon, 'who with great fidelity wrote their ancient history in the 'Phœnician language, collecting it partly from the registers 'of cities, and partly from the records kept in temples, 'lived in the time of Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians, 'who is computed to have reigned before the times of Troy, 'or about them. The work of Sanchoniathon was trans-'lated into Greek by Philo Biblius." So writes that per-'son, bearing testimony to the veracity and antiquity of that 'historian.'

But, as Eusebius adds: 'That ancient writer,[i] in the 'progress of his work, does not recommend the worship of 'God who is over all, nor of the heavenly bodies, but of 'mortal men and women; who, so far from being respectable 'for the probity of their manners, or the excellence of their 'virtues, or their great wisdom, which might recommend 'them to esteem and imitation, that their characters are 'blemished with the most foul and flagitious vices; and 'they appear to be the very same that are now worshipped 'as gods in all cities and countries.'

The same passage of Porphyry is quoted again by Eusebius, in the ninth chapter of the tenth book of the same work, the Evangelical Preparation. He there introduceth it, and argueth from it after this manner.

His subject in that place is the antiquity of Moses and the Jewish prophets. He first refers to his Chronical Canons, where he had already showed the same thing. 'Now, 'says[k] he, to what was then said, I would add here the 'testimony of the most bitter enemy to the Jews and us that

[i] Ὁ δε προϊων ουτον επι παντων Θεον, ουδε μην τους κατ' ουρανον, Θνητους δε ανδρας και γυναικας, ουδε τον τροπον ατειως οιως δι' αρετην αξιον ειναι αποδεξασθαι, η ζηλωσαι της φιλοσοφιας, φαυλοτητος δε και μοχθηριας ἁπασης κακιαν περιβεβλημενους Θεολογει. Και μαρτυρει γε τουτους αυτους εκεινους ειναι, τους εισετι νυν θεους παρα τοις πασι νενομισμενους κατα τε τας πολεις και τας χωρας. Ib. p. 31.

[k] Ταυτα μεν ουν αποδεικτικως εν τοις πονηθεισιν ἡμιν χρονικοις κανοσιν ουτως εχοντα συνεστη. Επι δε τω παροντος, προς τοις ειρημενοις, μαρτυρι της Μωσεως αρχαιοτητος χρησομαι τω παντων δυσμηνεστατω και πολεμιωτατω Ἑβραιων τε και ἡμων· φημι δε τω καθ' ἡμας φιλοσοφω, ὁς, την καθ' ἡμων συσκευην ὑπερβολη μισους προβεβλημενος, ου μονους ἡμας, αλλα και Ἑβραιους, αυτον τε Μωσεα, και τους μετ' αυτον προφητας ταις ἰσαις ὑπηγαγετο βλασφημιαις. Δια γαρ της των εχθρων ὁμολογιας αναμφηριστως ἡγουμαι την επαγγελιαν πιστωσεσθαι. Pr Ev. l. x. p. 484, 485.

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'ever was; I mean that philosopher of our time, who, in the 'abundance of his enmity against us, published a work, in 'which he reviles not us only; but also the Jews, and 'Moses, and the prophets after him, and all in the like man-'ner; for the confession of enemies is always reckoned 'credible. Porphyry then, in the fourth book of his work 'against us, says in these very words: "Sanchoniathon of 'Berytus writes the history of the Jews very exactly."' So quoting the passage before transcribed by me at length. After which Eusebius proceeds: 'Upon[l] which we may 'argue in this manner. If Sanchoniathon flourished in the 'time of Semiramis, and she lived long before the times of 'Troy, it follows, that Sanchoniathon was older than the 'same times. But he is said to have taken his memoirs 'from others, who were before his times; and who were not 'contemporaries with Moses, but only lived near his times. 'It follows, that Sanchoniathon is still so much later than 'Moses, as he is later than those of greater antiquity, who 'only lived near the times of Moses.'

This passage of Porphyry is also cited by[m] Theodoret in his books against the gentiles, and as from his work written against us. He likewise quotes it in proof of the antiquity of Moses, and that he lived before the times of Troy.

And Eusebius, in his introduction to the second book of his Chronical Canon, as we now have it in Jerom's Latin translation, says: 'The[o] antiquity of Moses is asserted by 'many of our own writers, and among the Jews by Jose-'phus and Justus; and among the Greeks [or Gentiles], the 'impious Porphyry in the fourth book of his work, which 'with fruitless labour he composed against us, affirms, that 'Moses was older than Semiramis.'

VI. Severian, bishop of Gatala in Syria, at the beginning of the fifth century, in his sixth homily upon the Creation of the World, having quoted Gen. iii. 5, "For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil," goes on: 'Many[o] say, and especi-'ally they who follow that enemy of God, Porphyry, who 'wrote against the christians, and has perverted many from 'the truth; Why did God forbid the knowledge of good

[l] Ib. p. 485. [m] Gr. Aff. L. ii. T. iv. p. 493.

[n] ——— ex Judæis Josephus et Justus veteris historiæ monumenta replicantes. Ex ethnicis vero impius ille Porphyrius, in quarto Operis sui libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contexuit, post Moysem Semiramim fuisse affirmat. Chr. Can. p. 54.

[o] *Λεγουσι πολλοι, και μαλιστα οι τῳ θεοστυγει Πορφυριῳ ακολουθησαντες, τῳ κατα χριστιανων συγγραψαντι, και τυ θειυ δογματος πολλους αποστησαντι. κ. λ.* Sever. de Mundi Chr. hom. ap. Chrys. T. vi. p. 498.

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'and evil? He might forbid evil; but why should he for-'bid good?' Severian answers, that God did not forbid the knowledge of good, and that Adam had that knowledge before he tasted of the forbidden fruit.

VII. I now proceed to passages of Porphyry, concerning the books of the New Testament.

Mill, in his[p] Prolegomena to the New Testament, has taken notice of several texts in the gospels, to which Porphyry made exceptions.

1. Matt. i. 11, 12, "And Josias begat Jechonias, and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon. And after they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel."

Here, as it seems, one and the same person, Jechonias, ends the second fourteen, and begins the third class of fourteen; consequently one generation was supposed to be wanting. Porphyry[q] therefore, as we learn from Jerom, charged St. Matthew with a mistake. But Jerom says, that Porphyry herein betrayed his own ignorance and unskilfulness.

It is not needful that I should attempt the solution of this difficulty; it is sufficient, that I refer[r] to some learned editors of the New Testament, or commentators upon this text.

But we can hence clearly argue, that in Porphyry's time, the genealogy in St. Matthew was generally received by christians; otherwise there had been no reason, why he should make any remark upon it; for, as Jerom observes, Porphyry mentioned this supposed error of the evangelist as a reflection upon the church.

2. Matt. ix. 9, "And as Jesus passed out thence, he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom. And he saith unto him; Follow me. And he arose and followed him."

'Here,[s] says Jerom, 'Porphyry and the emperor Julian

[p] Vid. Prolegom. num. 702, 703.

[q] Et ob hanc causam in evangelio secundum Matthæum una videtur deesse generatio; quia secunda τεσσαρακοντας in Joacim desinit filio Josiæ, et tertia incipit a Joachim filio Joacim. Quod ignorans Porphyrius, calumniam struit ecclesiæ, suam ostendens imperitiam, dum evangelistæ Matthæi arguere nititur falsitatem. Hieron. in Dan. cap. 1. ver. 1. Tom. iii. p. 1075. Confer idem in Matt. Cap. i. Tom. iv. p. 7.

[r] Mill, in loc. et Prolegom. num. 702. et Wetsten. et Bez. in loc.

[s] Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim secuti sunt Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem secuti; quum tantæ virtutes, tantaque signa præcesserint, quæ apostolos, antequam crederent, vidisse, non dubium est. Hier. in loc. T. iv. P. i. p. 30.

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'pretend, that either the historian has told a lie; or else 'people were very silly to follow Jesus at his call; acting as 'if they were ready to follow any man that beckoned to 'them. Not considering,' says Jerom, 'that before this time 'many great miracles and signs had been done by Jesus; 'of which the apostles were witnesses before they believed.'

3. Matt. xiii. 35, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying; I will open my mouth in parables."

That is a reference to Ps. lxxviii. 2, which is entitled a Psalm of Asaph. In some copies of St. Matthew, where we have *by the prophet*, was read *by the prophet Isaiah*. This gave an occasion to an objection of Porphyry, which we meet with in the Breviarum upon the Psalter, generally ascribed to Jerom, but not reckoned his by the Benedictine editors. 'It[t] is not Isaiah that says this, but Asaph, says 'that writer. Therefore the impious Porphyry allegeth 'this against us, and says; Your evangelist Matthew was 'so ignorant as to say; Which was written by the prophet 'Isaiah: "I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter 'things kept secret from the foundation of the world."'

This various reading was observed by Jerom in his comment upon Matt. xiii. 35, who has considered the difficulty, though he does not mention Porphyry. He[u] thinks the original reading was thus: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Asaph," by whom that Psalm was composed. But some transcriber of St. Matthew, not recollecting Asaph to have been a prophet, and imagining therefore that it was a mistake, inserted the name of Isaiah, who was better known, in his room.

They who are curious, and have leisure, should by all means consult Mill and Wetstein upon Matt. xiii. 35; where they will observe some other quotations of ancient authors which I have not room to transcribe.

4. Upon Gen. i. 10, Jerom says; 'It[v] is to be noted,

[t] Hoc Isaias non loquitur, sed Asaph. Denique, et impius Porphyrius proponit adversum nos hoc ipsum, et dicit; Evangelista vester Matthæus tam imperitus fuit, ut diceret, quod scriptum est per Isaïam prophetam.—— Breviarium in Psalt. ap. Hieron. T. ii. P. ii. p. 316.

[u] Sed mihi videtur a principio ita editum: 'Quod scriptum est per Asaph prophetam, dicentem.' Septuagesimus enim septimus Psalmus, de quo hoc sumtum est testimonium, Asaph prophetæ titulo inscribitur: et primum scriptorem non intellexisse Asaph, et pûtasse scriptoris vitium, atque emendâsse nomen Isaïæ, cujus vocabulum manifestius est. Hieron. in Matt. xiii. T. iv. p. 58.

[v] Notandum, quod omnis congregatio aquarum, sive falsæ sint, sive dulces, juxta idioma linguæ Hebraeæ, maria nuncupantur. Frustra igitur Porphyrius evangelistas ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, eo quod Dominus super

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'that all collections of waters, whether they are salt or 'sweet, are called seas, according to the Hebrew language. 'Porphyry therefore without ground insinuates, that the 'evangelists, the better to impose a miracle upon ignorant 'people, say, "Our Lord walked upon the sea," meaning 'only the lake of Gennesareth; for all lakes, or collection 'of waters, are called seas.'

This is related, Matt. xiv. 25, "Jesus went unto them walking on the sea." The same expression is also used on the same occasion, Mark vi. 48, and John vi. 19. Jerom says, that Porphyry upon this account 'calumniated the 'evangelists.' Whether he referred to more than one of them I do not determine; but we shall soon find that Porphyry had read St. Mark's and St. John's gospels, as well as St. Matthew's.

5. Matt. xxi. 21, "Jesus answered, and said unto them; If ye have faith, and doubt not; ye shall not only do this, which is done to the fig-tree, but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done."

Here St. Jerom says: 'The[w] dogs of the Gentiles bark 'against us in the volumes which they have left as monu-'ments of their own impiety, saying; It is plain the apos-'tles had not faith, forasmuch as they never removed moun-'tains.'

Such observations may tend to produce mirth; but it is very silly to understand such figurative expressions literally.

Jerom does not name the persons to whom he refers; but it is likely, that he means Porphyry and Julian, they having been both before mentioned in his Commentary upon St. Matthew. If he does not intend them, there were other writers against us who had remarked upon this expression.

6. Matt. xxiv. 15, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel, standing in the holy place."

Jerom[x] in his Commentary upon St. Matthew lets us

mare ambulaverit, pro lacu Gennesareth, mare appellâsse calumniatur; quum omnis lacus et aquarum congregatio mare nuncupentur. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. T. ii. p. 509.

[w] Latrant contra nos Gentiles canes in suis voluminibus, quæ in impietatis propriæ memoriam reliquerunt, asserentes, apostolos non habuisse fidem, quia montes transferre non potuerint. In Matt. xxi. 21. Ib. p. 99.

[x] De hoc loco, id est, de abominatione desolationis, quæ dicta est, a Daniele prophetâ stante in loco sancto, multa Porphyrius tertio decimo operis sui volumine contra nos blasphemavit. Hieron. in Matt. T. iv. p. 115.

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know, that Porphyry, in the 13th volume of his work against the christians, poured out many blasphemies upon that text.

7. Matt. xxvii. 45, "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour."

Upon which text Jerom observes: 'They[y] who have 'written against the gospels suspect, that the disciples of 'Christ, in their account of our Lord's resurrection, have 'mistaken this darkness, which was only an eclipse of the 'sun, that happens at certain seasons in the ordinary course 'of things; Whereas,' says Jerom, 'an eclipse of the sun 'can never happen but at the time of new moon; and all 'the world knows that at the passover it is full moon; and 'that there might be no pretence for saying, that this dark-'ness was owing to the shadow of the earth, or to an inter-'position of the moon between us and the sun, it is recorded 'to have continued for the space of three hours.'

Here also, it is not unlikely that Jerom intends the same writers before mentioned, Porphyry and Julian.

8. Upon Matt. iii. 3, "This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying; The voice of one crying in the wilderness; Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

Here Jerom observes to this purpose: 'Porphyry[z] com-'pares this place with the beginning of St. Mark's gospel, 'in which it is written: "The beginning of the gospel of 'Jesus Christ the Son of God. As it is written in the pro-'phets; Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, 'which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one 'crying in the wilderness; Prepare ye the way of the Lord, 'make his paths straight." For since this quotation is 'composed out of Malachi [iii. 1.] and Isaiah, [xl. 3.] he 'asks, how it comes to pass, that it is all said to be taken 'from Isaiah? To which question,' says Jerom, 'ecclesias-'tical writers have answered largely; but I am of opinion,

[y] Qui scripserunt contra evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretatos; quum defectus solis nunquam nisi ortu lunæ fieri soleat. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschæ tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et ne forsitan videretur umbra terræ, vel orbis lunæ soli oppositus, breves et ferrugineas fecisse tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis causantium occasio tolleretur. Ib. p. 139.

[z] Porphyrius istum locum Marci evangelistæ principio comparat: in quo scriptum est: 'Initium evangelii Jesu Christi, Filii Dei, sicut scriptum est in Isaïâ prophetâ.'——Quum enim testimonium de Malachiâ Isaiâque contextum sit, quærit, quomodo velut ab uno Isaïâ exemplum putemus assumtum. Cui ecclesiastici viri plenissime responderunt. Nos autem nomen Isaiæ putamus additum scriptorum visio. Ibid. p. 10.

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'that the name of Isaiah has been added through the fault 'of the transcribers of the gospels.'

Hence, I think, it appears, that Porphyry had read the gospels with care, and that he did not overlook any advantage against them.

Jerom has considered this point[a] elsewhere. We hence perceive, that at that time the name of Esaias was read in St. Mark as well as in St. Matthew; whereas now in St. Mark it is *in the prophets*. Concerning this various reading divers learned moderns[b] may be consulted.

Once more. It appears from the homily of an ancient anonymous writer, that[c] this objection of Porphyry was in the fourteenth book of his work against the christians.

9. Jerom, writing against Vigilantius, who disliked the excessive veneration then paid to the martyrs, and did not give credit to every miracle said to be wrought by their reliques, useth these expressions: 'Unless,[d] says he, after 'the manner of the Gentiles, and the impious Porphyry 'and Eunomius, you pretend that these are only artifices of 'the dæmons, and that the dæmons do not complain, but 'only feign themselves to be tormented.'

It is likely that Jerom here refers to some disagreeable reflections, which Porphyry had made upon our Lord's cure of the dæmoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes, or elsewhere. See Matt. viii. 29; Mark v. 7; Luke viii. 28; and Mark i. 23, 24; Luke iv. 33, 34.

10. Theophylact, in his Commentary upon the beginning of St. John's gospel, has these expressions: 'So[e] that the 'sophism of that Gentile writer, Porphyry, falls to the 'ground. He, endeavouring to overthrow the gospel, 'makes use of these divisions. "If," says he, "the Son

[a] De optimo genere interpretandi. Ad. Pamm. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. P. 2. p. 253. [b] Mill. et Wetst. et Bez. in loc.

[c] Incertus auctor homiliæ de principio evangelii secundum Marcum inter opera Chrysostomi, Locum istum, inquit, impius ille Porphyrius in quarto decimo volumine disputat, et dicit: evangelistæ tam imperiti fuerunt homines, non solum in secularibus, sed etiam in scripturis divinis, ut testimonium, quod alibi scriptum est, de alio ponerent prophetâ. Citat. ap. Wetsten. in loc. Vid. et Bez. in loc.

[d] Spiritus ille immundus, qui hæc te cogit scribere, sæpe hoc vilissimo tortus est pulvere: imo hodieque torquetur, et qui in te plagas dissimulat, in cæteris confitetur; nisi forte in morem Gentilium, impiorumque Porphyrii et Eunomii, has præstigias dæmonum esse confingas, et non vere clamare dæmonas, sed sua simulare tormenta. Adv. Vig. T. iv. P. ii. p. 286.

[e] Ὡςε διαπεπτωκε τȣ Ἑλληνος Πορφυριȣ το σοφισμα. Εκεινος γαρ ανατρεπειν πειρωμενος το ευαγγελιον, τοιαυταις εχρητο διαιρεσεσιν. Ει γαρ λογος, φησιν, ὁ Ὑιος τȣ Θεȣ, ητοι προφορικος εςιν, η ενδιαθετος· αλλα μην ȣτε τȣτο, ȣτε εκεινο. Ουκ αρα ȣδε λογος εςιν. Theoph. p. 558. A.

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'of God be Word, he must be either outward word, or 'inward word." [That is, reason, thought, or speech.] '"But he is neither this, nor that. Therefore he is not 'Word."'

Upon which Theophylact observes, that such divisions may be made use of concerning us, and other natural things, but have no place among things supernatural.

11. In a work of Jerom against the Pelagians we find this passage. 'Our[f] Lord says to his brethren, that he 'should not go up to the feast of tabernacles. John vii. 8. 'And yet afterwards it is written: "But when his brethren 'were gone up, then went he up also to the feast, not openly, 'but as it were in secret," ver. 10. He said he would not 'go; and yet he went. Here Porphyry barks, charging 'our Lord with fickleness and inconstancy.'

We now read in ver. 8, "I go not yet up to the feast." But from this place of Jerom, as well as from the quotations of other ancient authors, it appears, that the common reading then was: "I go not up to the feast." Upon which divers learned men[g] may be consulted. Supposing that to be the true reading, I see not any reason for the charge of inconstancy, or of our Lord's altering his intention. The context shows, that he had spoke of deferring his journey to Jerusalem for a short time; not that he had resolved not to go at all to the feast. He went to the feast; and he always intended so to do; but he went not up to that feast so soon, nor so publicly, as he did at some other seasons; and he assigns the reason of that conduct, which may be seen ver. 6, and 7.

12. In his Commentary upon Joel ii. 28—31. Which words are quoted by St. Peter, Acts ii. 16—20. Jerom speaking of the apostles' way of arguing: 'Not,' says[h] he, 'that they abused the simplicity and ignorance of their 'hearers, as the impious Porphyry insinuates.'

However, I do not affirm, that Porphyry referred to this place of the Acts; he might refer to some other; and possibly, often said such things of the apostles, or some of them.

13. In another place Jerom, speaking of the charity of the first believers at Jerusalem, and of the behaviour of

[f] Negat fratribus et propinquis, ire se ad Scenopagiam. Et postea scriptum est: ut autem ascenderunt fratres ejus, tum et ipse ascendit.——Iterum se negavit, et fecit quod prius negaverat. Latrat Porphyrius: inconstantiæ ac mutationis accusat——Hieron. adv. Pelag. lib. ii. T. iv. p. 521.

[g] Vid. in loc. Mill. Wetst. Bez. Grot. &c.

[h] Non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitiâ, ut impius calumniatur Porphyrius. In Joël. cap. 2. Tom. iii. p. 1359.

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Ananias and his wife Sapphira, Acts v. 1—14, has this observation; 'Lastly,[i] the apostle Peter by no means imprecates death to them, as the foolish Porphyry [or, as in some MSS. philosopher] calumniates; but by the prophetic spirit declares the judgment of God, that the punishment of two persons might be an instruction to many.'

14. Gal. i. 15, 16, "But when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, I conferred not with flesh and blood."

'I know,'[k] says Jerom in his comment upon this text, 'that many so understand this expression of the apostle. And Porphyry likewise objects, that after the revelation of Christ, Paul did not vouchsafe to go to any men, to confer with them, lest, truly, after having been taught by God, he should receive instruction from flesh and blood. But I can never persuade myself to think, that by flesh and blood are to be understood Peter, James, and John.'

But, notwithstanding that judgment of Jerom, I suppose that still most will be of opinion, that in the expression flesh and blood, are intended all men, not excluding the greatest apostles. Compare this with ver. 12, "For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." And see ver. 17, 18. There can be no question made, but that Porphyry had an eye to these passages of the epistle to the Galatians.

15. Gal. ii. 11—14, St. Paul says: "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles.——But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all——"

In the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerom speaks thus of this matter. 'The[l] wicked

[i] Denique et apostolus Petrus nequâquam imprecatur eis mortem, ut stultus Porphyrius [MSS. Philosophus] calumniatur: sed Dei judicium prophetico spiritu annuntiat, ut pœna duorum hominum sit doctrina multorum. Ad Demetriad. ep. 97. al. 8. T. iv. p. 792.

[k] Scio, plerosque de apostolis hoc dictum arbitrari. Nam et Porphyrius objicit, quod post revelationem Christi non fuerit dignatus ire ad homines, et cum iis conferre sermonem; ne, post doctrinam videlicet Dei, a carne et sanguine instrueretur. Sed absit, ut ego Petrum et Jacobum et Johannem carnem et sanguinem putem. In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. p. 233.

[l] Quod nequâquam intelligens Bataneotes, et sceleratus ille Porphyrius in primo operis sui adversus nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objecit esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelizandum; volens et illi maculam erroris inurere, et huic procacitatis; et in commune ficti dogmatis accusare

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'Porphyry not understanding this, in the first book of his 'work against us, objects, that Peter was reproved by 'Paul; that he did not proceed uprightly in preaching the 'gospel; aiming thereby to affix the blot of a mistake upon 'the one, and of peevishness upon the other. And hence 'he argues the falsehood of the whole doctrine, as if it were 'a mere invention, since the heads of the churches dis-'agreed.'

In his Commentary upon the words above quoted, Jerom says, 'that[m] some think Cephas, whom Paul withstood to 'the face, was not the apostle Peter, but another of the 'same name, possibly, one of the seventy disciples. They 'argued, that Peter could not withdraw from conversation 'with the Gentiles, who had baptized Cornelius. They 'argued likewise from the defence he made of what he had 'done at the house of Cornelius, when "they of the cir-'cumcision at Jerusalem contended with him," as recorded 'Acts xi. 1—18. They also said, that St. Luke in the Acts 'makes not any mention of this dissension; nor that Peter 'and Paul ever were together at Antioch. They also in-'sisted, that there would be an advantage given to Porphy-'ry, if it were allowed, either that Peter erred, or that 'Paul peevishly confuted the chief of the apostles. To all 'which Jerom answers, that he knows not of any Cephas, 'but him who is mentioned in the gospels, and in other 'epistles of Paul, and in this same epistle, and is sometimes 'called Cephas, sometimes Peter. And after considering 'the other just-mentioned arguments, he concludes; Finally, 'if because of Porphyry's blasphemy, another Cephas must 'be invented, lest Peter should be thought to have erred, 'innumerable passages must be struck out of the divine 'scriptures; which he finds fault with, because he does not 'understand them.'

mendacium, dum inter se ecclesiarum principes discrepent. Pr. in ep. ad Gal. p. 223.

[m] Sunt qui Cephan, cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putent apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulus, isto vocabulo nuncupatum. Et dicunt, nequâquam Petrum a convictu Gentium se potuisse subtrahere, qui et centurionem Cornelium baptizârât——et locum dari Porphyrio blasphemanti, si aut Petrus errâsse, aut Paulus procaciter apostolorum principem confutâsse credatur. Quibus primum respondendum, alterius nescio cujus Cephæ nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus qui in evangelio, et in aliis Pauli epistolis, et in hac quoque ipsâ modo Cephas modo Petrus scribitur——Ad extremum, si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errâsse, infinita de scripturis radenda divinis, quæ ille, quia non intelligit, criminatur. Sed adversum Porphyrium in alio, si Christus jusserit, opere pugnabimus. Nunc reliqua prosequamur. In ep. ad Gal. ib. p. 244.

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Jerom occasionally refers to this objection of Porphyry in his Commentary upon the fifty-third chapter of[n] Isaiah.

In a letter to Augustine upon this subject, Jerom tells him, 'how[o] he and others had asserted the prudence of the 'apostles, and restrained the impudence of the blaspheming 'Porphyry, who says, that Peter and Paul had a childish 'quarrel with one another; and that Paul burned with envy 'at the virtues of Peter, and had written in a boasting man-'ner of things, which either he never did, or if he did, it 'was mere peevishness to blame that in another which he had been guilty of himself.'

Here we might wish to see Porphyry himself in his own words. But there seems to have been a reference to several things said by Paul in other epistles, besides this to the Galatians; in the last words of the passage thus transcribed, I think it plain, that there is a reference to what is said by Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 20 "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews:" and, perhaps, to some other like texts; and, possibly, he had also a regard to several things done by St. Paul, and related by St. Luke in the Acts; such as his circumcising Timothy, Acts xvi. 1—3, his vow at Cenchrea, ch. xviii. 18; and to what he did at Jerusalem by the advice of St. James. xxi. 20—28.

Jerom had before spoken of this matter in another place of the same epistle to Augustine; telling him, 'that[p] others 'before him had explained the conduct of the two apostles 'in the same manner that he had done, in answer to the 'blasphemous Porphyry, who charged Paul with peevish-

[n] Ex quo, qui dispensatoriam inter Petrum et Paulum contentionem vere dicunt jurgium fuisse atque certamen, ut blasphemanti Porphyrio satisfaciant, et veteris legis cæremonias in ecclesiâ Christi a stirpe credentis Israël asserunt esse servandas, debent et auream in mille annis exspectare Jerusalem.——In Is. cap. liii. T. iii. p. 388.

[o] Ego, imo alii ante me exposuerunt causam quam putaverant, non officiosum mendacium defendentes, sicut tu scribis, sed ostendentes honestam dispensationem, ut et apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coërcerent, qui Paulum et Petrum puerili dicit inter se pugnâsse certamine; imo exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri, et ea scripsisse jactanter, quæ vel non fecerit, vel, si fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commisserit. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. [al. 89.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 622.

[p] Hanc autem explicationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromateôn libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et cæteri deinceps interpretes sunt secuti, illâ vel maxime causâ introducunt, ut Porphyrio respondeant blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguere in faciem, ac ratione constringere, quod male fecerit, id est, in errore fuerit; in quo fuit ipse, qui alium arguit delinquentem. Ibid. p. 619.

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'ness, in that he presumed to reprove the chief of the 'apostles, and dispute with him to the face, and tell him, 'that he was to be blamed, that is, was in an error; when 'he who reproved the other was as guilty himself.'

By all which, I think, we may perceive the force of Porphyry's argument upon this point. 'He supposed 'Peter to have taught, for a while at least, a different doc-'trine from Paul; and thence argued, that the religion 'taught by them could not be a revelation from heaven. 'Or, if Peter did not for a while teach a doctrine different 'from what himself had taught at other times, and different 'from that generally taught by Paul, he was guilty of 'some improper compliance, for which he was blamed by 'Paul. But that Paul, if indeed he did reprove Peter at 'Antioch, as he boastingly says to the Galatians, ch. ii. he 'showed therein pride, and envy, and peevishness; and was 'a very unfit reprover of another, when he had himself been 'guilty of the same fault, and had often complied in a like 'manner.'

This seems to be the substance of Porphyry's observations upon this, and some other texts of scripture; and undoubtedly he hence argued, that both Peter and Paul were deceivers and impostors, and that the doctrine taught by them could not be a revelation from heaven.

And it must be owned, that this has appeared a difficulty to many; and the solutions of learned christians have been different; to me the case seems to be this.

St. Peter never taught a doctrine different from himself, nor from St. Paul; but he was not uniform in his conduct. Once, at least, he complied too far with those believers of the Jews, who were for imposing circumcision, and the other rites of the law, upon the Gentiles, as necessary to salvation. As St. Paul says, Gal. ii. 11, "When Peter was at Antioch, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when some came from Jerusalem, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision." Herein, out of fear of offending others, Peter acted contrary to his own judgment; therefore Paul calls it dissimulation, and shows the bad consequence of such conduct; and that it implied the necessity of the Gentiles being circumcised in order to obtain salvation, and to the having communion with the Jewish believers. "But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gosple, I said unto Peter before them all; If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews; why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the

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Jews?" Literally, to judaize,[q] that is, to become Jews, and observe all the rights of the law of Moses, as necessary to salvation. That never was Peter's doctrine; but it was the tendency of his late conduct at Antioch, for which Paul now reproved him; and undoubtedly Peter submitted and acquiesced, and never more prevaricated in his conduct in the like manner. Augustine[r] says exactly as I have done; and I place his words below.

St. Paul's doctrine was always the same; and his conduct was ever uniform and consistent. He always said, that circumcision was not necessary, or available, in any, to justification and salvation. He never said, that it was sinful or unlawful in any.

To the Galatians he writes, ch. v. 2, 3, 4, "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify unto every man that is circumcised, that he is debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you. Whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace." It is plain, that he is here speaking of such as expected to be justified by the law; who embraced circumcision, as necessary to acceptance with God and eternal salvation. Such men departed from the grace of the gospel, and could have no benefit by it; they came under an obligation to observe all

[q] Τι τα εθνη αναγκαζεις ιουδαϊζειν; That word is explained in vol. vi. chap. xviii. sect. iii. near the end. To which I would now add Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. cap. 10. Ατοπον εστι Χριστον Ιησουν καλειν, και ιουδαϊζειν.

[r] Quapropter non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones observaret. Quod si facere vellet, nec mendaciter, nec incongrue faceret. Quamvis enim jam superflua, tamen solita non nocerent. Sed quoniam gentes cogebat judaïzare; quod nullo modo posset, nisi ea sic ageret, tanquam etiam post Domini adventum necessaria saluti forent, quod vehementer per apostolatum Pauli veritas dissuasit. Nec apostolus Petrus id ignorabat; sed id faciebat, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. Augustin. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. [al. 87.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 605.

Proinde, si, post hoc apostolorum decretum, Petrus habuit illam in Antiochiâ simulationem, quâ gentes cogeret judaïzare, quod nec ipse cogebatur, quamvis propter commendanda eloquia Dei, quæ Judæis sunt credita, non prohibebatur; quid mirum, si constringeret eum Paulus libere asserere, quod cum cæteris apostolis se Jerosolymis decrevisse meminerat.

Si autem hoc, (quod magis arbitror,) ante illud Jerosolymitanum Concilium Petrus fecit; nec sic mirum est, quod eum volebat Paulus non timide obtegere, sed fidenter asserere, quod eum pariter sentire jam noverat. Sive quod cum eo contulerat evangelium; sive quod, in Cornelii centurionis vocatione, etiam divinitus, eum de hac re admonitum noverat; sive quod antequam illi, quos timuerat, veniessent Antiochiam, cum gentibus eum convesci viderat. Neque enim negamus, in hac sententiâ fuisse jam Petrum, in quâ et Paulus fuit. Non itaque tunc eum quod in eâ re verum esset docebat, sed ejus simulationem, quâ gentes judaïzare cogebantur, arguebat, &c. August. ap. Hieron. ep. 76. [al. 97.] T. iv. p. 632, 633.

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the rituals of the Mosaic law; and if they did not obey the law in all things, they exposed themselves to a curse, as he shows, ch. iii. 10.

In the fifth chapter, at ver. 6, he says: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which worketh by love." And afterwards in the same epistle, vi. 15, 16, "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God." And 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19, "Is any man called circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? Let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but keeping the commandments of God."

That was St. Paul's doctrine; and his conduct was agreeable to it. The same was the doctrine of Peter, and of all the apostles, though Peter once deviated from it in his conduct, as we have seen. What was Peter's doctrine we learn (not now to argue from his epistles, as we might) from his speech at Jerusalem, Acts xv.; wherein he plainly declares, as Paul does, that the works of the law are of no avail either to Jews, or Gentiles, in point of justification with God; for with these words he concludes that speech; ver. 11, "But we believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we Jews shall be saved, even as they," the Gentiles. And see before, ver. 8, 9, 10; and ch. x. 34, 35; and xi. 1—18. And compare this with words of St. Paul, Gal. ii. 15, 16.

Though St. Paul may be thought to have yielded to some Jewish prejudices in the several actions above mentioned, it had no such bad tendency as the behaviour of St. Peter at Antioch had; as has been well shown by Augustine in explaining 1 Cor. xi. 20. He says, 'that[a] Paul 'practised some rites of the law, for showing that it was 'not sinful, even under the gospel, for Jews to observe the 'ordinances which they had received from their ancestors 'by means of the law. At the same time he taught them, 'that they should not place their hopes of salvation in obe-

[a] Sed ideo susceperat ea celebranda, quum jam Christi esset apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per legem acceperant, custodire, etiam cum in Christo credidissent; non tamen in eis jam constituerent spem salutis, quoniam per Dominum Jesum salus ipsa quæ ipsis sacramentis significabatur, advenerat, ideoque Gentibus, quod insuetos a fide revocarent onere gravi et non necessario, nullo modo imponenda esse censebat. August. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. [al. 87.] T. iv. p. 605.

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'dience to such ordinances; nor impose that yoke upon the 'Gentiles, as necessary to their salvation.'

Augustine has particularly considered all those actions of Paul, which have been looked upon by some as unwarrantable compliances; to which also Porphyry may be supposed to have referred; his circumcising Timothy, his vow at Cenchrea, his conduct at Jerusalem. And he well shows, how [t] they differed from Peter's behaviour at Antioch. What Peter did, implied the necessity of circumcision in order to salvation, which Paul constantly and earnestly opposed. By all his several compliances just mentioned, he only showed, that he did not think the Jewish rites evil and sinful.

I shall now observe only upon the last of those compliances, particularly related, Acts xxi. 17—28, "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry." And what follows.

For it had been said at Jerusalem, that Paul, in all countries where he had been, "had taught, that the Jews ought not to circumcise their children:" that is, that it was sinful and unlawful for them so to do. This Paul had never done; and [u] James, and the elders with him, were persuaded it was a false report; but for giving satisfaction to all, they advised him to join himself with some others then at Jerusalem, "who had a vow on them. Them take," say they, "and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads, and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing."

[t] Ego quidem illud Petrum egisse credo, ut gentes cogeret judaïzare. Hoc enim lego scripsisse Paulum, quem mentitum esse non credo: et ideo non recte agebat hoc Petrus. Erat enim contra evangelii veritatem, ut putarent, qui credebant in Christum, sine illis veteribus sacramentis salvos esse non posse. Hoc enim contendebant Antiochiæ, qui ex circumcisione crediderant. Contra quos Paulus perseveranter acriterque confligit. Ipsum vero Paulum non ad hoc egisse, quod vel Timotheum circumcidit, vel Cenchreis votum persolvit, vel Jerosolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui voverant, legitima illa celebranda suscepit, ut putari videretur per ea sacramenta etiam christianam salutem dari: sed ne illa, quæ prioribus ut congruebant temporibus, in umbris rerum futurarum Deus fieri jusserat, tanquam idololatriam Gentilium damnare crederetur. Aug. ap. Hier. ep. 76. [al. 97.] T. iv. p. 631.

[u] Non, ut opinor, obscurum est, et Jacobum hoc ideo monuisse, ut scirent falsa esse quæ de illo audierant. Aug. ut supra, p. 632.

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With that advice Paul complied; nor could it be of any bad consequence after what had passed, as related by St. Luke: 'that James and the elders rejoiced, and praised 'God for the apostle's success among the Gentiles; and 'declared, that no legal services were expected of the Gen-'tiles that believed.' After that, what Paul did only showed, that it was not sinful for Jews to practise the rites and ceremonies of the law. Nothing then done by him was any prejudice to the doctrine, always and every where taught by him, that the observation of those rites was not necessary to salvation, nor at all available to any, whether Jews or Gentiles, to justification in the sight of God. As[v] Augustine says: 'The apostles in their council at Jerusalem 'had agreed, that no man ought to compel the Gentiles to 'judaize. They did not decree, that any man should forbid 'the Jews to judaize; though the christian doctrine did 'not require that even of them.'

Augustine says again very well: 'There[w] was no better 'way for Paul to confute the false report that had been 'raised, than for him to perform those things which he was 'thought to condemn as sinful; and thus to show, that 'neither the Jews were to be forbidden them, as evil, nor 'the Gentiles to be compelled to do them, as necessary.'

Thus I have represented this case as it has long appeared to me; and all along I have been supported by observations of Augustine, the fruit of that good sense[x] which is a distinguishing part of his character. And I persuade myself, that most of my readers will with pleasure read them in his own words placed at the bottom of my pages. Jerom's solution, propounded by him in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, and in his letters to Augustine, though he was very positive, deserves not to be mentioned, nor taken any notice of.

This point has detained us rather too long; but I do not see how it could be passed by without notice, or without clearing up a difficulty which came in our way, and has

[v] Præsertim, quia in ipsis Jerosolymis apostoli jam decreverant, ne quisquam gentes cogeret judaïzare. Non autem decreverant, ne quisquam Judæos judaïzare prohiberet; quamvis etiam ipsos jam doctrina christiana non cogeret. Aug. ib. p. 632.

[w] Et ideo illi invidiam et persecutionem molientes concitare, tanquam inimicum legis mandatorumque divinorum criminabantur: cujus falsæ criminationis invidiam congruentius devitare non posset, quam ut ea ipsa celebraret, quæ damnare tanquam sacrilega putabatur; atque ita ostenderet, nec Judæos tunc ab eis tanquam nefariis prohibendos, nec Gentiles ad ea tanquam necessaria compellendos. Id. ib. p. 632.

[x] See vol. iv. chap. cxvii. init.

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been supposed to affect the credit of two of Christ's apostles, and in them also the christian cause.[y]

VIII. We may now look back upon what we have seen in Porphyry; whence, I think, it manifestly appears, that he was well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. For we have had before us many of his objections against the book of Daniel, an objection against a text in the book of Genesis. And we have observed plain references to the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians; and in his remarks upon that epistle, probable references to others of St. Paul's epistles. There can be no question made, that in his work against the christians many other books of the New Testament were quoted, or referred to by him. It is well, that in the remaining fragments of his work we have evidences of so many references to them as there are. But it may be remembered, that Jerom, who seems to have had the whole work before him, said not long ago: 'That if because of Porphyry's blasphemies, another Cephas 'must be invented, lest Peter should be thought to have 'erred; innumerable passages must be struck out of the 'divine scriptures, which he has found fault with, because 'he did not understand them.' The places of scripture, therefore, which Porphyry had remarked upon were very numerous. Theodoret observes, that[z] Porphyry read the scriptures very carefully when he was composing his work against us.

IX. I now proceed to observe some other passages of Porphyry, concerning the christian religion, or the professors of it, and their affairs; where also there may be some references to our scriptures.

1. Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, has these words: 'And[a] that evil demons have had no power of doing 'any thing, since our Saviour's dwelling among men, the 'advocate of demons in our time somewhere testifies in his 'work against us in this manner: "And now people won-'der, that this distemper has oppressed the city so many

[y] This difficulty is largely considered in the Remarks upon Dr. Ward's Dissertations. See vol. x. p. 336.

[z] Τουτοις ακριβως εντυχων ὁ Πορφυριος· μαλα γαρ εν αυτοις ανεδιετρεψε, την καθ' ἡμων τορευων γραφην. Theod. Therap. Serm. vii. p. 588. A.

[a] Περι δε του μηκετι δυνασθαι τι και ισχυειν φαυλους δαιμονας, μετα τον του Σωτηρος ἡμων εις ανθρωπους παροδον, και αυτος ὁ καθ' ἡμας των δαιμονων προηγορος, εν τῃ καθ' ἡμων συσκευῃ, τουτον που λεγων μαρτυρει τον τροπον. Νυνι δε θαυμαζουσιν ει τοσουτων ετων κατειληφε την πολιν ἡ νοσος, Ασκληπιου μεν επιδημιας και των αλλων θεων μηκετ' ουσης. Ιησου γαρ τιμωμενου, ουδεμιας τις θεων δημοσιας ωφηλειας ησθητο. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. l. v. cap. i. p. 181. D.

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'years, Æsculapius and the other gods no longer conversing 'with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have 'received any public benefit from the gods." So says 'Porphyry, in those very words.'

Here is proof, that the christians were then very numerous in the Roman empire. It likewise shows, that Porphyry adopted the common cant, and was willing to expose them to popular reproach, by insinuating, that they were the causes of the calamities that befell the empire.

This passage is also quoted by Theodoret, in the same terms, in his work against the Gentiles. And then he subjoins: 'So[b] says our greatest enemy Porphyry.' But he does not say, any more than Eusebius, in which book of his work against the christians it was found.

2. Upon Is. iii. 12, "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them:" Jerom had this practical reflection: 'Let[c] us also take care therefore, that 'we be not oppressors among the people; lest, according 'to the impious Porphyry, matrons and women compose 'our senate; and they rule in the churches, and the priestly 'order be disposed of according to the good pleasure of 'women.'

3. Jerom, in his letter to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians, having mentioned divers events and proceedings hard to be accounted for, goes on: 'And[d] finally, (which your good 'friend Porphyry useth to object to us,) how came it to 'pass, that the gracious and merciful God should suffer all 'nations, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to the coming 'of Christ, to perish through ignorance of his laws and 'commands? Forasmuch as neither Britain, fruitful of 'tyrants, nor the Scottish nations, nor the barbarous people 'all around, were acquainted with Moses and the prophets. 'What necessity therefore was there, that he should come

[b] *Ταυτα ὁ παντων ἡμιν εχθιστος Πορφυριος ειρηκε.* Gr. Aff. l. xii. T. ix. p. 679.

[c] Caveamus ergo et nos, ne exactores simus in populo; ne, juxta impium Porphyrium, matronæ et mulieres sint noster senatus; quæ dominantur in ecclesiis; et de sacerdotali gradu favor judicat feminarum. In Is. cap. iii. T. iii. p. 38.

[d] Et ad extremum (quod solet nobis objicere contubernalis vester Porphyrius) quâ ratione clemens et misericors Deus ab Adam usque ad Möysen, et a Möyse usque ad adventum Christi, passus sit universas gentes perire ignorantiâ legis et mandatorum Dei. Neque enim Britannia, fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scoticæ gentes, omnesque ad oceanum per circuitum barbaræ gentes, Möysen prophetasque cognoverant. Quid necesse fuit eum in ultimo venire tempore, et non priusquam innumerabilis periret hominum multitudo? Ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelagian. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 481.

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'in the end of the world, and not till after an innumerable 'multitude of men had perished.'

4. I shall now make some extracts out of a book or letter of Augustine,[e] in answer to six questions or difficulties, as taken from Porphyry, proposed by a pagan at Carthage, and sent to him by a presbyter named Deogratias.

They are a proof of the esteem which heathen people then had for Porphyry's work against the christians. However, of these six questions three only appear to be taken from Porphyry. I may therefore for the present confine myself to them, without taking particular notice of the rest. This letter of Augustine is supposed to have been written in the year 408.

5. The[f] second question, and as taken from Porphyry, and supposed to be of great weight, was concerning the time of the christian revelation.

'If Christ, as he says, be the way of salvation, the truth, 'and the life, [John xiv. 6.] and they only who believe in 'him can be saved, what became of the men which lived 'before his coming?' which difficulty is there enlarged upon.

Augustine, beside other things, says in the way of solution, 'that[g] there were revelations made to men from the 'beginning of the world, such as were suited to the circum-'stances of things; and that all good men, in every part 'of the world, were accepted and saved. In the sacred

[e] Inter hæc missæ sunt mihi a Carthagine Quæstiones sex, quas proposuit amicus quidam, quem cupiebam fieri christianum, ut contra paganos solverentur, præsertim qui nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit:——Harum quæstionum disputationes in unum librum contuli, non prolixum, cujus titulus est, Sex Quæstiones contra Paganos expositæ——Retr. l. ii. cap. 31.

[f] Quæstio secunda. De tempore christianæ religionis——Item alia proposuerunt, quæ dicerent de Porphyrio contra christianos tanquam validiora decerpta. Si Christus se, inquiunt, salutis viam dicit, gratiam, et veritatem, in sequi solo ponit animis sibi credentibus reditum, quid egerunt tot seculorum homines ante Christum? &c. Aug. ep. 102. [al. 49.] n. 8. Q. ii. T. ii.

[g] Et tamen ab initio generis humani, alias occultius, alias evidentius, sicut congruere temporibus divinitus visum est: nec prophetari destitit, nec qui in eum crederent defuerant, ab Adam usque ad Möysen, et in ipso populo Israël, quæ speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus, antequam venisset in carne. Cum enim nonnulli commemorantur in sanctis Hebraïcis libris jam ex tempore Abrahæ, nec ex stirpe carnis ejus, nec ex populo Israël, nec ex adventitiâ societate in populo Israël, qui tamen hujus sacramenti participes fuerunt; cur non credamus etiam in cæteris hac atque illac gentibus alias alios fuisse, quamvis eos commemoratos in eisdem auctoritatibus non legamus? Ita salus religionis hujus, per quam solam veram salus vera veraciter proponitur, nulli unquam defuit, qui dignus fuit. Ib. n. 15.

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'Hebrew volumes, down from the time of Abraham, some 'are mentioned who had the knowledge of the true religion, 'who neither were descended from him, nor were of the 'people of Israel, nor ingrafted in among them. The like 'may be supposed of some in other nations, who also would 'obtain salvation.'

6. The third of the six questions was to this purpose: 'The[h] christians find fault with sacred rites and sacrifices, 'and incense, and other things in which the worship at 'temples consists. And yet they allow, that this kind of 'worship began in ancient times by the appointment of 'God, who also is represented as wanting first-fruits.'

This[i] difficulty, as Augustine observes, was founded on what is written in our scriptures, where it is said, Gen. iv. 3, 4, "That Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel brought of the firstlings of the flock." Which, as Augustine allows, shows, that sacrifices were appointed of old, which were to be offered to God alone; and that they were designed for the good of men, not of God, who needed not any thing, as is plainly declared, Ps. xvi. 2, "I have said unto the Lord; Thou art my God, thou needest not my goods:" or in our version, "my goodness extendeth not to thee." Nor, as he goes on, do christians blame pagans for their temples and sacrifices, but because they offer them to idols and demons.

7. The fourth of the six questions is to this purpose: 'Christ[k] threatens everlasting punishment to those who do 'not believe in him. And yet in another place he says: '"With what measure you mete, it shall be meted to you

[h] Jam videamus eam, quæ sequitur, quæstionem. Accusant, inquit, ritus sacrorum, hostias, thura, et cætera, quæ templorum cultus exercuit; cum idem cultus ab ipsis, inquit, vel a Deo quem colunt exortus est temporibus priscis, cum inducitur Deus primitiis eguisse. Ib. n. 16.

[i] Huic respondetur, quoniam ex illo scripturarum nostrarum loco hæc quæstio proposita agnoscitur, ubi scriptum est, Caïn ex fructibus terræ, Abel autem ex primitiis ovium obtulisse munus Deo. Hinc potius est intelligendum, quam sit res antiqua sacrificium, quod non nisi uni Deo vero offerri oportere veraces et sacræ literæ monent; non quod illo egeat Deus cum in eisdem ipsis literis apertissime sit scriptum, Dixi Domino: Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.——an. 17.——Quapropter qui christianas literas utriusque Testamenti sciunt, non hoc culpant in sacrilegis ritibus paganorum, quod construant templa, et instituant sacerdotia, sed quod hæc idolis et demoniis exhibeant. Ib. n. 18.

[k] Jam nunc deinde videamus, quale sit, quod de mensurâ peccati atque supplicii proposuit, sic evangelio calumniatus. Minatur, inquit, Christus sibi non credentibus æterna supplicia. Et alibi ait: In quâ mensurâ mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis. Satis, inquit, ridicule atque contrarie. Nam si ad mensuram redditurus est pœnam, et omnes mensura circumscripta est fine temporis, quid sibi volunt minæ infiniti supplicii? Ib. n. 22.

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'again." Which is absurd and contradictory; for all 'measure must be limited to time.'

Augustine[l] thinks this a trifling argument, not becoming a philosopher. However, he says, it[m] may be depended upon, that the judgment of Christ will be equitable, and that none shall be punished beyond the demerit of their offences.

If these difficulties are indeed taken out of Porphyry's work against the christians, they serve to assure us, that his objections were very much levelled at our scriptures, which he knew were in great esteem; and to overthrow them would be overthrowing the faith built upon them.

8. The[n] fifth and sixth questions contain also pagan objections; but as they do not appear to be taken from Porphyry, I omit them now; nor do I intend to take them at all, they[o] being trifling.

9. Ps. lxxxii. 8, "Arise, O God, judge the earth; for thou shalt inherit all nations."

Here Jerom, or whoever is the author of the Breviary upon the Psalter, in a style and manner somewhat resembling Jerom's, extols the success of Peter and Paul in preaching the gospel. 'God[p] sent Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah,

[l] Istam quæstionem a qualicumque philosopho esse objectam atque propositam, difficile est credere. n. 23.

[m] Nunc tamen arbitror, satis esse monstratum, non esse contrarium æternitati suppliciorum, quod in eâdem mensurâ redduntur, in quâ peccata commissa sunt. Ib. num. 27.

[n] Qu. V. Post hanc quæstionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio proposuit, hoc adjunxit.——Ib. n. 28.

Q. VI. Postrema quæstio proposita est de Jonâ, nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio, sed tanquam ex irrisione paganorum——Ib. n. 30.

[o] The sixth Question or difficulty relates to the history of Jonah; which, as Augustine observes, afforded laughter in conversation among pagans. Hoc enim genus quæstionis multo cachinno a paganis graviter irrisum animadverti. Ibid. num. 30.

[p] Quamdiu Möysem miseras, quamdiu Isaïam, quamdiu Jeremiam, quamdiu alias prophetas, notus erat in Judæâ Deus, in Israël magnum nomen ejus. In modicâ terrâ nominis Dei notitia ferebatur. Misisti Petrum piscatorem, qui dimiserat rete, qui ab opere callosam habebat manum. Non misisti oratorem, non misisti philosophum. Misisti hominem rusticanum, hominem piscatorem. Iste piscator, iste rusticanus de Jerosolymâ perrexit Romam; et rusticanus cepit Romam, quam eloquentes capere non potuerunt. Rursum ivit Paulus apostolus, et de Jerosolymâ prædicavit usque in Illyricum. Deinde dicit, quod de urbe Româ iret in Hispaniam———Ubi sunt, qui prædicant Alexandrum Magnum, Macedonum imperatorem, quod in brevi tempore vicerit tantas gentes? Habuit exercitum, habuit et ingentes turbas. Non tale aliquid potuit, sed modicum quiddam. Iste vero Paulus quondam persecutor fuit, qui dicebat: Etsi imperitus sum sermone, non tamen scientiâ. Qui solœcismos facit in loquendo, crucem Christi portat, et quasi triumphans omnes capit. Totum orbem subegit ab Oceano usque ad mare Rubrum. Dicat aliquis: Hoc totum

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'and other prophets. And "in Judah was God known, his 'name was great in Israel," a small tract of land only. He 'sent Peter, no philosopher nor orator, but an illiterate fisher-'man, who went from Jerusalem to Rome, and converted 'Rome, which the most eloquent men were not able to do. 'Again, he sent out the apostle Paul, and he preached the 'gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum. [Rom. 'xv. 19.] Alexander the Great, king of the Macedonians, 'with a powerful army did not conquer so many nations as 'they did. This Paul, who once was a persecutor, who 'says of himself, that he "was rude in speech, though not 'in knowledge," who made solecisms in his speech, subdued 'the whole world. Some one may say, all this was done 'for the sake of gain; so says Porphyry. Ignorant and 'indigent men, because they had nothing, performed some 'signs by magical art; which is no great matter; for the 'magicians in Egypt, and many others, have wrought signs. 'Let it be granted; and, as you say, the apostles wrought 'signs, that they might enrich themselves with the treasures 'of rich women whom they perverted. But then, why did 'they die? Why were they crucified? Others have wrought 'signs by magical arts, but they did not die for a dead 'man; they were not crucified for a man that had been 'crucified. They knew him to be dead; and did they die 'without any reason? Our victory is completed in the blood 'of the apostles; our faith is ratified in their blood. Let 'us therefore praise God, to whom be glory for ever and 'ever.'

If Porphyry did indeed cast that reflection upon the apostles, saying they were deceivers, who were influenced by worldly views; (of which I think no doubt can be made;) we have here another proof of his malevolence; and we see the reason why his work was so offensive to the christians.

10. Porphyry, in his Life of Plotinus, written in his old

lucri fecerunt. Hoc enim dicit Porphyrius. Homines rusticani et pauperes, quoniam nihil habebant, magicis artibus operati sunt quædam signa. Non est autem grande facere signa. Nam fecerunt signa in Ægypto magi contra Möysen. Fecit et Apollonius, fecit et Apuleius. Infiniti signa fecerunt. Concedo tibi, Porphyri, magicis artibus signa fecerunt, ut divitias acciperent a divitibus mulierculis, quas induxerant. Hoc enim tu dicis. Quare mortui sunt? quare crucifixi? Fecerunt et alii signi magicis artibus; sed pro homine mortuo non sunt mortui, pro homine crucifixo non sunt crucifixi. Sciunt isti hominem esse mortuum, et moriuntur sine causâ? Felix ergo nostra victoria, quæ in sanguine apostolorum dicata est. Fides nostra non probatur, nisi per illorum sanguinem. Benedicamus ergo Deum, cui est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Breviarium in Psalt. ap. Hieron. T. ii. p. 334, 335.

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age and still extant, says: 'There[q] were at that time many christians, and others, heretics, who had sprung from the ancient philosophy, followers of Adelphius and Acylinus, who, deceiving others and being deceived, pretended, that Plato had not gone to the bottom of the intelligible essence. Against them Plotinus often argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, to which we gave this title, Against the Gnostics.'

Porphyry says, 'he gave it that title,' because[r] he was the editor of that and other works of Plotinus. That little book, treatise, or chapter, is still extant among the works of Plotinus; but[s] there is not in it any express mention either of Gnostics or christians. It was written whilst Porphyry was with Plotinus; therefore between the year 263 and 268.

11. Porphyry's four books, Of Abstinence from Animals, are inscribed to his friend Firmus Castricius, who had forsaken the Pythagorean institution, and had begun to eat the flesh of animals. In his introduction to that work, near the beginning of the first book, are these words: 'For,' says[t] Porphyry, 'I do not ascribe this defection of yours to intemperance or gluttony; nor do I think your disposition to be worse than that of some mean people; who having embraced rules different from their former way of life, will endure to be torn limb from limb rather than return to their old course; and now abstain from some animals, which they once ate greedily, with more care than from human flesh.'

(1.) This cannot relate to Jews, who always were under a strict rule of diet. (2.) Therefore, probably, it relates to christians, who had departed from their former way of living, and were then generally mean people, or so esteemed by Porphyry. They did not abstain from any kinds of animals, but they generally forbore to eat blood, and refused to eat animals that were strangled, from which the blood had not

[q] *Γεγονασι δε κατ' αυτον των χριστιανων πολλοι μεν, και αλλοι· αιρετικοι δε εκ της παλαιας φιλοσοφιας ανηγμενοι, οι περι Αδελφιον και Ακυλινον——πολλους εξηπατων, και αυτοι ηπατημενοι. κ. λ.* Vit. Plotin. cap. 16.

[r] Ibid. cap. 24.

[s] Est Enneados secundæ liber nonus, licet in illo ne semel quidem vel Gnosticorum nomen vel cujusquam ex his Porphyrio nominatis, mentio occurrit. Fabr. annot. in Vit. Plotin. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 219.

[t] *Ου γαρ δη δι' ακρασιαν και ποθον την οψοφαγε λαιμαργιας, καταφρονησαι των πατριων, ης εζηλωκας φιλοσοφιας νομων, φησαιμι αν σε· ουδ' ελαττω την φυσιν των παρα τινων ιδιωτων ειναι· οι νομους εναντιους, οις εζων προτερον, καταδεξαμενοι, τομας τε μοριων υπομενουσι, και τινων ζωων, ων προσθεν ενεφορουντο, αποσχοιντο μαλλον η κρεων ανθρωπειων.* De Abst. ab Esu Animal. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 3.

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been fairly drained. (3.) And they were resolute in adhering to the principles which they had received. (4.) If this reflection relates to christians, (as I think it does,) it shows great resentment and bitterness of spirit. (5.) And it ought to be observed, that it is brought in without any necessity, in a work of Porphyry unquestionably genuine. The design of the observation, I suppose, is to recommend to his friend openness to conviction; he hoped he could not be so obstinate and inflexible in his new opinion as the mean people here spoken of.

12. Thus I have now alleged all such passages of Porphyry's work against the christians, as I have met with quoted by christian writers, the work itself not being now extant. I may have overlooked some;[u] but I have omitted none which occur to my memory. I have also just now alleged a short passage concerning the christians from Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, still extant; and another from his work of Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals, which is also still extant, and unquestionably genuine.

X. There is another work ascribed to Porphyry, and often quoted by Eusebius, entitled, The Philosophy of Oracles. Lucas Holstenius, in his Life of Porphyry,[v] has given an account of all his works, and of this in particular, without any suspicion of its being spurious. Fabricius[w] likewise still thinks it genuine, notwithstanding the objections of Fontenelle.[x] Another learned man says:[y] 'Some have 'suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Por-'phyry to be forged.' Dr. Gregory Sharpe also makes use of this work in his 'Argument for Christianity, taken from 'the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries.' He seems not to have had any doubt of its genuineness; for after having quoted a good deal from it, he says: 'I will[z]

[u] Dr. Macknight, in The Truth of the Gospel History, p. 319, 320, says, 'Porphyry blames Jesus, as giving encouragement to fraud by the parable of 'the steward, who wasted his Lord's goods.' The same observation is also in his Harmony of the Four Gospels, p. 404, 2d edition. Not having in my papers any reference to such a passage of Porphyry, I have written to Dr. Macknight, entreating him to refer me to the place intended by him, where that observation might be found. Nevertheless I have not received from him any such reference. I must therefore conclude, that by some means or other, that learned and laborious writer has been led into a mistake. However, I still wish the place might be found, if there is any such.

[v] De Vitâ et Scriptis Porphyrii, cap. x. al. ix.

[w] Quare non assentior elegantisimo Fontenello, qui hoc opus Porphyrio suppositum esse suspicatur, in Historiâ Oraculorum. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 191. [x] See Fontenelle's History of Oracles, Diss. i. ch. iv.

[y] Dr. Jortin. Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 301. See what there follows the above quotation. [z] P. 71, 72.

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'only make this one observation upon this long quotation 'from Eusebius; That it contains not only the opinion of 'Porphyry, but the testimony of their gods, or, if you 'please, of their priests, who did not dare to deny the ex-'cellence of the character of Jesus. These oracles cannot 'be called the forgeries of christians. And whatever may 'be justly said against those of the Sibyl, these must have 'their weight with all who regard the authority of Porphy-'ry, or the testimony of our adversaries.'

This work is also approved by Mr. Mosheim[a] and Dr. Chapman.[b]

It is also much approved by Colonia, who, beside other things, says: 'Porphyry[c] declares, and makes our greatest 'mysteries to be declared by the oracles of Apollo.' Again: 'He[d] makes the goddess Hecate say, and he acknowledgeth 'himself, that Jesus Christ is a man illustrious for piety, 'and that he is more powerful than Æsculapius, and all 'the other gods.'

This work is quoted with approbation by many other learned men.[e]

This work, as I said just now, is approved by the late

[a] De Rebus Christian. ante Const. M. sec. 2. sect. xxxii. p. 293—299.

[b] See his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, p. 10. and p. 76, &c.

[c] Porphyre annonce, et fait annoncer nos plus grands mystères par les Oracles d' Apollon. La Réligion Chrétienne autorisée par le Témoignage des anciens Payens. P. i. ch. lx. sect. vi. p. 342.

[d] Porphyre fait dire à la Déesse Hécaté, et il reconnoit luimême, que Jésus Christ est un homme illustre par sa piété, et qu'il est plus fort qu' Esculape, et que tous les autres dieux. Ib. sect. vii. p. 345.

[e] Says Dr. Doddridge, Course of Lectures, &c. p. 252. 'Porphyry also, 'though an inveterate enemy to christianity, not only allowed there was 'such a man as Christ, but honoured him as a most wise and pious man, 'translated into heaven, as being approved by the gods, and accordingly 'quotes some oracles referring to his sufferings and virtues, with their subse-'quent rewards.'

And Dr. Macknight, Truth of the Gospel-History, p. 328. 'The same 'Porphyry gives a most honourable testimony to the character of Jesus, 'which must not be omitted here. It is preserved by Eusebius in his De-'monstr. Evangel. p 134.——This now is what Porphyry has said. The 'respectful manner in which Porphyry here writes of our Lord, plainly shows 'us, that the bitter speeches, which in the passage of Cyril before cited, p. '317, he is said to have uttered, were levelled only against the christians, and 'not against their Master.' So then, this justly suspected and paltry book has at length gained such authority, as to be superior to the indisputable testimony of an ancient christian writer. And 'Porphyry,' it seems, did not write 'against Jesus Christ, but only against christians.' However, we have been assured, that Porphyry reflected upon Jesus for what is said, John vii. 8—10, charging him with fickleness and unsteadiness, first saying, 'he should not go 'up to the feast, and yet going afterwards.' Was this pert remark levelled against Christ, or against those who called themselves his followers?

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Mr. Mosheim. It is the consequence of a scheme formed by him concerning[f] a 'Disturbance caused in the Church 'by the later Platonic Philosophers.' I presume it will not be disallowed, that I have a great regard for Mr. Mosheim, and have oftentimes expressed myself concerning him with great respect; but I do not adopt this scheme; I think it a chimerical and visionary notion. According to which, there is little or no difference between a heathen and a christian, or between Origen, a sincere and zealous christian, if ever there was such an one, and an excellent defender of the christian doctrine, and an indefatigable preacher and commentator; and Porphyry, a mere heathen, as is manifest from his Lives of Pythagoras and Plotinus, and a bitter enemy of the christians and christianity, as we are assured by many ancient christian authors, and as his own long work against the christians testifies. If that opinion of Mr. Mosheim should prevail, it would indeed occasion great disorder in ecclesiastical history, and much confusion in the characters of many ancient christian writers of great eminence. It may also create much confusion in the characters of divers men of great eminence among the heathens; who[g] will no longer be allowed to have been what they really were, throughout Gentiles; but for the future must be reckoned in a sense christians, or at least, half heathens, and half christians. But upon that I enlarge no farther now; another occasion may offer to clear up their characters.

As this disturbance, this confusion and mixture of gentilism and christianity, is all ascribed to Ammonius Saccas,[h]

[f] De turbatâ per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ. Diss. ii. inter Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. p. 85, &c.

[g] Quantum vero detrimenti Sophistæ hi, aut Philosophi, scientiæ suæ opinione, odioque christiani nominis inflati, rei christianæ, compararent, cum multa ex hoc ævo exempla, tum Julianus potissimum ostendit, qui ab hoc genere deceptus est. Ex his, qui sapientiores videri volebant, et temperationem quandam consectati, multi disputationibus et interpretationibus eorum adduci sese sinebant, ut mediam sibi quandam religionem inter veterem ac recentiorem effingerent, Christumque id ipsum præcepisse, sibi persuaderent, quod sub cæremoniarum involucris diu a sacerdotibus Deorum reconditum fuisset. Sic animo affecti fuerunt Ammianus Marcellinus, vir in primis consideratus, Chalcidius, philosophus, Themistius, orator nobilissimus, et alii, qui utramque religionem in rebus præcipuis, modo recte capiantur, amice consentire, idioque nec Christum spernendum, nec cum contemtione Deorum colendum esse, arbitrati sunt. Moshem. Instit. p. 149, 150.

[h] Christianam religionem, quo et novæ philosophiæ suæ et antiquæ religioni consentaneam faceret, [Ammonius] fatebatur, Christum, magnum et sapientem virum, Deique numine ac consilio plenum, 'admirabilem præterea 'Theurgum, et dæmonibus amicum,' sanctissimam proposuisse disciplinam, miraculisque eam firmâsse: eundem vero negabat aliquid sententiis suis ad-

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I must say somewhat farther concerning him, though[i] I formerly said as much as I could then think to be needful.

It is to be observed then, that from[k] Eusebius we learn, that Porphyry in his work against the christians says of Ammonius, the celebrated philosopher of Alexandria, master of Plotinus and other learned men: 'That having been 'educated a christian by christian parents, as soon as he 'came to years of understanding, and had a taste of phi-'losophy, he presently betook himself to a life agreeable 'to the laws.' To which Eusebius says: 'It is a down-'right falsehood, to say he exchanged christianity for gen-'tilism; for Ammonius maintained sincere and uncorrupted 'the doctrine of the divine philosophy to the end of his 'life; as his works which he left behind him still testify, 'and for which he is in great repute; such as the treatise 'entitled, Of the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and many 'others, which may be found with the curious.'

From Eusebius, and agreeably to him, Jerom, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers,[l] says of Ammonius of Alexandria: 'Among many excellent monuments of his wit, he com-'posed also an elegant work of the Consent of Moses and 'Jesus, and invented the Evangelical Canons, which Euse-'bius of Cæsarea afterwards followed. This person is 'falsely reproached by Porphyry, that of a christian he be-'came a heathen; whereas it is certain, he continued a 'christian to the end of his life.'

Accordingly, it has been of late the general opinion of learned men, that Ammonius, sometimes called Saccas, was a christian. But Fabricius[m] has contradicted it, and well observed and plainly shown, that Eusebius has confounded two authors, and has ascribed the works of Ammonius, a christian writer, to Ammonius master of Plotinus.

Many learned men have been well satisfied with the reasons assigned by Fabricius. Mr. Mosheim himself was well satisfied with them when he wrote the above-mentioned Dissertation. He[n] 'then made no doubt that Eusebius was

verum docuisse, veteraque populorum sacra, dæmonumque populis et naturæ divinitus præpositorum cultum abrogare voluisse. Moshem. De Reb. Christian. p. 293. Conf. p. 283. et alibi.

[i] Vol. ii. p. 439, 440.

[k] H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 220.

[l] De V. I. cap. 55.

[m] Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 26. Tom. iv. p. 172, 173. Vid. et p. 159—161.

[n] Negat quidem Eusebius hæc ita se habere, et Ammonium ad extremum usque spiritum immotum in religione christianâ perstitisse, perhibet: cui credendum esse potius, quam Porphyrio, maximi nominis viri censent: quos in-

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'mistaken, and confounded two of the name Ammonius, 'one a philosopher, the other a christian writer. Ammo-'nius,' he says, 'was better known to Porphyry, who had 'heard Plotinus, one of the principal disciples of Ammonius, 'than to Eusebius, who lived a good while afterwards.' He there adds other reasons for the same opinion.

Nevertheless, undoubtedly, it would be more commodious for the support of the notion advanced by him, to suppose, that Ammonius, from whom all that disturbance proceeded, was a christian, or a half-christian, or somewhat like it. Accordingly, Mr. Mosheim has since altered his opinion concerning that great man. I do not allege his reasons, which appear to me to be of no weight, and tend only to form a character which never existed any where, and was never heard of before; and is indeed mere invention without evidence.

Eusebius must have been mistaken; Ammonius, master of Plotinus, could not be the author of the christian books mentioned by him; they must have been written by another of that name, which, probably, was not uncommon among the Ægyptians. Porphyry may have been mistaken about his early life; he must have known what was his character, when he taught philosophy, in the latter part of his life. And it is agreeable to what is said of Ammonius by Longi-

ter Henr. Valesius, Petr. Baylius, et Jac. Basnagius eminent. Ego vero Eusebium errâsse, atque duos inter se Ammonios, alterum philosophum, alterum christianum scriptorem confudisse, nullus dubito: quam sententiam præclare confirmavit Jo. Alb. Fabricius. Notior certe Porphyrio esse debuit Ammonius, qui Plotinum audiverat, præcipuum Ammonii discipulum, quam Eusebio, qui a temporibus ejus longo satis intervallo remotus est. Moshem. Diss. de turbatâ Ecclesiâ, sect. vii. p. 101.

° Magnis certant argumentis, qui Porphyrio adsentiuntur; quibus ego motus ipse olim affirmare non dubitavi, Ammonium sacra christiana deseruisse.—— Dum vero denuo hanc litem pertracto, in eam fere descendo sententiam, Ammonium, animo licet valde mutatum, et a communibus christianorum dogmatibus alienatum, a christianis tamen haud palam secessisse, veramque disciplinam suam occultâsse. &c. &c. De Reb. Christianor. Sec. Secund. sect. xxvii. p. 281, &c. et sect. 28. p. 283, &c.

This last opinion, as I suppose, Mosheim continued to maintain: and at p. 78, of Institutiones Historiæ Eccles. sect. vii. has these words. Hæc philosophandi ratio mutabatur quum Ammonius Saccas, occidente jam seculo, [secundo,] scholam Alexandriæ magno cum plausu aperiret, et sectæ illius, quæ recentior Platonica dicitur, fundamenta jaceret. Homo hic christianus, et fortassis ad obitum usque christianæ religionis simulator———&c. And at p. 126, of the same work he says: 'Ammonius Harmoniam Evangeliorum composuit.' See Mr. Maclain's Version, p. 143. But I must take the liberty to say, it appears to me very strange, that any learned man should be able to persuade himself, that the 'Harmony of the Gospels' was composed by Ammonius, master of Plotinus.

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nus[p] and Ammianus Marcellinus;[q] who is also called the divine[r] Ammonius by Hierocles, another celebrated philosopher of Alexandria in the fifth century.

Whence it came to pass that Eusebius was so mistaken about Ammonius, cannot be said now; but I am persuaded, that he did not learn it from Origen. The contrary may be perceived from a part of a letter of Origen preserved in Eusebius; and which, I think, is decisive, and may fully satisfy us, that Ammonius was a heathen philosopher. I therefore transcribe it largely; and it follows in course immediately after his remarks upon Porphyry. 'All[s] this I 'have said for convicting that liar, and for showing Origen's 'great skill in the Greek learning. Concerning which 'Origen himself speaks also in a letter, in which he makes 'an apology for himself, to those who blamed him for his 'so much attending to that sort of literature. "When," 'says he, "I was wholly employed in reading and explain-'ing the word of God, the reputation of my progress being 'spread abroad every where, there came to me some here-'tics, and also some others, studious of Greek literature, 'and particularly of philosophy. I therefore thought it 'expedient for me to make inquiries into the opinions of 'heretics, and likewise the sentiments of the philosophers, 'who boast much of their teaching the truth. This we did, 'in imitation of Pantænus, who before us excelled in that 'knowledge; as[t] also of Heraclas, who is now presbyter in 'the church of Alexandria; whom I found with a master 'of philosophical learning, under whom he had studied five 'years, before I began to be an auditor of those discourses, 'who, though before he had worn the common habit, put 'on that of a philosopher, which he still wears; and to this 'time continues diligently to read the writings of Greek 'authors." Thus, he speaks, apologizing for his study of 'the Greek learning.'

So writes Eusebius. The 'master of philosophical 'learning, on whom Heraclas attended five years, is not 'named:' but he can be no other than Ammonius, of whom

[p] Vid. Longini Fragmenta. p. 246. edit. Tollii.

[q] Et Saccas Ammonius, Plotini magister, &c. Marcellin. l. xxii. cap. 16. p. 374.

[r] *Και διεμεινε τυτο το παθος τοις φιλοσοφοις ενσκηψαν, ἑως Αμμωνιε τε θεοδιδακτε.* Ap. Phot. Cod. 251, p. 1381. m.

[s] Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 221.

[t] ——*και τον νυν εν τῳ πρεσβυτεριῳ καθεζομενον Αλεξανδρεων Ἡρακλαν, ὀντινα, εὑρον παρα τῳ διδασκαλῳ των φιλοσοφων μαθηματων, ηδη πεντε ετεσιν αυτῳ προσκαρτερησαντα, πριν εμε αρξασθαι ακυειν εκεινων των λογων. κ. λ.* Ib. p. 221. B. C.

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we are speaking; as is allowed by Valesius,[u] and cannot be contested by any. And I think, the coherence leads us to suppose him, without hesitation, to have been a heathen philosopher; in proof of which therefore I shall say nothing more.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very evident, that Ammonius, master of Plotinus and other great men of whom Porphyry speaks, was a heathen philosopher. Ammonius, author of divers christian writings, of whom Eusebius speaks, was a genuine christian, without any exceptions ever made to his christianity, that we know of; nor does it appear from antiquity, that his faith was corrupted with any mixtures of heathenish doctrines.[v]

The design of all these observations is to show, that Ammonius, called Saccas, was a heathen, and that from any other character groundlessly imputed to him, no argument can be formed in favour of the genuineness of the work entitled, the Philosophy of Oracles, ascribed to Porphyry.

Many learned men, as just seen, have received it, and quoted it as his. But Vandale[w] considers it as a spurious

[u] Est his verbis colligere est, Origenem eodem magistro, quo Heraclam, usum esse in philosophiâ. Vocabatur autem ille Ammonius, ut Porphyrius supra dixit. Vir fuit sui temporis philosophorum celeberrimus. Vales. ad Eusebii locum.

[v] Mr. Mosheim, as seems to me, is so intent upon his notion of a late, or 'modern sect of Platonic Philosophers,' as to forget himself sometimes. In his Institutions he says, that 'Celsus, who wrote against the christians, was 'not, as Origen thought, an Epicurean, but a Platonic Philosopher, of the 'sect of Ammonius.' Libro ex instituto christianos oppugnavit Celsus philosophus, quem Origenes, a quo confutatus est, Epicureum facit, nos firmioribus argumentis ducti, Platonicum fuisse, ex Ammonii sectâ putamus. Instit. H. E. Sec. 2. P. i. cap. 2. p. 75. And to the like purpose in his work, De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 255, 256. But how could that be? How should Celsus be a follower of Ammonius, who lived a good while before? Celsus lived and wrote in the second century: Ammonius did not flourish before the third century. Plotinus, as we know from Porphyry, came to study under Ammonius, at Alexandria, in the 28th year of his age, in the year of Christ 232, and staid with him eleven years, leaving him in the 38th or 39th year of his age, in the year of Christ 242. Vide Porphyr. de Vitâ Plotini, cap. 3. et Conspectus Vitæ Plotini, ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 88, 89. Which plainly shows, that Ammonius did not flourish before the beginning of the third century. Moreover, Origen was a hearer of Ammonius. If Celsus also had studied under him, he and Origen might have been fellow-disciples. Or, suppose that Celsus was a little older, and had preceded him in the same school, Origen could not have been altogether unacquainted with him. Whereas, we have learned from Origen himself, that he knew of two only of that name, one who lived in the time of Nero, the other in the time of Adrian, and afterwards. See p. 210.

[w] Circa hanc rem tamen, non tam mihi oboritur admiratio,——Baronium, aliosque, etiam magni nominis viros, fœde satis lapsos,——quam magnum illum, immo maximum.——Hugonem Grotium, ex Porphyrio (in notis suis

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work; and as it is now a good while since he delivered his opinion about it, I cannot but wonder, that none of the learned men above mentioned have attended to his argument. I likewise many years ago expressed my suspicions about the genuineness[x] of it; and still it appears to me to have in it plain marks of forgery. I shall now give my reasons at length, and in such a manner, as to allege those passages of it which are favourable to christianity, and ought to be alleged as Porphyry's, if this work could be allowed to be genuine.

1. The first mark of forgery is in the introduction, in which the author makes professions of veracity in terms so strong, as to raise a suspicion of some bad design.

Eusebius, proceeding to quote this book, says, 'he[y] will 'not insist on the testimony of friends, which might be of 'little value, but those of strangers, not of our body. And 'of all the Greek historians and philosophers that ever 'were, none can be more fitly alleged here, than[z] that very 'friend of demons, who in our time has gained so much 'reputation by the falsehoods which he has published 'against us. In the work which he has written of the 'Philosophy from Oracles, he has made a collection of the 'oracles of Apollo, and the other gods, and good demons.'

'And,' says Eusebius, 'it will be worth the while, in the 'first place, to observe, how the forementioned person be-'gins his work, confirming the truth of what he says by an 'oath, in these very words. "For," says he,[a] "I call the 'gods to witness, that I have added nothing to the sense of 'what has been delivered by oracle; nor have I taken any 'thing from it. I have only corrected some literal mistakes, 'or supplied the metre when it was defective, or have left 'out some things not material. But whatever alterations of 'this kind I have made, I have preserved the sense entire; 'being more afraid of committing such an impiety, than of 'undergoing the penalty of sacrilege."'

ad librum de V. R. C.) protulisse oracula, quasi Hecate de Christo, deque ejus dignitate, &c. eâdem facilitate, quâ illa ipsa ex Porphyrio transcripserat Eusebius. Nam quod Porphyrius, irrisor ille Christi christianæque doctrinæ, talia unquam de Domino nostro Jesu Christo testatus est, quis credat? Nisi simul credat, Porphyrium hunc ipsum nesciisse quid, et in quos scripserit, atque in quorum gratiam hæc sic dicta oracula protulerit: adeoque ipsum fuisse hominem delirum, nec cui, quid pro aut contra dissereret, constaret. Vandale, de Orac. Ethnic. p. 14. Amst. 8vo. 1683.

[x] See vol. iv. p. 81. [y] Pr. Ev. l. iv. cap. 6. p. 142, 143.

[z] ———Τον δαιμονων φιλον αυτον εκεινον, ὁς δη καθ' ἡμας γεγονως, τοις καθ' ἡμων ελλαμπρυνεται ψευδηγοριαις———Οὑτος τοιγαρον, εν ὁις επεγραψε περι της εκ λογων φιλοσοφιας, συναγωγην εποιησατο χρησμων τε Απολλωνος, και των λοιπων θεων τε και αγαθων δαιμονων. [a] Ib. cap. vii. p. 143.

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This asseveration of veracity is abundantly too strong; an honest man can seldom have occasion for such solemnity in his writings; nor do I perceive any reason that Porphyry should have, to prefix such an introduction to any thing he had to say about philosophy, or theology.

2. Another mark of forgery is the strict injunction of silence, contained also in this author's introduction to his work.

Eusebius goes on in the same place: 'After[b] that preface 'to his work, he earnestly requires, and enjoins, that what 'he is about to say should not be divulged; and in these 'very words. "Thou therefore above all take care not to 'publish these things, nor to mention them before the pro-'fane, neither for the sake of glory, or of gain, or any other 'low advantage; for thereby will accrue danger, not only 'to thyself for transgressing this precept, but to me also, 'who have too easily confided in a person not able to con-'ceal such benefits. But[c] they may be communicated to 'such as order the course of their life with a view to the 'salvation of the soul." And afterwards he adds: "Thou[d] 'art to conceal these things as the greatest of secrets; for 'neither have the gods spoke plainly of themselves in their 'oracles, but obscurely."'

This strict injunction of silence is another just ground of suspicion; it affords reason to believe, that this work could not bear the examination of the public. Moreover here is a christian phrase: it may be communicated 'to such as 'order the course of their life with a view to the salvation 'of the soul.' A like phrase, 'hopes[e] of salvation,' occurs in what Eusebius calls the preface, of which, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted a part, and have taken only the oath of veracity.

It is hence plain, that this work was to be communicated to christians only. But why so, provided these oracles were genuine? For if they had really been delivered by the gods, they must have been of as much advantage to heathens as to christians; or rather more to the former, who, as one might think, should have greater regard to what their gods said than christians, who believed those gods to be no other than evil demons.

3. This book is not Porphyry's, because it often notori-

[b] Ib. cap. viii. p. 144.

[c] *Δοτεον δε τοις τον βιον εντησαμενοις προς την της ψυχης σωτηριαν.* p. 144. B.

[d] *Ταυτα μοι, ὡς αῤῥητων τα αῤῥητοτερα κρυπτειν. Ουδε γαρ οἱ θεοι φανερως περι αυτων εθεσπισαν, αλλα δι' αινιγματων.* p. 144. C.

[e] *——ὡς αν εκ μονε βεβαιω τας ελπιδας τε σωθηναι αρυττομενος.* p. 143. C.

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ously contradicts the sentiments which Porphyry has delivered in those writings which are certainly his.

In his work of Abstinence from Animals he starts an objection: 'If animals[f] are not to be killed, we shall be deprived of the benefits of divination, which depends upon searching their entrails. To which he answers, that a philosopher abstracted from the world, seldom has occasion to go to demons, or priests, and diviners, and the entrails of animals. He rarely wants advice about marriage, a lost servant, commerce; and as for things of religion, he consults his own breast, and goes to God dwelling in him. Concerning[g] such things as he is most desirous to know, no certain information can be had from diviners and the entrails of animals.'

After such a declaration, it seems improbable, that Porphyry should consult oracles concerning any point, especially about the christian religion, concerning which he had long ago formed his judgment, and had published it to the world in books written with great diligence and earnestness.

But passing over that, there is an instance of contradiction in the first quotation, which Eusebius makes after the preface to this work; it contains a long oracle in verse, and then the writer's explication and observations in prose, according to the usual method of this work.

In this oracle Apollo himself reckons up the several kinds of deities, heavenly, aërial, earthly, subterraneous; and teaches what animals, and of what colours, ought to be offered to those several deities, and in what manner. After producing that passage, 'now,' says[h] Eusebius, 'compare 'this discourse with what the same author has said in his 'books, which he entitles, Of Abstinence from Animals. 'For there he very rationally teaches, that sacrifices and 'incense are not to be offered to the God over all, nor to 'the divine and heavenly powers next after him; and pro-'ceeds so far as to say, that they deserve not to be ac-'counted gods who delight in such sacrifices. For the 'killing of animals is a great and detestable impiety, and 'therefore not acceptable to the gods. Whence it appears,' adds Eusebius, 'that his god is condemned; for, as he 'says, the oracle commanded animals to be sacrificed, not 'only to the subterraneous deities, but also to the aërial, 'and heavenly, and æthereal. Thus Apollo directs here. 'But he, [in the other work,] citing also Theophrastus to

[f] Abstinentia, &c. l. ii. cap. 51, 52.

[g] Περι ων δε ζητει, μαντις μεν ουδεις, ουδε σπλαγχνα ζωων μηνυσει το σαφες. Ib. cap. 52.

[h] Pr. Evang. l. iv. cap. 9. p. 145—147.

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'the same purpose, says, that sacrifices of animals ought 'not to be offered to gods, but only to demons. So that, 'according to himself and Theophrastus, Apollo is no god, 'but a demon. Nor are the other, who are called gods, 'any better, who are every where worshipped with animals 'by princes and people, in cities and villages.' Very right.

Nevertheless, the present argumentation is of no weight. There ought first of all to be good proof of the genuineness of a writing, that contradicts the sentiments which an author has advanced in another work, evidently his, and that not by the by only, but on set purpose, and in a long series of arguments, of which he appears to be fully persuaded.

If the books De Abstinentiâ, &c. are Porphyry's, (as they undoubtedly are,) and if the sentiments therein taught contradict those of the Philosophy of Oracles, this last is not genuine. Indeed, this appears to be the work of some christian, who intended to decry the heathen worship, and all the whole system of heathen theology.

I forbear to allege passages of these oracles at length, in which the gods are reviled in a manner very agreeable to the christian notions of them at that time. But I ought not to omit to observe, that they are here represented, as acknowledging themselves compelled to answer the questions put to them. 'One says, Hear[i] me speaking unwillingly 'what necessity obliges me to say.' In another of these oracles Apollo says: 'This[k] is a powerful and hard neces-'sity laid upon me.' When they have been brought down from heaven to answer the inquiries made of them, they[l] earnestly solicit a return, and to be let go away. The gods of this work likewise are made to[m] teach the art of magic.

But it is time to have done with these absurdities. If Porphyry was not a christian, but a heathen philosopher, and an enemy to the christians, this work is not his.

4. In this work are many things very favourable to the christian religion; therefore it cannot be Porphyry's, who wrote against the christians, and long afterwards lay under great reproach upon that account, as the worst and most abusive enemy they ever had.

Here I shall produce those passages which ought to have

[i] *Και παλιν αλλος, αναγκαζομενος εφη· Κλυθι μεν ȣκ εθελοντος, επει μ' επεδησας αναγκη.* Pr. Ev. l. v. sect. 8. p. 194. B.

[k] *Ουνομ' αναγκαιης το δε καρτερον, ηδ' ετι βριθυ.* Ib. C.

[l] *Λυετε λοιπον ανακτα*———c. 9. p. 195.

[m] Cap. 14. p. 202.

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been alleged before, if it could with good reason be supposed, that this work was composed by Porphyry.

In his Evangelic Preparation Eusebius writes thus: 'Porphyry,[n] in the first book of the Philosophy taught by 'Oracles, brings in his own god bearing witness to the wisdom of the Hebrews, together with other people, who 'were renowned for their learning and knowledge. It is 'Apollo,' says Eusebius, 'that speaks in this oracle, and it 'follows what had been before delivered concerning sacrifices; and he demands especial attention, as to words full 'of divine wisdom. "The way leading to the gods is difficult and rough, and the entrance shut with brazen doors. 'The Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, and Hebrews, 'have found out many ways to the seat of the blessed." '[All that in verse.] To which the author subjoins; "The 'way leading to the gods is shut with brazen bolts, and is 'rugged and difficult. The barbarians have found out 'many paths; but the Greeks have quite wandered out of 'the way; and[o] they who now prevail have corrupted it. 'But the god declared, that the finding it out was owing to 'the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Chaldæans, the Lydians, and the Hebrews."'

This passage of the author, subjoined to the oracle by way of explication, is also cited at length by[p] Theodoret as Porphyry's, and from the same work, the Philosophy of Oracles.

It follows in Eusebius, immediately after what has been just quoted. 'And[q] moreover, in another oracle Apollo 'says: "The Chaldæans only, and the Hebrews, have 'attained to wisdom, chastely worshipping the self-existent 'king and god."'

Upon the foregoing quotations I now make these remarks.

(1.) It is very strange that Apollo should say, 'The Hebrews had found out some of the ways to the gods, and to 'happiness:' and that, when going to deliver such an observation, he should demand especial attention. It is as strange that Apollo should say, as he is afterwards made to

[n] Ὁ δε Πορφυριος εν τῳ πρωτῳ της εκ λογιων φιλοσοφιας αυτον εισαγει τον ἑαυτε θεον, τῳ Ἑβραιων γενει, μετα των αλλων των επι συνεσει βωμενων εθνων σοφιαν επιμαρτυρεντα. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. l. ix. cap. x. p. 412, 413.

[o] Οἱ δε κρατεντες ηδη και διεφθειραν. p. 413. B.

[p] Gr. Aff. Serm. i. T. iv. p. 471, 472.

[q] Ετι δε προς τετοις εν ἑτερῳ χρησμῳ φησιν ὁ Απολλων.
Μενοι Χαλδαιοι σοφιαν λαχον, ηδ' αῤ Ἑβραιοι,
Αυτογενεθλον ανακτα σεβαζομενοι θεον ἁγνως.
Ib. p. 413.

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do, that 'the Chaldæans only, and the Hebrews, had attained to wisdom, chastely worshipping the eternal king and god.' And is this the work of Porphyry? Is Porphyry become so fond of the Jews, who, as Eusebius assured us not long ago, in his work against the christians, 'equally reviled us, and the Hebrews, and Moses himself, and the prophets after him?' Or rather, is Porphyry, who wrote against the christians, and, as is generally said, with great virulence, become himself a convert, and concerned to make converts to christianity? For to recommend the Hebrews, and their principles, is at least preparatory to christianity. Theodoret therefore having made that quotation, as above observed, and as Porphyry's, goes on very rationally: 'If[r] our greatest enemy chargeth the Greeks as in error, and ascribes the knowledge of truth to the Hebrews, and the Phœnicians, and Ægyptians, and Chaldæans, and says that Apollo has so taught, why do you not hearken to your own philosopher, and receive the oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew prophets and apostles? and what follows.' Very just reasoning!

Surely it is altogether incongruous to suppose, that Porphyry should place the Greeks the lowest of all nations in the search of wisdom, and say, that the 'barbarians had found out many paths to it, whilst the Greeks had wandered quite out of the way.' It is as improbable, that Apollo should give the honour of this invention to the Hebrews, and others, rather than to the Greeks.

(2.) This book was written after the establishment of christianity by Constantine; for the author, as we have just seen, speaks of the christian as the prevailing religion. 'They who now prevail, have corrupted it:' or, according to a different pointing, 'they who prevail, have already corrupted it.' There is no reason to believe, that Porphyry lived to the time of Constantine's conversion to christianity. The composer of this work here forgot the character which he had assumed; he pretended to be Porphyry; but did not now consider, that Porphyry had died before the christian could be called 'the prevailing religion,' or the christians 'the men that prevailed.' However, it must be owned, that in what the author here says, he is upon his guard, and he casts a reflection upon these men as having corrupted philosophy, or the knowledge of wisdom; but it is a thin disguise, easily seen through.

[r] Ει δε και παντων ἡμιν εχθιστος κατηγορει μεν Ἑλληνων, ὡς πλανῳ δυληθεντων—τι δηποτε μη τῳ φιλοσοφῳ πειθεσθε τῳ φιλοσοφῳ—και τας ακοας τοις Ἑβραιων προφηταις και αποστολοις παρεχετε. Gr. Aff. Serm. i. p. 472.

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I make no more remarks upon what is already transcribed, but proceed to another passage of this work.

5. In his Evangelic Demonstration, Eusebius expresseth himself in this pompous manner.

'But[s] if none of these things will convince you, hearken 'to your demons and gods speaking in their oracles, who 'impute to our Saviour, not imposture, as you do, but piety 'and wisdom, and ascent to heaven. What more credible 'assurance can you have of this than the testimony of our 'enemy, who in the third book of his work, entitled, Of the 'Philosophy taught by Oracles, speaks in these very words: '"It will perhaps seem strange to some which we are 'about to say. For the gods declared Christ to be most 'pious, and to be made immortal, and they spoke honour-'ably of him." And presently after he says: "When we 'inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a god, the 'answer was; That the soul is immortal after the death of 'the body, knows every body who is favoured with wisdom. 'But[t] the soul of that man is most eminent for piety. Him 'therefore he declared to be most pious, and his soul, like 'the souls of others, after death made immortal, which[u] the 'ignorant christians worship. Then, when we asked, why 'he was put to death, the oracular answer was; The body 'is always liable to slight torments; but the soul of the 'pious escapes to the heavenly country." And after the 'oracle he adds: "He therefore is pious, and is gone to 'Heaven, as the pious do. Him therefore you are not to 'blaspheme, but to pity the ignorance of men." Thus 'writes Porphyry.'

Here the composer of this work was upon his guard; but not so Eusebius, who receives all without hesitation. The author was aware, that what he was about to say was very unlikely; he therefore introduceth it with that preface: 'It may seem strange which we are going to say.' And he afterwards throws in a reflection upon the christians, as if they carried their respect for Christ too far. However, he and his god bear an honourable testimony to Jesus, as we have seen.

Porphyry, in this work, and his gods, as Eusebius says, 'impute not to our Saviour imposture, but piety and wis-

[s] ———αλλα συγε, κεν των σαυτε δαιμονων, αυτων δη των χρησμῳδων θεων ακυε, τῳ σωτηρι ἡμων ηχ' ὡσπερ συ γοητειαν, αλλ' ευσεβειαν, και σοφιαν, και εις ουρανης ανοδον μαρτυρεντων. Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. 6. p. 133, 134.

[t] ———αλλαγε ψυχη
Ανερος ευσεβιη προφερεστατη εστιν εκεινε.

[u] ἣν σεβειν ανουντας τες χριστιανες.

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'dom, and ascent to heaven.' But who can believe that, when Porphyry had written a large work, the great design of which, in his remarks upon the book of Daniel, and elsewhere, was to prove Jesus an impostor? And is Porphyry now become an apostle, preaching to the world Christ's resurrection and ascension?

Eunapius indeed, in his Life of Porphyry, says, 'that[v] 'he lived to a great age. Whence it came to pass, that he 'has left many sentiments different from those which he had 'delivered in works formerly written.' But that may relate to some lesser matters only. We still have his Life of Plotinus, written when he was seventy years old, or thereabout; where he appears a true heathen philosopher.

To me it seems very strange, that any christian, especially a learned christian, should call upon heathen people, as Eusebius here does, 'to hearken to their demons and 'gods speaking in their oracles:' who might know, from the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as well as from reason, that[w] heathen deities were nothing, and had neither power nor wisdom; if they were any thing they were evil spirits, and their testimonies were of no value. Our Lord never received the testimony of men who were supposed to be acted by demons. St. Paul did not value the testimony of the young woman at Philippi, who was said to have a spirit of Python, Acts xvi. 16. And I am persuaded, that our Saviour will never thank any of his followers for bringing in demons, or heathen deities in their oracles, speaking in his favour. May I not here adopt the language of St. Paul upon another occasion, and say: "What communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" 2 Cor. vi. 14—16.

6. Once more; this work, of the Philosophy of Oracles, is rarely mentioned by christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries: therefore it was little known, or not known

[v] ——πολλας γεν τοις ηδη προπεπραγματευμενοις βιβλιοις θεωριας εναντιας κατελιπε. Eunap. Vit. Porph. ad fin.

[w] Christians sometimes speak very justly, agreeable to the doctrine of the ancient prophets, that all the gods of the heathens were vanity, or senseless idols. It is a pity, that they are not always consistent with themselves. Et idola quidem omni sensu carere, quis dubitet? Verum tamen cum his locantur sedibus, honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus adtendantur, ipsâ similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis insensata et exanima, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere et spirare videantur; accedente præsertim veneratione multitudinis, quâ tantus eis cultus impenditur. August. ep. 102. [al. 49.] n. 18. An excellent observation of that great and eminent ancient.

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to be written by so considerable a man as Porphyry, who had written against the christians.

It is often quoted by Eusebius, as we have seen; it was also known, as it seems, to[x] Julius Firmicus Maternus, about the middle of the fourth century; it is also quoted by Theodoret, about 420, as we have seen; but not very often; it is likewise quoted by Augustine in the fifth century; I shall transcribe him presently with remarks; but these are very few only. I forbear to enumerate here the names of the many writers of the fourth and fifth centuries who have taken no notice of this work; but it appears to me a great objection against its genuineness, that it is never mentioned in any of the numerous works of Jerom, or Cyril of Alexandria. Jerom wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, and has often taken notice of Porphyry, but says nothing of this work; Cyril lived in the fifth century, and published a work against the emperor Julian in ten books; in that work he has quoted divers of Porphyry's writings, and made good use of them; his Philosophic History, Of Abstinence from Animals, and some others. These Cyril quotes often, and largely; but has not once quoted or named this work, Of the Philosophy taught by Oracles.

He has, it is true, the verses before quoted from Eusebius, which are likewise partly in Augustine; but not as taken from any writing of Porphyry, nor as a certain thing, but in this manner. 'When,'[y] says Cyril, 'somebody 'came to the Pythoness at the temple of Apollo, and in-'quired which nations were wisest; it is said, the demon 'there gave this answer; The Chaldœans only have ob-'tained wisdom; but the Hebrews worship the self-ex-'istent King, God himself. And Porphyry makes mention 'of the Essenes of Judea in these words.' Where Cyril proceeds to quote a passage of the fourth book of his Abstinence from Animals, cap. 13, though without saying from what work of Porphyry he takes it. It is plain, that Cyril does not quote that oracle from any work of Porphyry.

It is likely, that in Cyril's time it was a common story, that the Pythian oracle had some time delivered such an answer as this: but he would not vouch for the truth of the

[x] J. F. M. de Errore Prof. Rel. p. 432, 433. ed. Gronov. 1709.

[y] *Αφικομενη γαρ τινος Πυθοι προς τον Απολλωνος νεων, ερομενη τε και αναμαθειν εθελοντος, τινες αν ησαν ὁτι μαλιστα σοφοι των εθνων; χρησαι φασι τον αυτοθι δαιμονα.*

Μενοι Χαλδαιοι σοφιην λαχον, οἱ δ' αρ' Ἑβραιοι,
Αυτογενητον ανακτα σεβαζομενοι Θεον αυτον.

Διαμεμνηται δε και Πορφυριος των κατα Ιουδαιαν Εσσαιων, και φησιν ὡδε περι αυτων. Contr. Jul. l. v. p. 180.

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relation. The same is in Justin Martyr's Cohortatio ad Græcos, if it be his; and it is brought in much after the same manner as in Cyril. 'When[z] one, as you say, asked 'your oracle who had been religious men, the oracle, as you 'say, gave this answer:

"The Chaldæans only have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, God himself."'

7. We will now see what Augustine says of this work.

He is showing, that the God whom the christians worship is the true God. 'Lastly,' says[a] he, 'He is God, whom 'Porphyry, the most learned of the philosophers, though a 'bitter enemy of the christians, and also the oracles whom 'he thinks to be gods, acknowledge to be the great God.'

'For[b] in his books, which he calls the Philosophy of

[z] Ερομενυ γαρ τινος, ὡς αυτοι φατε, τυ παρ' ὑμιν χρηςηριυ, τινας συνεβη θεοσεβεις ανδρας γεγενησθαι ποτε, υτω το χρηςηριον ειρηκεναι φατε.

Μυνοι Χαλδαιοι σοφιην λαχον, ηδ' αρ' Ἑβραιοι,
Αυτογενητον ανακτα σεβαζομενοι Θεον αυτον.

Just. M. ad Gr. Coh. p. 15. Ben. 12. Par.

[a] Postremo ipse est Deus, quem doctissimus philosophorum, quamvis christianorum acerrimus inimicus, etiam per eorum oracula, quos Deos putat, Deum magnum Porphyrius confitetur. De Civ. Dei, l. xix. cap. 22.

[b] Nam in libris, quos εκ λογιων φιλοσοφιας appellat, in quibus exsequitur, atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa, ut ipsa verba ejus, quemadmodum ex linguâ Græcâ in Latinam interpretata sunt, ponam. Interroganti, inquit, quem Deum placando revocare possit uxorem suam a christianismo, hæc ait versibus Apollo. Deinde verba velut Apollinis ista sunt: Forte magis poteris in aquâ impressis literis scribere, aut ad instans pennas leves, per aëra ut avis volare, quam semel pollutæ revoces impiæ uxoris sensum. Pergat quomodo vult inanibus fallaciis perseverans, et lamentationibus fallacissimis mortuum Deum cantans, quem judicibus recta sentientibus perditum, pessima in speciosis ferro juncta mors interfecit. Deinde post hos versus Apollinis, qui non stante metro Latine interpretati sunt, subjunxit, atque ait: In his quidem tergiversationem irremediabilis sententiæ eorum manifestavit, dicens, Quoniam Judæi suscipiunt Deum magis quam isti. Ecce ubi decolorans Christum, Judæos præposuit christianis, confitens, quod Judæi suscipiunt Deum. Sic enim exposuit versus Apollinis, ubi a judicibus recta sentientibus Christum dicit occisum, tanquam illis juste judicantibus, merito sit ille punitus. Viderit quid de Christo vates mendax Apollinis dixerit, atque iste crediderit: aut fortasse vatem, quod non dixerit, dixisse iste ipse confixerit. Quam vero sibi constet, vel ipsa oracula inter se faciat convenire, postea videbimus. Hic tamen Judæos, tanquam Dei susceptores, recte dicit judicâsse de Christo, quod eum morte pessimâ excruciandum esse censuerint. Deus itaque Judæorum, cui perhibet testimonium, audiendus fuit, dicens: "Sacrificans Diis eradicabitur, nisi Domino tantum," Ex. xxii. 20. Sed ad manifestiora veniamus, et audiamus quam magnum Deum dicat esse Judæorum. Item ad ea quæ interrogavit Apollinem, quid melius, sive verbum, sive ratio, an lex. Respondit, inquit, versibus hæc dicens. Ac deinde subjicit versibus, et in quibus et ista sunt, ut quantum satis est, inde decerpam: In Deum, inquit, generatorem, et regem ante omnia, quem tremit cœlum et terra, atque mare, et infernorum abdita, et ipsa numina perhorrescunt; quorum lex est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebræi. Tali oraculo

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'Oracles, and writes of things pertaining to Philosophy, as 'delivered in answers from the gods, he speaks to this pur-'pose. And I shall put down his very words, as they have 'been translated out of the Greek tongue into Latin. He 'says, when he inquired what god he should appease in 'order to reduce his wife from christianity, Apollo an-'swered in verse: "Possibly you may more easily write in 'water, or fly in the air like a bird, than convert your wife 'once polluted with impiety." Let him go on as he will, 'singing with his fallacious lamentations the dead god, 'whom the judges rightly condemned, and the worst death 'destroyed. Then, after these verses of Apollo, which are 'not translated into good Latin metre, he subjoins, and 'says; Hereby he [the god] "expressed their incurable 'obstinacy. For the Jews may sooner acknowledge God 'than they." Observe, how to disparage Christ he prefers 'the Jews before christians, confessing that the Jews ac-'knowledge God; for so he explained the verses of Apollo, 'where he says, that Christ was put to death by judges 'thinking right things, as if they had passed a just judg-

Dei sui Apollinis Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebræorum, ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescunt; quorum lex est Pater, quem valde sancti honorant Hebræi. Tali oraculo dei sui Apollinis, Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebræorum, ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescant. Cum ergo Deus iste dixerit, "Sacrificans diis eradicabitur," miror, quod ipse Porphyrius non perhorruerit, et sacrificans diis non formidaverit. Cap. 23. n. 1.

2. Dicit etiam bona philosophus iste de Christo, quasi oblitus illius, de quâ paullo ante locuti sumus, contumeliæ suæ; aut quasi in somnis dii ejus maledixerint Christo, et vigilantes bonum esse cognoverint, digneque laudaverint. Denique, tanquam mirabile aliquid atque incredibile prolaturus, præter opinionem, inquit, profecto quibusdam videatur esse, quod dicturi sumus. Christum enim dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt, et immortalem factum, et cum bonâ prædicatione ejus meminerunt. Christianos vero pollutos, inquit, et contaminatos, et errore implicatos dicunt; et multis talibus adversus eos blasphemiis utuntur. Deinde subjicit velut deorum oracula blasphemantium christianos. Et post hæc. De Christo autem, inquit, interrogantibus, si est Deus, ait Hecate: Quoniam quidem immortalis anima post corpus ut incedit, tu nôsti: a sapientiâ autem abscissa semper errat: viri pietate præstantissimi est illa anima. Hanc colunt alienâ a se veritate: Deinde post verba hujus quasi oraculi sua ipse contexens, piissimum igitur virum, inquit, eum dixit, et ejus animam, sicut et aliorum piorum, post obitum immortalitate donatam, et hanc colere christiani errantes. Interrogantibus autem, inquit, Cur ergo damnatus est? Oraculo respondit Dea: Corpus quidem debilitantibus tormentis semper oppositum est: anima autem piorum cœlesti sede insidet. Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter dedit, quibus fata non annuerunt deorum obtinere dona, neque habere Jovis immortalis agnitionem, errore implicari. Propterea ergo diis exosi quia quibus fato fuit non nôsse Deum, nec dona a diis accipere, his fataliter dedit iste errore implicari. Ipse vero pius, et in cœlum, sicut pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non blasphemabis; misereberis autem hominum dementiam, ex eo in eis facile præcepsque periculum. Ib. n. 2.

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'ment, and he had been deservedly punished. Let him see 'to it, what the lying priest of Apollo said of Christ, and 'he believed; or, perhaps, he himself pretended, the priest 'had said what he did not say. But how he is consistent 'with himself, or how he makes the oracles to agree, we 'shall see hereafter. However, here he says, the Jews as 'worshippers of God, judged rightly concerning Christ, 'when they condemned him to suffer the worst death; 'therefore the God of the Jews, to whom he bears this tes-'timony, ought to be heard, who says: "He that sacrificeth 'unto any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be destroy-'ed," Ex. xxii. 20. But let us proceed to plainer things, 'and let us hear how great a God, he says, the God of the 'Jews is; and therefore let us observe the question he put 'to Apollo, Which is the best instructor, reason or law? 'He says, he made the answer in verse, saying these things. 'Then he puts down Apollo's verses, in which are these, 'that I may take what is sufficient; "You must worship 'the God creator, king, before all things, before whom the 'heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and things hidden in 'the deep tremble, and whom the gods themselves dread; 'whose law is the Father, whom the pious Hebrews adore." 'In that oracle of his god Apollo, Porphyry declares the 'God of the Hebrews to be so great, that the gods them-'selves dread him. When therefore that God has said, '"he that sacrificeth to other gods shall be destroyed," I 'wonder that Porphyry himself did not dread him, and did 'not fear to be destroyed when he sacrificed to other gods.'

'This philosopher also says good things of Christ, as if 'he had forgot the reproach before mentioned; or, as if his 'gods blasphemed Christ in their sleep, and when they 'awoke acknowledged his merit, and gave him due praises. 'Finally, then as if he was about to say something wonder-'ful and incredible, he says: "It may indeed appear 'strange which we are going to say. For the gods declared 'Christ to be most pious, and made immortal, and spoke 'honourably of him:" but, as he says, they said, "the 'christians were polluted and corrupted, and involved in 'error." And many such reproaches they cast upon them. 'Then he subjoins oracles of the gods reproaching the chris-'tians; afterwards he says, "when we inquired concerning 'Christ, whether he be a god, Hecate answered; That the 'soul after separation from the body becometh immortal 'thou knowest. A soul void of wisdom always wanders; 'but that is the soul of a man most eminent for piety. This 'they worship not rightly." Then, after the words of the

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'oracle, he adds himself: "Therefore," says he, "the 'oracle declared him to be a most pious man, and his soul, 'like the souls of other pious men, after death favoured 'with immortality; and that the mistaken christians worship 'this. And," says he, "when we asked, why then was he 'condemned? The goddess answered; The body indeed is 'ever liable to debilitating torments; but the soul of the 'pious dwells in the heavenly mansion. But that soul has 'fatally been the occasion to many other souls to be in-'volved in error, to whom it has not been given to acknow-'ledge the immortal Jove. But himself is pious, and gone 'to heaven as other pious men do. Him therefore thou 'shalt not blaspheme, but pity the folly of men because of 'the danger they are in."'

'Who[c] is so weak,' says Augustine, 'as not to perceive, 'that these oracles were contrived by a cunning man, and 'an enemy to the christians? or at least that those answers 'were given by impure demons, with this view, that be-'cause they commend Christ, they may be thought to speak 'truly when they blame the christians? and thereby, if 'possible, shut up the way of salvation in which all chris-'tians are.'

Augustine has afterwards another quotation from this work, which I shall not transcribe. I only observe, 'that[d] 'Jesus is there spoken of as one of the Hebrew wise men, 'as had been before declared in the oracles of Apollo.'

That whole quotation is taken from Augustine's large work, Of the City of God, supposed to have been written by him between the years 413 and 426. He[e] has also referred to this book, as Porphyry's, in his work of the Consent of the Evangelists, written about the year 400, where

[c] Quis ita stultus est, ut non intelligat, aut ab homine callido, eoque christianis inimicissimo, hæc oracula fuisse conficta, aut consilio simili, ab impuris dæmonibus ista fuisse responsa; ut, scilicet, quoniam laudant Christum, propterea credantur veraciter vituperare christianos; atque ita, si possint, intercludant viam salutis æternæ. in quâ sit quisque christianus. Ib. n. 3.

[d] Ab his sapientes Hebræorum, quorum iste etiam Jesus unus fuit, sicut audisti divina Apollinis, quæ superius dicta sunt. n. 4. ib.

[e] Quid quod isti vani Christi laudatores, et christianæ religionis obliqui obtrectatores, propterea non audent blasphemare Christum, quia quidam philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius Siculus prodidit, consuluerunt deos suos, quid de Christo responderent, illi autem oraculis suis Christum laudare compulsi sunt. Nec mirum, cum et in evangelio legamus eum dæmones fuisse confessos——Ac per hoc isti ne contra deorum suorum responsa conentur, continent blasphemias a Christo, et eas in discipulos ejus effundunt. Mihi autem videtur, quod illi dii gentium, quos philosophi Paganorum consulere potuerunt, etiam si de discipulis Christi interrogarentur, ipsos quoque laudare cogerentur. De Consensu Evangelist. l. i. cap. 15. Tom. iii. P. 2.

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he speaks too favourably of it. I shall not translate it; but I have transcribed the passage below in Augustine's own words.

I shall now make remarks.

(1.) Augustine's quotations of this work are somewhat different from those in Eusebius; which, perhaps, is owing to the translation; for Augustine intimates, that the Latin translation which he made use of was not very exact.

(2.) The quotations of this book in Eusebius and Augustine agree in the main; for in both the worship of the God of the Jews is recommended, and honourable mention is made of Christ, as a most excellent man, and gone to heaven.

(3.) Therefore this is not a work of Porphyry: for in his work against the christians, as Eusebius says, he had 'equally reviled the Jewish people, and us, Moses, and the 'Jewish prophets.'

(4.) Here is a story concerning Porphyry's wife which we have not found in Eusebius; it is very likely to be a fiction of the writer of this work, for we do not meet with it elsewhere; nor is the character of this work such, as alone, without any other voucher, to give it much credit. However, agreeably enough to the general design of this work, here is an honourable testimony given to the christians, that they were very steady in the belief and profession of their principles.

(5.) In this book, as cited by Augustine and also by Eusebius before, are some reflections upon christians; they are spoken of as 'in error, corrupted, and polluted.' These reflections were inserted, as seems to me, for a disguise; that the author might cover his real intention; his design was to recommend christianity: but he had assumed the character of a heathen and enemy; the better to keep up that appearance, he casts out reflections upon the followers of Jesus. However, he does not blame them for believing in Jesus: he recommends him to all as 'most pious, and 'excellent, and gone to heaven.' His reflections upon the christians therefore, as 'in error and corrupted,' relate not to the general scheme of christianity, which was right, but to some opinions maintained by some of its professors: and indeed all these reflections upon christians, as erroneous and ignorant, I consider as arguments of the late original of this work; and that it was not composed till some while after the conversion of Constantine. I am not positive what opinions the author intends, but he may have an eye to the disputes concerning the Arian and other Trinitarian

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doctrines, which must have been controverted in the year 315 or sooner, before which time Porphyry had died.

(6.) The conclusion to be made from the whole is, that this is not a work of Porphyry, a heathen philosopher and enemy to christianity, but of a christian and patron of christianity.

Augustine himself doubted of the genuineness of this work, and of the oracles contained in it; though he shows it rather too much respect, when he proceeds to allege it as an argument in behalf of the true Deity, saying, as above, 'He is God, whom Porphyry the most learned of the philosophers, and the oracles alleged by him, acknowledge 'to be the true God.'

Augustine says very truly, 'It is plain, that it is the 'work of some cunning man.' The self-contradictions, or the seeming self-contradictions and inconsistences, are plain proofs of insincerity, design, and artifice.

It is the artifice or forgery of some christian, designed and contrived to serve the interests of christianity in general, and possibly likewise of some particular notions of the author himself. Augustine, though he suspects it to be a contrivance, imagines it may be the contrivance, not of a christian, but of an enemy to christians; but, so far as can be judged from what we have remaining of this work, it is not the work of an enemy, but of a friend to christianity. Undoubtedly, it was needful to cover the forgery of these oracles, and the real character of the writer, by some things that had the appearance of heathenism; for the assumed character of the writer is that of an heathen, and an enemy to christianity; there is no doubt of that. He must therefore say some things to the disadvantage of christianity itself, or of the professors of it; accordingly, he has here and there blamed the christians with some freedom and seeming sharpness; and now and then, as it should seem from Augustine's account, (though that does not appear in Eusebius,) he did also, in an obscure manner, speak disrespectfully of Christ himself. But, that the writer held christian notions, and designed to favour the cause of christianity, is evident from his commendations of the Jews, from his recommending the worship of the God of the Jews as the true and great God; and in that, when he said any thing to the disadvantage of JESUS he spoke obscurely, when to his advantage he spoke clearly. So this appears in Augustine's own account. Having shown what the author had said of the justice of the death of Christ, in ambiguous terms, he adds: 'But let us proceed to clearer

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things:' Where the oracle and the writer plainly commend Christ; and the difference between these passages, in which Christ is reproached, from those in which he is commended, is thus represented by Augustine; the former things were spoken by the gods 'when asleep, these when they awaked.'

How favourable to the christian cause this work was understood to be by Theodoret, manifestly appears from what we quoted from him some while ago, where he calls upon the heathen people, and asks them: 'Why do you 'not hearken to your own philosopher, and receive the 'oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew 'prophets and apostles?'

Add to all this the many quotations of this work in Eusebius's Evangelical Preparation, all, some way or other, on the side of christianity, and directly, or indirectly, reviling the heathen deities and their worship; and it can be no longer doubted, that the design of this work was to favour christianity, and weaken heathenism; therefore it was not composed by Porphyry.

Eusebius, as may be remembered, introduceth his first quotation of this work in his Preparation in this manner: 'But[f] I shall not now insist upon the testimonies of friends, 'which might be reckoned of little value, but of strangers: 'and who of all the Greek historians or philosophers can be 'more fitly alleged, than he who in our time gained so much 'reputation by writing against us?' And again, in his Demonstration, addressing himself to heathen people, he says: 'What[g] more credible assurance can you have of this than 'the testimony of our enemy?'

The composer of this work, (whoever he was,) had the same thought. Having formed a design to exhibit a covert testimony in behalf of christianity in the name of some learned heathen, and to bring it into oracular answers of heathen deities, he supposed, that no fitter name could be taken than that of Porphyry's; who was in great repute for learning, and had not long since published the bitterest invectives against Jews and christians, and the strongest arguments that had ever been alleged against their scriptures; and he hoped by this work to overthrow Porphyry's long work against the christians, which had done so much mischief.

But it is wonderful that Eusebius should be so easily deceived, and adopt the same thought, and be pleased with it.

[f] Pr. Ev. l. iv. p. 142. [g] Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 134. A.

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Upon the whole, this work is the artifice of some cunning but not wise christian.

I presume I have now said enough to justify my not alleging any passages from this work, as testimonies of Porphyry, or of any other heathen writer, in favour of christianity.

And though this argument has detained us a great while, perhaps the length of it may be excused, when it is considered, how long the genuineness of this work has been admitted by learned men with great unanimity, and has been suspected by a very few only. If the several reasons here alleged are not impertinent, but to the purpose, the whole argument ought not to be charged with prolixity; learned men, as well as others, are oftentimes hard to be convinced of the falsehood of an opinion once embraced by them; nor will they yield till they are overwhelmed by a heap of reasons.

This argument is not very honourable to our ecclesiastical historian; I acknowledge it, but I cannot help it; truth must be asserted. So[h] says the learned and generous Heumann, arguing against such as were unwilling to allow a fault in Socrates, when he recorded the story of Porphyry's having deserted christianity.

[h] Quis, inquam, non videat, narrationem istam esse referendam inter viles pannos purpuræ historiæ ecclesiasticæ assutos ab hominibus minus circumspectis? Nec audio Celeb. Siberum, parcendum esse ducentem auctoritati scriptorum ecclesiasticorum. Imo vero non parcamus erroribus veterum, nec ullâ quantumvis clari scriptoris auctoritate absterreamus ab investigatione veri. Veterum libros legere nos oportet criticis oculis. Atqui critici est, fugere omnem προσωπολημψιαν. Heumann. Ep. Miscell. T. iii. p. 59, 60.

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CHAP. XXXVIII.

SIX WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN HISTORY.

I. *A general account of these authors.* II. *Passages of Spartian concerning Septimius Severus and Caracalla.* III. *Passages of Lampridius concerning Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus.* IV. *Passages of Flavius Vopiscus concerning Adrian and Aurelian.*

I. THERE[a] are six authors, called writers of the Augustan History, who have written the history, or rather the lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus. Their names are Ælius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus, who lived in the times of Dioclesian, Constantius Chlorus, and his son Constantine the Great. Some of these Lives are inscribed to Dioclesian, others to the fore-mentioned Constantius, others to Constantine; some are without an inscription, nor does it appear to whom they are addressed; nor is it absolutely certain to which author every life belongs; for those which are generally ascribed to Lampridius, are by some ascribed to Spartian. They all lived much about the same time, under Dioclesian and his successors, near the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. I place them all, as at a mean, in the year 306; but I bring them in here a little before the true order of their time, partly that we might not be interrupted in our accounts of Dioclesian's persecution; and partly, because the testimonies of these several authors relate to things near the beginning of the third century, or however some good while before the end of it.

Most of their passages concerning the christians have been already alleged in this work, under the several emperors of whom they write; nevertheless, I have a mind to take here a general review of them all together in this place, adding now one or two which have not yet been taken notice of.

II. Spartian, in his Life of Septimius Severus, addressed

[a] Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. ii. cap. 5, 6, 7. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. iii. cap. vi. T. i. p. 546, &c. et T. iii. p. 83, &c. Tillemont, Dioclesian, art. 26, et 27, H. E. T. iv. p. 98, &c.

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to the emperor Dioclesian, says of Severus: 'He[b] forbade 'under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. 'A like edict was published by him against the christians.'

Spartian intends the persecution of the christians begun in the tenth year of Severus, A. D. 202, mentioned by Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers, and of which we gave a distinct account some while[c] ago.

2. The same historian in the Life[d] of Antoninus Caracalla, son and successor of Severus, says of him: 'At[e] the 'age of seven years, when he heard that a boy his play-'fellow had been grievously beaten, because he was of the 'Jewish religion, he would not for a good while after so 'much as look upon his own father, nor the father of the 'boy, nor those who had beaten him.'

It is probable, that by the 'Jewish' is here intended the 'christian religion;' forasmuch as Tertullian,[f] who lived at that time, says, that Caracalla was nursed by a christian woman. Of this likewise we took notice[g] formerly.

III. Lampridius, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, [who succeeded Macrinus, and reigned from 218 to 222,] addressed to Dioclesian, says: 'He[h] erected a temple upon 'Mount Palatine, near the imperial palace, to the god Heli-'ogabalus, intending to bring into that temple the image 'of the mother of the gods, and the fire of Vesta, and the 'Palladium, and the shields of Mars, and every object of 'the veneration of the Romans, that no god might be wor-'shipped at Rome beside Heliogabalus. He said likewise, 'that the religion of the Jews and the Samaritans, and the 'devotion of the christians, must be transferred thither, that 'the priesthood of Heliogabalus might comprehend in it 'the mysteries of all religions.' This is the passage which I promised some while[i] ago.

[b] Judæos fieri sub gravi pœnâ vetuit. Idem etiam de christianis sanxit. Spartian. Sever. cap. 17. p. 618. quoted before in this volume, p. 313.

[c] See before, p. 309, &c. [d] It is not certainly known to whom that Life is addressed. [e] Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum, ob judaïcam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum, neque patrem pueri, vel auctores verberum diu respexit. Spartian. Carac. cap. i. [f] Ad. Scap. cap. 4. [g] See p. 309.

[h] Sed ubi primum ingressus est Urbem, omissis iis, quæ in provinciâ gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem, et Palladium, et Ancilia, et omnia Romanorum veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat præterea, Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret. Lamprid. Heliog. cap. iii. p. 796. [i] See before, p. 330.

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This[k] mad emperor, remarkable for the worst follies and vices, was a native of Emesa in Syria, where the sun was worshipped under the appellation of Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, to whom this emperor himself was[l] priest.

There is no need to make many remarks upon this story of Lampridius. It shows, however, that the christian religion, though mentioned last here as being of the latest original, was then well known in the world, and was so considerable, as not to be omitted in this emperor's design of uniting the devotions of all men in the worship of the god to whom he was priest.

They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the origin of the name Heliogabalus may consult divers learned men,[m] whose works are in every body's hands.'

2. The same writer, in his Life of Alexander Severus, successor of Heliogabalus, has several passages relating to the christians, which have been already transcribed with remarks; to which[n] therefore the reader is now referred.

IV. Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse is the sixth and last of the Augustan writers, but not the worst of them; for he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian, as any of them; as was observed[o] before.

I have already taken from him a large article in the chapter of the emperor Adrian,[p] to which the reader is referred. It is taken out of his Life of Saturninus,[q] who was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers at Alexandria in the time of Probus,[r] and after a short reign, or rebellion and tyranny, was put to death; and, as Eusebius[s] says, at Apamea.

[k] Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam, qui Varius etiam dictus est, nunquam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, et Nerones, et Vitellios, hoc idem habuisset imperium. Lamprid. ibid. cap. i. p. 790.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Antonini Caracallæ, ut putabatur, filius, et sacerdos, Eliogabali templi, adeo impudice in imperio suo vixit, ut nullum genus obscœnitatis omiserit. Euseb. Chron. p. 173.

[l] Fuit autem Heliogabalus vel Jovis vel Solis sacerdos, atque Antonini sibi nomen asciverat, &c. Lamprid. ibid. p. 793. [m] Joseph. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 231. Basnag. ann. p. 218. num. viii.

[n] See before, p. 331—333, &c. [o] See p. 385.

[p] See this vol. p. 94, &c. [q] Fl. Vopisc. Saturninus. cap. 7, 8.

[r] Et, ne longius progrediar, dicendum est quod præcipue ad hunc pertinet. Errare quosdam scio, et putare hunc esse Saturninum, qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit: quum hic longe alius fuerit, et Probo pene nolente sit occisus.——Obsessum denique in castro quodam ab iis, quos Probus miserat, invito Probo esse jugulatum. Id. ib. cap. xi. p. 734. [s] Saturninus, magister exercitûs, novam civitatem Antiochiæ exorsus est condere. Qui postea imperium molitus invadere Apamiæ occiditur. Euseb. Chron. p. 177. Conf. Scaligeri Animadv. p. 386.

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2. The same writer, in his Life of the emperor Aurelian,[t] speaks of a letter of his to the senate of Rome, written probably in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270 or 271, where the christians are mentioned; the passage was transcribed formerly[u] with remarks; to which therefore I now refer my readers.

CHAP. XXXIX.

TWO AUTHORS WHO WROTE AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IN THE TIME OF DIOCLESIAN'S PERSECUTION, ONE ANONYMOUS, THE OTHER SUPPOSED TO BE HIEROCLES.

WHERE ALSO OF APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS, AND THE TWO LIVES OF PYTHAGORAS, WRITTEN BY PORPHYRY AND JAMBLICHUS.

I. *An anonymous author against the christians.* II. *Hierocles, with a large account of his work from Lactantius and Eusebius.* III. *A great cruelty of Hierocles, in the time of Dioclesian's persecution, when he was præfect of Alexandria.* IV. *Remarks upon the accounts of his work, as given by Lactantius and Eusebius.* V. *That Apollonius was not so considerable as many learned men of late times have supposed.* VI. *A large account of the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus written by Philostratus, with remarks upon it, showing that it was not written with a design to oppose the miracles of our Saviour.* VII. *An account of the Lives of Pythagoras, written by Porphyry and Jamblichus, with remarks upon them, showing, that in those works there was not any intention to oppose the christian religion.* VIII. *Another work of Jamblichus, concerning the images of the gods.*

I. LACTANTIUS speaks of two professed adversaries of the christian religion, at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. 'I forbear,' says he,[a] 'to take notice of those

[t] Vopisc. Aurelian. cap. 20. p. 463, &c. [u] See before, p. 385, 386.

[a] Omitto eos, qui prioribus eam temporibus necquicquam lacesserunt. Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur; duo exstiterunt, qui jacenti atque abjectæ veritati, nescio utrum superbius an importunius, insultarent. Quorum alter antistitem se philosophiæ profitebatur. Verum ita vitiosus, ut continentiæ

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'who in former times in vain opposed our religion. When 'I taught rhetoric at Nicomedia, having been invited thither 'for that purpose, and at the same time the temple of God 'was demolished, there were two men who with great pride 'unseasonably insulted the injured truth; one of whom 'professed himself to be a master of philosophy, but was 'extremely vicious.——This man, who overthrew his dis-'courses by his manners, or condemned his manners by his 'discourses, and thus was a severe censor and bitter re-'prover of himself, at that very time when good men were 'unrighteously abused, published three books against our 'religion, and the christian name; professing likewise to 'act therein the part of a philosopher, in delivering men 'from their errors, and bringing them back to the way of 'truth, that is, to the worship of the gods, by whose power 'and providence, as he said, the world is governed; and 'not to suffer ignorant and unskilful men to be misled by

magister, non minus avaritiâ quam libidinibus arderet, in victu tam sumtuosus, ut in scholâ virtutis assertor, parsimoniæ, paupertatisque laudator, in palatio pejus cœnaret quam domi: tamen vitia sua capillis, et pallio, et (quod maximum est velamentum) divitiis prætegebat; quas ut augeret, ad amicitias judicum miro ambitu penetrabat.——Hic vero, qui suas disputationes moribus destruebat, vel mores suos disputationibus arguebat, ipse adversus se gravis censor, et accusator acerrimus, eodem ipso tempore, quo justus populus nefarie lacerabatur, tres libros evomuit contra religionem nomenque christianum. Professus ante omnia, philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire, atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultus deorum, quorum numine ac majestate, ut ille dicebat, mundus gubernetur: nec pati homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici; ne simplicitas eorum prædæ ac pabulo sit hominibus astutis. Itaque se suscepisse hoc munus philosophiâ dignum, ut præferret non videntibus lumen sapientiæ, non modo, ut susceptis deorum cultibus resenescant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstinatione depositâ, corporis cruciamenta devitent, nec sævas membrorum lacerationes frustra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratiâ opus illud elaborâsset, effusus est in principum laudes, quorum pietas et providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat) cum in cæteris rebus humanis, tum præcipue in defendendis deorum religionibus clarisset: consultum esse tandem rebus humanis, ut, cohibitâ impiâ et anili superstitione, universi homines legitimis sacris vacarent, ac propitios sibi deos experirentur. Ubi autem religionis ejus, contra quam perorabat, infamare voluit rationem, ineptus, varius ridiculus apparuit, quia gravis ille consultor utilitatis alienæ, non modo quid oppugnaret, sed etiam quid loqueretur, nesciebat. Nam si qui nostrorum affuerunt, quamvis temporum gratiâ conniverent, animo tamen derisere; utpote cum viderent hominem profitentem se illuminaturum alios, cum ipse cœcus esset, redacturum alios ab errore, cum ipse ignoraret ubi pedes suos poneret: eruditurum alios ad veritatem, cujus ille ne scintillam quidem unam vidisset aliquando; quippe cum sapientiæ professor profligare sapientiam niteretur. Omnes tamen id arguebant, quod illo potissimum tempore id opus esset aggressus, quo furebat odiosa crudelitas. O philosophum adulatorem ac tempori servientem! Verum hic suâ inanitate contemtus est; qui et gratiam, quam sperabat, non est adeptus, et gloria, quam captavit, in culpam, reprehensionemque conversa est. Lactant. Inst. l. v. cap. 2.

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'the frauds of others, and that their simplicity might no 'longer be the prey and food of cunning men. Therefore 'he had undertaken this office, well becoming a philoso-'pher, not only to hold out the light of wisdom to those 'who do not discern it, but also to persuade them, laying 'aside all perverse obstinacy, to avoid heavy sufferings, and 'not give up themselves to torments without reason. And 'that it might appear with what views this work of his was 'composed, he enlarged in the praises of the emperors, 'whose wisdom and piety, he said, were conspicuous, not 'only in the affairs of the state, but also, and chiefly, in 'upholding the religion of the gods; and had taken due 'care of the welfare of mankind, in restraining an impious 'and foolish superstition, that all men performing the legal 'rites might enjoy the favour and protection of the gods. 'But when he came to confute the religion against which 'he was arguing, he appeared very contemptible, not 'knowing what he opposed, nor what to say; so that our 'people in general, though upon account of the times they 'might think it best to say little, could not but despise him, 'and look upon him as a man who attempted to enlighten 'others when he was blind himself, and to bring others 'back from error when he was himself ignorant, and knew 'not where to set his feet, and to teach others the truth, of 'which he never had a glimpse himself. All thought it 'strange, that at this very time he should engage in such 'a work, when the most cruel measures were taken. Be-'hold then a flattering philosopher and a server of the 'times. However, this man was despised for his emptiness; 'nor did he obtain the favour he hoped for; and instead of 'the glory which he aimed at, he met with reproach and 'censure.'

Upon which I shall make only two or three remarks, and then proceed.

1. This writer is anonymous; nor do we know that he is mentioned by any one beside Lactantius in this place. Some have imagined that he is the same as Porphyry, but altogether without reason. Porphyry is older, and his character very different from that of the person here described; Porphyry was a man of virtue, and his work against the christians, so far from being contemptible, was perhaps the most formidable of all the arguments written against them by any of their ancient heathen adversaries.

And we may therefore hence infer, that many books were written against the christians in the first ages of which we now know nothing. They have been buried in oblivion;

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but they may have given the christians a good deal of trouble at the time when they were published.

2. Though we have not the work of this anonymous writer, we perceive what was in it. Lactantius, who was perfectly honest, as well as zealous for his religion, may be relied upon for having given a true and just account of the character of the author, and the design and contents of his work; and therefore I have judged it highly proper to transcribe him at length.

This author, by profession a philosopher, and a teacher of philosophy, represented christianity to be 'superstition, 'foolish,' and also 'impious, neglecting the deities,' by whom, as he said, the world was governed: 'contrary' likewise to the 'established laws,' and 'prejudicial to the 'interests of mankind,' as exposing men to the displeasure of the gods. To cure men therefore of this superstition, (no matter how,) was to recommend them to the favour and blessing of those deities. He was also a flatterer, and he expatiated in the praises of the emperor; but his arguments were very inconsiderable.

3. I must be allowed to transcribe here a paragraph of Mr. Bayle, who was a witness of the persecution of the Protestants in his own country in the time of Lewis the XIVth.

'The[b] preface of this philosopher,' says he, 'may enable 'us to discern the great conformity of pagan and christian 'persecutions. A self-interested and flattering author never 'fails to take up the pen against the persecuted party; it 'appears a fine opportunity to praise his prince; he lays 'hold of it, and enlarges upon the importance of the service 'done for God, and the charity of adding instruction to the 'authority of the laws; that enlightening the erroneous, 'they may be delivered from the pain to which their obsti-'nacy might expose them. The voluptuous philosopher of 'Nicomedia forgot none of these common-places. It may 'be said, that he was the original to many French authors, 'who wrote during the sufferings of the Protestants. It is 'easier to depart from the method of Dioclesian's persecu-'tion than from that of his panegyrists.'

II. Of the other writer Lactantius speaks after this manner: 'The[c] other,' says he, 'treated the same subject more

[b] See his Dictionary in Hierocles, note (C.)

[c] Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit; qui erat tum e numero judicum, et qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit; quo scelere non contentus etiam scriptis eos, quos afflixerat, insecutus est. Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra christianos, ne inimice insectari videretur, sed ad christianos, ut humane ac

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'accurately; he was then one of the judges, and a principal adviser of the persecution; and not contented with 'that piece of wickedness, he also pursued those with his 'writings whom he had brought into trouble. For he composed two books, not entitled, Against the Christians, lest 'he should seem to bear hard upon them, but 'To the 'Christians,' that he might be thought to advise them in a 'kind and friendly manner: in which books he endeavoured 'to show, that the sacred scriptures overthrow themselves 'by the contradictions with which they abound; he particularly insisted upon several texts as inconsistent with 'each other; and indeed on so many, and so distinctly, that 'one might suspect he had some time professed the religion 'which he now exposed. However, the sacred scriptures 'may have by some accident or other fallen into his hands; 'but the scriptures are as far from inconsistencies as he was 'from the truth.——But he chiefly reviled Paul and Peter, 'and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood; who 'nevertheless,' as he says, 'were ignorant and illiterate, 'and some of them got their livelihood by fishing; as if 'he was displeased, that some Aristophanes or Aristarchus 'had not handled the subject.'

'But it hence follows, that they were not cunning and 'designing men, being entirely unacquainted with the arts 'of deceit. And how should unlearned men, of their own 'heads, contrive a plausible story in every part, and 'throughout consistent, when the most learned philosophers, 'Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, have delivered inconsistencies and contradictions? For this is the nature of 'falsehood, that it cannot hold together; but the doctrine 'of Christ's disciples being true, it is all of a piece and 'consistent throughout; and therefore it satisfies and gains 'followers, because it is built upon solid reason. Nor did

benigne consulere putaretur. In quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria. Nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit; adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eâdem disciplinâ fuisse videatur——nisi forte casu in manus ejus divinæ literæ inciderunt.——Tantum enim abest a divinis literis repugnantia, quantum ille abfuit a veritate. Præcipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes et indoctos fuisse testatus est. Nam quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fecisse quæstum; quasi ægre ferret, quod illam rem non Aristophanes aliquis, aut Aristarchus commentatus sit. Ib. cap. 2.

Abfuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas, et astutia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quis possit indoctus apta inter se et cohærentia fingere; cum philosophi doctissimi, Plato, et Aristoteles, et Epicurus, et Zenon, ipsi sibi repugnantia et contraria dixerint. Hæc est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohærere non possint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota con-

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'they invent this religion for the sake of any worldly profit 'whatever; for the precepts of it give no encouragement to 'voluptuousness, and in their whole conduct they showed 'a contempt of those things which are most valued. Nor 'did they only lay down their lives for the truth, but knew 'beforehand that they should do so, and also foretold it; 'and plainly declared to all others who embraced the same 'doctrine, that they must expect the like sufferings. But 'he says, that Christ was banished by the Jews, and after 'that got together nine hundred men, and committed rob-'bery. Who can withstand such an authority? By all 'means let us believe him; for perhaps some Apollo told it 'him in his sleep. Many robbers have been executed in 'all times, and are executed daily. You have condemned 'a great many; but who of them after crucifixion has been 'esteemed as a god, or even as a man? But possibly you 'have the more easily believed this, because your people 'have deified the murderer Mars; which however you 'would not have done if he had been crucified by order of 'the court of Areopagus. Moreover,' as Lactantius goes on to say, 'this writer endeavours to overthrow Christ's 'miracles, though he does not deny the truth of them; he 'aims to show, that like things, or even greater, were done 'by Apollonius. It is somewhat strange that he omitted 'Apuleius, of whom many wonderful things are commonly 'said.——Christ, it seems, must be reckoned a magician, 'because he did many wonderful things; but Apollonius is 'more able, because, as you say, when Domitian would 'have put him to death, he escaped; whereas Christ was 'apprehended and crucified.'

sentit: et ideo persuadet, quia constanti ratione suffulta est. Non igitur quæstûs et commodi gratiâ religionem istam commenti sunt; quippe qui et præceptis, et re ipsâ, eam vitam secuti sunt, quæ et voluptatibus caret, et omnia quæ habentur in bonis spernit; et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam morituros esse se et scierint, et prædixerint; et postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti essent, acerba et nefanda passuros. Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit, a Judæis fugatum, collectâ nongentorum hominum manu, latrocinia fecisse. Quis tantæ auctoritati audeat repugnare? Credamus hoc plane. Nam fortasse hoc illi in somnis Apollo aliquis nuntiavit. Tot semper latrones perierunt, et quotidie pereunt: utique multos et ipse damnâsti. Quis eorum, post crucem suam, non dicam deus, sed homo appellatus est? Verum tu forsitan ex eo credidisti, quia vos homicidam Martem consecrâstis, ut deum: quod tamen non fecissetis, si illum Areopagitæ in crucem sustulissent. Item, cum facta ejus mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere Apollonium vel paria vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum, quod Apuleium prætermisit, cujus solent et multa et mira memorari———Si magus Christus, quia mirabilia fecit, peritior utique Apollonius, qui, ut describis, cum Domitianus eum punire vellet, repente in judicio non comparuit, quam ille, qui et comprehensus est, et cruci affixus. Ib. cap. 3.

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More follows concerning Apollonius, but I think I need not proceed any farther.

Lactantius has not told us the name of this writer; but from the author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, different[d] from Lactantius, but contemporary with him, we learn, that[e] he was Hierocles, at first vicar, afterwards president in Bithynia, of whom he expressly says, that he was a persecutor, and an adviser of the persecution.

Hierocles is also mentioned by[f] Epiphanius, as præfect at Alexandria in the time of Dioclesian's persecution.

Against his work Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote an answer, still extant, of which I shall now give an account; by which it will farther appear, that Lactantius and Eusebius speak of the same author, and the same work.

Eusebius at the beginning tells his friend, to whom he addresseth himself, 'that[g] Hierocles had made a comparison 'of our Saviour and Master with Apollonius of Tyana, 'giving the preference to the latter. To this part he in-'tended to confine himself; for, says he, as for the rest of 'his work, which he calls Philalethes, or Lover of Truth, I 'do not think it needful to take much notice of it; it not 'being his own, but shamefully borrowed from others, and 'had been already fully answered by Origen in his answer 'to the work of Celsus, called "The true Word."'

'Referring therefore,' says Eusebius, 'to that work of 'Origen, such as are desirous to inform themselves more 'particularly of our religion, we shall at this time examine 'the comparison made of Jesus Christ and Apollonius by 'this Philalethes.'

'He[h] admires, then, and extols this man, as if by some

[d] That he is different from Lactantius, I argued largely some while ago; Vol. ii. p. 295—300. At the end of that argument are mentioned several learned men, who have been of the same opinion. To them ought to be added Dr. Chapman, in his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, p. 125.

[e] Nam cum incidisses in Flaccinum Præfectum, non pusillum homicidam, deinde in Hieroclem ex Vicario Præsidem, qui auctor et consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit, postremo in Priscillianum successorem ejus, documentum omnibus invictæ fortitudinis præbuisti. De Mortib. Persecut. cap. 16.

[f] Κελημανος μεν ην επαρχος της Θηβαϊδος, Αλεξανδρειας δε Ἱεροκλης. Epiph. H. 68. num. 1.

[g] Αρ' ον, ω φιλοτης, κἀκεινα σε τυ συγγραφεως αξιον αποθαυμαζειν, ἁ τῳ ἡμετερῳ Σωτηρι τε και διδασκαλῳ τον Τυανεα ξυγκρινων, παρεδοξολογει. Προς μεν γαρ τα λοιπα των εν τῳ Φιλαληθει ——υδεν αν ειη σπυδαιον επι το παροντος ἱστασθαι, μη αυτυ ιδια τυγχανοντα· σφοδρα δε εναιδως εξ ἑτερων υκ αυτοις μονονυχι νοημασιν, αλλα και ῥημασιν και συλλαβαις προσισυλημενα, κ. λ. Euseb. Contr. Hier. p. 511. ad Calc. Dem. Evang.

[h] Θαυμαζει υν και αποδεχεται θειᾳ τινι και ἀῤῥητῳ σοφιᾳ υχι δε γοητειαις σοφισμασι τεθαυματυργηκεναι φασκων αυτον—Ακυε δ' υν ἁ φησιν αυταις συλλα-

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'divine and hidden wisdom, and not by magical arts, he had 'performed great wonders, saying in these very words: '"They are continually crying up Jesus for opening the 'eyes of the blind, and other like works." And presently 'after he adds: "But it ought to be considered upon how 'much better grounds we receive such things, and how much 'more reasonably we judge of divers excellent men." After 'which, passing over Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Pytha-'goras, and other ancients, he goes on. "In the time of 'our ancestors, in the reign of Nero, flourished Apollonius 'of Tyana, who,[i] having when very young sacrificed at 'Ægis in Cilicia to that good god Æsculapius, wrought 'many and wonderful works: some of which I shall men-'tion, omitting others." Then he recites his extraordinary 'works from the beginning.' [It were to be wished that Eusebius had not abridged as he does here: it would certainly have been a great curiosity to have had that passage at length, to see what works Hierocles ascribed to Apollonius.] 'And afterwards says, in these very words: "To 'what purpose have I mentioned these things? That all 'may perceive our just and reasonable judgment, and the 'levity of the christians: forasmuch as we do not esteem 'him who did these things a god, but a man favoured by 'the gods:"' [as if the heathen people were very scrupulous of giving the title of deity to none but such as well deserved it, when they had such a rabble of paltry deities, young and old, males and females, good and bad. Moreover, if Philostratus may be relied upon, Apollonius himself was called a god by many, and in his life-time: and he accepted the title, saying, that every good man is honoured

βαις. Ανω δε και κατω θρυλλουσι, σεμνυνοντες τον Ιησουν, ὡς τυφλοις αναβλεψαι τε παρασχοντα, και τινα τοιαυτα δρασαντα θαυμασια. Ειτα τινα μεταξυ ειπων, επιλεγει. Σκεψωμεθα γε μην ὁσῳ βελτιον και συνετωτερον ἡμεις εκδεχωμεθα τα τοιαυτα, και ἡν περι των εναρετων εχομεν γνωμην ανδρων. Ib. p. 512. B. C.

[i] Ὁς——αφ' οὑπερ——ἱερασατο τῳ φιλανθρωπῳ Ακληπιῳ, πολλα και θαυμαστα διεπραξατο· ὧν τα πλειω παρεις, ἡμιν ποιησομαι μνημην. Ειτα καταλεγει απο πρωτου αρξαμενος τα παραδοξα. Μεθ' ἁ και επιλεγει ταυτα κατα λεξιν. Τινος ων ἑνεκα τουτων εμνησθην; Ἱνα εξῃ συγκρινειν την ἡμετεραν ακριβη και βεβαιαν εφ' ἑκαστῳ κρισιν, και την των χριστιανων κηφοτητα· ειπερ ἡμεις μεν τον τοιαυτα πεποιηκοτα, ω θεον, αλλα θεοις κεχαρισμενον ανδρα ἡγουμεθα, οἱ δε δι' ολιγας τερατειας τινας τον Ιησουν θεον αναγορευουσι. Τουτῳ επιφερει μεθ' ἑτερα φασκων· κἀκεινο λογισασθαι αξιον, ὁτι τα μεν του Ιησου Πετρος και Παυλος, και τινες τουτων παραπλησιοι, κεκομπασιν, ανθρωποι ψευσται, και απαιδευτοι, και γοητες. Τα δε Απολλωνιου Μαξιμος ὁ Αιγευς, και Δαμις ὁ φιλοσοφος, ὁ συνδιατριψας αυτῳ, και Φιλοστρατος ὁ Αθηναιος, παιδευσεως μεν επι πλειστοις ηκοντες, το δ' αληθες τιμωντες, δια φιλανθρωπιαν, ανδρος γενναιου, και θεοις φιλου πραξεις μη βουλομενοι λαθειν. Ταυτα ῥημασιν αυτοις Ἱεροκλεις τῳ καθ' ἡμων επιγεγραφοτι φιλαληθη λογον, ειρηται. Euseb. ib. p. 512, 513.

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with it. Παλιν ηρετο, τε χαριν οἱ ανθρωποι Θεον σε ονομαζουσιν· Ὁτι πασ, ειπεν, ανθρωποι, αγαθοι νομιζομενοι, Θεοι επωνυμια τιμαται. Apoll. Vit. l. viii. cap. 5. p. 325. in.] "Whereas they for the sake of a few tricks call Jesus God." [The works of Jesus were not a few, but numerous, great, truly wonderful, and conspicuous beyond all contradiction.] '"It is 'also reasonable to think, that the actions of Jesus have been 'magnified by Peter and Paul, and others like them, ignorant men, liars and impostors. But the things of Apollonius 'have been written by Maximus of Ægis, and Damis a philosopher, who conversed with him, and Philostratus the 'Athenian, men of great learning: and being lovers of truth, 'and friends to mankind, they were unwilling that the actions 'of so great a man, dear to the gods, should lie hid." So 'writes Hierocles in his work againt us, entitled by him 'Philalethes. The case is this: Damis, who was very conversant with Apollonius, was a native of Assyria: there 'he became acquainted with Apollonius, upon his travelling 'into that country, and afterwards wrote the history of what 'happened after his acquaintance with him. The history of 'Maximus is very short and imperfect: but Philostratus of 'Athens having met with these and some other histories of 'Apollonius, as he says, composed a history of his life from 'his birth to his death.'

That Eusebius there gives a true account of the work of Philostratus, may be perceived by any who[k] will look into the introduction to it: and yet he omits one particular in that introduction, which may be justly reckoned to render the truth of Philostratus's history suspected. For having mentioned Maximus and Damis, as observed by Eusebius, he adds: 'For[l] there is no regard to be had to Mœragenes, 'who wrote four books concerning Apollonius, but was 'unacquainted with many things concerning him.' Which may induce us to conclude, that in those books were some things not very much to the honour of Apollonius: and Philostratus does himself afterwards quote[m] Mœragenes for an account of the writings of Apollonius. Therefore Philostratus, as it seems, put together what he thought to be to the advantage of his hero, and omitted other things.

'However, omitting other things,' says Eusebius, 'we 'shall confine ourselves to the history written by Philos-'tratus, by which we shall clearly show, that Apollonius

[k] Philost. de Vit. Apol. l. 1. c. 3.

[l] Ου γαρ Μοιραγενει τε προσεκτεον, βιβλια μεν ξυντιθεντι εις Απολλωνιον τεσσαρα, πολλα δε περι τον ανδρα αγνοησαντι. Ibid.

[m] Vid. ib. l. iii. cap. 41.

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'was far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour 'Jesus Christ, as is pretended by the author of Philalethes.' Whereupon he proceeds to examine the Life of Apollonius, written by Philostratus, in eight books, upon each of which he makes remarks.

And though this answer of Eusebius to Hierocles is short, I suppose it was sufficient, and such as was suited to the circumstances of things at that time. The greatest part of the objections in this work of Hierocles were trifling and stale, and such as had been already answered by Origen, and other learned apologists, and which all christians in general were able to confute. All [n] that was new in Hierocles was a comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius: this had never been attempted by any before: to that therefore Eusebius confined himself, as before said.

III. Eusebius has recorded a great cruelty of this Hierocles, when præfect of Alexandria, though he has not expressly named him. It is in his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, where he writes of the sufferings of christians in that country. But having in the fourth chapter of that book related the grievous sufferings of Apphianus at Cæsarea, a young man about twenty years of age, of a good family and a liberal education, he is led in the following chapter to relate the martyrdom of Ædesius at Alexandria, though it did not happen till some while afterwards. 'For '[o] Ædesius was brother of Apphianus, not only in a religious 'sense, but also by nature, as he had the same father: and 'he had made greater progress in learning than his brother. 'He also led a philosophical life, and wore their cloak. He 'being at Alexandria, and beholding the judge insulting 'the christians, who were brought before him in the most 'opprobrious manner, though they were men of great gra-'vity; and also delivering women, some of which were 'devoted to virginity, into the hands of bawds, to be abused 'by them, he was exceedingly provoked, and [p] going up to 'the judge, reproved him in word and deed: for which he 'was condemned to the severest torments, and then thrown 'into the sea.'

It is supposed, that [q] Ædesius struck the judge; for which

[n] *Μονα δε εικοτως νυνι τα περι Απολλωνιον εποψομεθα επει και μονῳ περι τως πωποτε καθ' ἡμων γεγραφοτας, εξαιρετος νυν τυτῳ γεγονεν ἡ τωδε προς τον ἡμετερον Σωτηρα παραθεσις τε, και συγκρισις.* Euseb. ibid. p. 512. A.

[o] De Mart. Palæst. cap. v. p. 326. A.

[p] —*λογοις τε και εργοις τον δικαστην αισχυνῃ και ατιμιᾳ περιβαλων*—De Mart. Pal. cap. v. p. 326. B.

[q] Hujus loci explicatio ex Menæo Græcorum petenda est: in quo Ædesius Hieroclem, præfectum Ægypti, in christianos sævientem, pugno dicitur percussisse, &c. Vales. in loc.

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he has been censured by some; but I think it must be acknowledged, that the provocation was very great. And when a magistrate departs from his dignity, and reviles prisoners at his bar, and condemns virtuous and modest women to the stews for prostitution, and thus acts contrary to all the laws of decency and good manners, as well as of strict justice, he forfeits the respect that would be otherwise due to him.

For certain these are strange things in a man of letters, as Hierocles was; whose[r] learning is readily acknowledged by Eusebius in his confutation of him. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that a man of an honourable family, and a liberal education, as Ædesius was, should think he had a right to expose a magistrate whose proceedings were so extraordinary.

There was another of this name, a Platonic philosopher, who taught at Alexandria in the fifth century, and wrote of Providence and Fate, and likewise a Commentary upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, as they are called. These two were confounded by many learned men for some time. But that[s] mistake has been since corrected, and it is now universally allowed, that Hierocles governor of Bithynia and præfect of Alexandria, who wrote against the christians, and was answered by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Hierocles the Platonic philosopher of Alexandria, were two different persons.

IV. It is now high time that we should make remarks upon the accounts of the work of Hierocles, which we have seen in Lactantius and Eusebius.

1. Hierocles had read the scriptures of the New Testament, if not of the Old likewise. He observed particularly upon a great many passages of the books of the New Testament, endeavouring to show them inconsistent with each other. This shows that those books were now well known, and that they were greatly respected by christians. If, therefore, the credit of these books was overthrown, the christian religion must fall with it. In[t] the imperial edict for Dioclesian's persecution in 303, it was expressly ordered, not only that the christian churches should be demolished, but also that their scriptures should be burned: and this was the first time that any such order was published by any of the heathen persecuting emperors. And it is a proof, as was before observed, that the heathen people were

[r] —παιδευσεως μεν επι πλειστον ηκοντος. Contr. Hierocl. p. 314. B.

[s] Vid. Bayle, Diction. in Hierocles, and Needham Præf. in Hieroclem, sub fin.

[t] See vol. iii. p. 549—552.

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then sensible of the importance of those scriptures, which the christians made use of as the ground of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the great support of their steadiness and zeal.

2. Hierocles bears testimony to the existence of the several parts of the New Testament, the gospels and the epistles: for, as Lactantius says, 'he reviled Peter and 'Paul, and the other disciples; who, as he says, were igno-'rant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood 'by fishing.' And, as quoted from Eusebius, he says: 'It 'is also reasonable to think, that the works of Jesus have 'been magnified by Peter and Paul, and the others like 'them, ignorant men, liars and impostors.' By 'the other 'disciples, and the others, like Peter and Paul,' plainly meaning our evangelists: as we also learn from Eusebius, who says: 'He[u] gives the preference to Philostratus above 'our divine evangelists, not only upon account of his supe-'rior learning, but likewise upon account of his superior 'regard to truth.'

Here is a testimony to the genuineness of the scriptures now received by us; here are references to six at least of the eight writers of the books of the New Testament; Peter and Paul are expressly named; and there are references to the gospels of the four evangelists. The books now received by us therefore are the same which were received by the christians of that time; and were received by them from their ancestors, and were respected by them as genuine and authentic.

3. Hierocles did not dispute the genuineness or antiquity of the writings of our apostles and evangelists; but he endeavoured to disparage them, calling them 'illiterate, 'liars and impostors.' This last charge is manifestly false, their writings having in them all the marks of truth and credibility that can be wished for or desired. But some of the writers, as we own, were 'unlearned;' but Paul was learned both in Jewish and Greek learning, and knew the world; nor was Luke altogether illiterate. Barnabas, who joined the apostles soon after our Saviour's resurrection, was a Levite, and a man of good understanding, and very remarkable for his generosity. Jesus, in the time of his abode on this earth, notwithstanding the meanness of his outward circumstances, had some affectionate and respectful friends and followers of great distinction, attracted solely

[u] —*των ἡμετερων θειων ευαγγελιστων προκρινων τον Φιλοστρατον, ὡς μη μονον παιδειας επι πλειστον ἡκοντα, αλλα και αληθειας επιμελημενον.* Adv Hier. l. iii. p. 523. B.

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by the excellence of his words, the greatness of his works, and the amiableness of his conduct. Such were Jairus, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea: And "among the rulers many believed on him, but because of the pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue," John xii. 42. And there were men of lower rank, of very good understanding, who were open and undaunted in their profession, notwithstanding discouragements. See John v. 1—16. and ixth throughout. And among women, "Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and divers others:" one of whom was Mary of Magdala, usually mentioned in precedence before all the rest, Luke viii. 1—3. And soon after our Lord's resurrection, there were great accessions made to him and his apostles of persons of all characters, too many to be here enumerated. These are things that must assure us of the truth of the history of Jesus, as written by his apostles and evangelists; things which cannot be said of Apollonius, or any other.

4. Hierocles did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles, such as "giving sight to the blind," and other like works recorded by the just-mentioned writers: but he endeavoured to disparage and depreciate them by ascribing them to magical arts; which is altogether unreasonable, because the works are such as could be done by the power of God only, to which they are always ascribed by the historians. He likewise insinuated, that there might be reason to suspect, that the evangelists had magnified our Saviour's works beyond the truth and reality. Which insinuation is also unreasonable: forasmuch as the historians of the Lord Jesus have not particularly recorded all the great works done by him, but have quite omitted very many, and contented themselves with a general mention or reference to others.

There is another great advantage which the historians of the Lord Jesus have over Philostratus, on whom Hierocles relied for the accounts of Apollonius, that they were all contemporary with Jesus, and most of them his hearers and eye-witnesses: whereas Philostratus did not write till more than an hundred years after the death of Apollonius: but of that more hereafter.

5. By Lactantius we are told, that this writer, meaning Hierocles, gave out, that Jesus had been expelled from Judea, and after that committed robbery, accompanied by a band of nine hundred men. If this be true, (nor is there any reason to doubt it,) it shows, that heathen people at

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that time made no scruple of inventing lies to the disparagement of our Saviour: and though those stories were quite groundless and very improbable, they might be regarded by many ignorant and prejudiced people, who had never read the scriptures, and had heard that about our Saviour's time, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many robbers in Judea.

6. Beside other just observations in Lactantius, one is this, that the respect shown to Jesus by vast numbers of men, though he was crucified, is a demonstration, that he was not a man of a bad character. Robbers, and other malefactors, who suffer for their crimes, are never deified, nor much respected after their death.

7. We are assured both by Lactantius and Eusebius, that there was in Hierocles a comparison made of our Saviour and Apollonius, with a preference of this latter: and by Eusebius we are expressly assured, that Hierocles was the first who had formed such a comparison. This ought to be particularly attended to by us, and will engage us in some farther observations, which shall be reserved for another section, that I may not too much prolong this.

V. Says Cudworth,[v] in his Intellectual System: 'It is a 'thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that Apol-'lonius Tyanæus, shortly after the publication of the gospel 'to the world, was a person made choice of by the policy, 'and assisted by the powers of the kingdom of darkness, for 'the doing some things extraordinary, merely out of design 'to derogate from the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 'and to enable paganism the better to bear up against the 'attacks of christianity.'

So Cudworth: and I suppose that many learned men of late times may have expressed themselves in a like manner; but I cannot assent to them. With due submission, I do not think, that Apollonius was a man of so great importance as is here supposed: for it does not appear, that any adversaries of the christians, either Celsus or Porphyry, or any other, before Hierocles, at the beginning of the fourth century, under Dioclesian's persecution, ever took any notice of him in any of their arguments. Nor do I know, that he has been once mentioned by any christian writers of the first two centuries.

When I first met with the observation of Cudworth I was very much surprised, considering the silence of all early antiquity. If this observation were right, I should have expected to find frequent mention of Apollonius in the history

[v] B. i. ch. iv. p. 265, 266. ed. 1678.

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of St. John, and the other apostles of Christ; but there is none. We had in that space of time divers learned men, some of them as eminent for extensive literature as any men that ever lived: as Justin, Tatian, Bardesanes the Syrian, Clement of Alexandria, Ireuæus, Julius, Africanus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix: not to insist upon Clement of Rome, Ignatius, or Polycarp, or the histories of them. Of all these we have some remains: they lived in the first two centuries, or at the beginning of the third; but of Apollonius they have not taken any the least notice.

The first christian writer who has mentioned him, so far as I can recollect, is Origen, in his books against Celsus, written not long before the middle of the third century. Where he says: 'He[w] who would know whether magic 'has any power over philosophers, may read the memoirs 'of Mœragenes, concerning Apollonius of Tyana, both[x] a 'magician and a philosopher. In which Mœragenes, who 'was not a christian, but a philosopher, says, that some, 'and no inconsiderable philosophers, were taken by the 'magical art of Apollonius, and came to him as to a magi-'cian. [γοητι.] Among them, I suppose, he means Eu-'phrates, and a certain Epicurean. But we can affirm 'upon the ground of our own experience, that they who 'worship the God over all through Jesus Christ, and live 'according to the gospel, and pray as they ought to do day 'and night, have no reason to fear any thing from magic or 'dæmons.' So Origen is led to speak in answer to some things in Celsus: but it does not appear that Celsus had at all mentioned either Apollonius, or his historian.

Apollonius is mentioned by Lucian,[y] but what he says of him is far from being to his advantage. He is also mentioned by Apuleius,[z] who was contemporary with Lucian: nor[a] is there any older author now extant where he is mentioned; which must be reckoned an argument of his great obscurity, till he was set up by Philostratus.

After that time Apollonius is taken notice of by many; as Arnobius,[b] and Lactantius, and Eusebius, who were led to observe upon Hierocles, whose whole book against the christians was founded upon the memoirs of Philostratus. He is afterwards mentioned by Augustine, and other chris-

[w] Contr. Cels. l. vi. sect. 41. p. 302. [x] —μαγυ και φιλοσοφυ. Ibid.

[y] Lucian. Pseudem. p. 750. T. i. Gr. Vid. et ejusd. Demonax. p. 866.

[z] Vid. Apud. Apol. p. 544. in Usum Delph. Et conf. Olearii Præf. in Philostr. p. 33. [a] Ante Lucianum vix reperies, qui ejus meminerit. Eruditiss. certe Philostrati enarrator Lucianum cum Apuleio coætaneo primos facit. Præf. p. 33. Solon. Annot. ad Lucian. Pseud. p. 213. T. ii. Amst. 1743. [b] Arnob. l. i. p. 31.

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tian writers; and he is mentioned several times by the writers[c] of the Augustan History, who flourished in the time of Dioclesian, or soon afterwards, and by Dion Cassius,[d] and by Eunapius,[e] who commends the history of Philostratus, but says, that instead of entitling it the 'Life of Apollonius,' he might have called it the 'Peregrination of a God among Men.'

I must stay here to add, that we have a kind of positive evidence, that Celsus took no notice of Apollonius, though he did speak of several others of a like character. 'There' 'were miracles wrought every where, or however in many 'places, says Origen. Celsus himself presently afterwards 'instanceth in Æsculapius, who performed cures, and de-'livered out oracles in all cities consecrated to him, Epi-'daurus, Coüs, Pergamus: and Aristæus of Proconnesus, 'and Clazomenius and Cleomedes. But among the Jews, 'who esteemed themselves consecrated to the God of the 'universe, there was, it seems, no miracle, no prodigy, to 'establish their faith in the Creator of all things.' For certain, Apollonius was not mentioned by Celsus here: probably therefore he was not brought in by him any where.

The silence of Celsus about Apollonius must be reckoned good proof, that in the middle of the second century Apollonius was not a man of much consideration among the heathen people.

VI. Since therefore Apollonius is very much, if not entirely, indebted to the memoirs of Philostratus, for his great reputation in the world, it is very fit that we should consider that work distinctly.

I propose then to consider these several things.

1. The time and occasion of writing it. 2. Its veracity, or credibility. 3. Its importance.

1. The time and occasion of it.

It[g] was composed about the year of Christ 210, at the desire of the empress Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. Says Philostratus himself, in the third chapter of his first book: 'There was one Damis, a man not unskilful in phi-'losophy, a native of the ancient Nineveh. He was much 'conversant with Apollonius, and attended him in his

[c] Vid. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. cap. 29. p. 930. Vopisc. de Aurelian. cap. 24. p. 475.

[d] Dion. in Domitian. l. 6. p. 1116. Reimar. Et in Caracallâ, l. 77. p. 1304.

[e] Αλλα το μεν ες τουτον ὁ Δημνιος· επιτελεσι Φιλοστρατος, βιον επιγραψας Απολλωνιου τα βιβλια, δεον επιδημιαν ες ανθρωπους θειν καλειν. Eunap. Pr. p. 11.

[f] Contr. Cels. l. iii. num. 3. p. 113. Et conf. num. 26. p. 125.

[g] See Tillemont, L'Emp. Sever. art. 37. and Apollone de Tyanes, &c. Hist. des Emp. Tom. ii. P. i. p. 200, &c. Brux.

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'travels, and wrote down his sentiments, and sayings, and 'divinations. A friend of Damis brought his memoirs, 'hitherto unknown, to the empress Julia. She was herself 'a friend to literature; and as I was in her family, she com- 'manded me to digest these materials into proper order. I 'also met with the book of Maximus of Ægis, which con- 'tained an account of what happened to Apollonius at 'Ægis. There is also extant the last will and testament of 'Apollonius, whence it may be learned, that he philoso- 'phized under a divine impulse. Mœragenes composed 'four books concerning Apollonius; but no regard is to be 'had to him, forasmuch as he was ignorant of many things 'relating to him. Thus I have shown whence these col- 'lections were made, and how I have digested them: and I 'cannot but wish, that this work of mine may be honoura- 'ble to him of whom I write, and useful to such as are lovers 'of good letters: for, certainly, they may hence learn things 'which they knew not before.'

That may suffice for showing the time and occasion of this work of Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius.

2. Hence we may be able to judge of the truth or credibility of what is here related. It[h] must be all uncertain, and deserving of very little credit. Philostratus's principal author Damis, is an obscure person; his memoirs were unknown till brought to the empress Julia; his friend who is said to have brought them to her is not named. Though

[h] Quicquid igitur de iis fertur, id deploratæ hujus hominis fidei innititur: Hæc vero sunt, quæ de illis habet. Damidis quendam familiarem in lucem eos primum protraxisse, ac Juliæ Augustæ obtulisse. Hanc, cum artis dicendi studiosa esset, sibi id laboris imperâsse, ut, quæ agresti et inconditâ oratione Damis prodiderat, expoliret, et meliori ordine digereret. Fecisse id opere, quod de Vitâ Apollonii hodie adhuc tenemus. Ex his statim intelligitur, cum ante Severi tempora volumen hoc nulli visum fuerit, nullam etiam Apollonio parere existimationem potuisse. Deinceps vero actum esse de omni ejus auctoritate ex hac ipsâ narratione constat. Quis Damidem illud consignâsse auctor est? Obscurus quidam homo, cujus nomen nescit, tacet Philostratus, qui Damidi tamen sese familiarem gloriabatur. Quis præter hunc? Nullus plane.—Sed quis rustico labori exornando præficitur? Philostratus, rhetor, ex eorum nimirum ordine, quibus omnia fucata et simulata erant. Egregie sane! Moshem. Diss. de existimatione Apollonii Tyanæi, sect. ix. apud ejusdem Commentationes et Orationes varii Argumenti, Hamburg. 1751. 8vo.

Alius certe dixerit, quis qualisve, ater an albus fuerit [Apollonius]. Mihi, omnibus solicite ponderatis, collatisque pro quâvis sententiâ argumentis, id unum perspicuum esse fateor, talem, quem Philostratus fingit, non fuisse. Id. ib. sect. 1.

Si Mœraginis de vitâ ejus narratio extaret, quanti apud multos vivus fuisset habitus, curatius enarrari posset. Periit ea, quam Origenes suo adhuc tempore legit, eorum sine dubio, qui famæ hominis consultum cupiebant, studio—Unicus igitur nobis hodie Philostratus restat, ex quo quæ ad vitam ejus pertinent, haurienda sunt. Id. ib. sect. 2.

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Mœragenes had published four books concerning Apollonius, Philostratus determined to pay no regard to them; very probably, because they were not favourable to his hero: and he concludes with saying, 'That the curious may hence 'learn what they knew nothing of before.' But how can things be received, which were not known till more than an hundred years after the death of the person spoken of.

That Philostratus's history is not written with impartiality, and that he forbore to insert things not favourable to Apollonius, is manifest upon divers occasions. According to Philostratus, Vespasian met with Apollonius, Euphrates, and other philosophers, at Alexandria, in his way to Rome, after he had been proclaimed emperor. At[i] his desire Apollonius gave him good advice for the right management of himself in his high station. Vespasian then asked the advice of Euphrates also: 'Who declared his assent to what 'had been already said by Apollonius. Nevertheless,'[k] says he, 'O emperor, I may add this: Approve and cherish 'the philosophy which is agreeable to nature; and avoid 'that which boasts of commerce with the deity.' Which, as Philostratus says, was designed against Apollonius, and was the result of envy.

When Vespasian was gone from Egypt, Apollonius and Euphrates quarrelled more openly. 'But,' says Philostra-'tus,[l] I must dismiss that affair; it is not my design to 'blame Euphrates, but to write the life of Apollonius, for 'the sake of those who are as yet unacquainted with it.'

Euphrates is several times mentioned by Philostratus: but it has been observed by learned men, that Euphrates has a good character from the younger Pliny,[m] and from Epictetus,[n] who have never mentioned Apollonius, and from Eunapius.[o] Eusebius[p] has made good remarks upon the differences between Apollonius and Euphrates, and fails not to observe, that Euphrates was in his time a very celebrated philosopher, and was still in great esteem.

3. From what has been already said, we may be able to judge of the importance of this work. A history that is false or uncertain, and not to be depended upon, cannot be of much value. Nevertheless, we must bestow some observations upon this point, out of deference to the opinions of some learned moderns.

[i] De Vit. Apol. l. v. cap. 36.

[k] ——φιλοσοφιαν δε, ω βασιλευ (τυτο γαρ λοιπον προσειρησεται) την μεν κατα φυσιν επαινει και ασπαζυ· την δε θεοκλυτειν φασκυσαν παραιτυ, κ. λ. Cap. 37.

[l] Cap. 39.

[m] Plin. Ep. l. i. x.

[n] Arian. Epict. l. iv. c. 8.

[o] De Vit. Sophist. in Pr.

[p] Contr. Hierocl. p. 532, 533.

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Dr. Cudworth, as before cited, goes on at p. 268: 'For 'among the many writers of this philosopher's life, some, and 'particularly Philostratus, seem to have had no other aim in 'their undertaking, than only to dress up Apollonius in such 'a garb and manner, as might make him best seem to be a 'fit corrival with our Saviour Jesus Christ, both in respect 'of sanctity and miracles.———And it is well known that 'Hierocles, to whom Eusebius gives the character of a very 'learned man, wrote a book against the christians, the chief 'design of which was to compare this Apollonius Tyanæus 'with, and to prefer him before, our Saviour: and that this 'was the use commonly made by the pagans of this history 'of Philostratus, appears sundry ways. Marcellinus, in an 'epistle of his to St. Augustine, declares this as the grand 'objection of the pagans against christianity, and therefore 'he desires St. Augustine to answer the same: Nihil [q] aliud 'Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, fecisse men-'tiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et Apuleium, 'aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quo-'rum majora contendunt extitisse miracula.' So Cudworth, and in like manner many other learned men.

But whereas Cudworth supposeth, that 'among the many 'writers of this philosopher's life, some,' beside Philostratus, 'wrote with that view;' it is said without ground. There were not many writers of this man's life; nor are any of them come down to us: Hierocles, in his comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius, made use of Philostratus only.

The question is, whether Philostratus designed to set up Apollonius as a 'corrival with our Saviour:' it has been the opinion of Cudworth, and of divers [r] other learned men of late times: nevertheless I do not think that to be clear. My late learned friend Mr. Michael de la Roche used to say, 'that Philostratus said nothing more in the Life of 'Apollonius, than he would have said if there had been no 'christians in the world.' Whether he any where published this his opinion in any of his Literary Memoirs I cannot say: [s] but I had this thought from him in our correspond-

[q] Ap. Augustin. ep. 136. [al. iv.] Tom. ii. edit. Bened.

[r] Multis de putidis fabellis non agemus. Sed satis liquet, hic esse historiæ Christi pravam imitationem. Cleric. H. E. An. 92. num. iv.

Videtur nobis quoque, ut viris doctissimis visum est, fabula hæc esse a Philostrato centum post annis, eâ de causâ conscripta, ut haberent Ethnici, quem Jesu Christo, cujus doctrinam et discipulos invalescere in dies, non sine invidiâ, videbant, opponerent. Cleric. ib. Ann. 85. n. i. et ii.

[s] Since writing what is above, (and indeed a good while since,) I have accidentally observed this paragraph in Mr. La Roche's New Memoirs of Literature,

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ence together. At first it appeared strange to me; but upon farther consideration, and upon reading Philostratus again, I have embraced the same opinion, and am now confirmed in it. Hierocles made use of the work of Philostratus in forming his comparison of Christ and Apollonius; and many heathen people afterwards were willing enough to set up Apollonius against our Saviour: but it does not clearly appear that Philostratus had any such thing in view.

Huet specifies several ends and views which Philostratus might have in composing that work. He[t] allows, 'that it 'has no foundation in truth: his chief design in writing 'was to please Julia and Caracalla. Julia was a lady of a 'philosophical temper of mind; she was desirous to know the 'history of the ancient philosophers, and particularly of 'Apollonius; and for that end she furnished Philostratus 'with the memoirs of Damis. In pursuit of this design he 'also gratified his own vanity, and laid hold of every op-'portunity for showing his learning, making digressions con-'cerning a great variety of subjects not at all appertaining 'to the history of Apollonius. He also aimed,' Huet says, and thinks that to have been his principal design, 'to obstruct 'the progress of the christian religion, by drawing the cha-'racter of a man of great knowledge, sanctity, and miracu-'lous power. Therefore he formed Apollonius after the ex-

Vol. i. art. xiii. p. 99. 'It is commonly believed, that Philostratus wrote the 'Life of Apollonius, to draw up a parallel between his miracles and those of 'Jesus Christ. I read that author long ago, that I might be able to judge 'whether that opinion was well grounded. But, after reading of Philostratus, 'I was fully persuaded, that he never designed to draw up such a parallel. 'It is no difficult thing to prove it, and to show what gave occasion to the 'mistake just now mentioned.' That is the whole of what he says.

[t] Nullis ergo ac solidis incumbit fundamentis tota hæc Philostrati moles, sed caduca, et in ruinam prona est: cujus ad speciem exstruendæ causam hanc habuit præcipuam, ut Juliæ et Caracallæ gratificaretur.—Juliam vero philosophiæ deditam fuisse memorant idem Dio et Philostratus, sophistarumque, rhetorum ac geometrarum choro plerumque stipata erat.—Quamobrem et de priscorum philosophorum moribus ac studiis edoceri se volebat, atque hanc Apollonii potissimum historiam a Philostrato tradi literis optavit, eique Damidis commentarios suppeditavit. Altera Philostrato accessit causa concinnandi hujus operis, vana nimirum collectæ per otium eruditionis expromendæ ac ostentandæ cupiditas. Quorsum enim ambitiosi illi excursus, et importunæ dissertationes, de rebus ad Apollonium haudquaquam pertinentibus; de Pantheris Armeniis, de elephantis, de martichorâ, de gryphibus, pygmæis, &c. &c. Id præterea spectâsse se in primis videtur Philostratus, ut invalescentem jam Christi fidem ac doctrinam deprimeret, opposito hoc omnis doctrinæ sanctitatis, ac mirificæ virtutis fœneo simulacro. Itaque ad Christi exemplar hanc expressit effigiem, et pleraque ex Christi Jesu historiâ Apollonio accommodavit, ne quid Ethnici christianis invidere possent. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 9. cap. 147. sect. 3. p. 661.

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'ample of Christ, and accommodated many things in the his-
'tory of our Lord to Apollonius.'

The several views and ends first mentioned are very conspicuous in this work: but I cannot clearly discern the last: and I shall assign my reasons. Philostratus was a Pythagorean, or however assumed that character upon this occasion; and he designed to extol Apollonius, and recommend him to esteem, as a wonderful man and a follower of Pythagoras. Philostratus, as other writers generally do, declares his design at the beginning of his work, and to this purpose: 'They [u] who admire Pythagoras of Samos say of him, that 'he wore no clothing taken from animals, and that he for-'bore the use of animals in food and sacrifice, offering up 'only cakes with honey, and frankincense and hymns. And 'they say that he conversed with the gods, and from them-'selves knew what things were most acceptable to them, 'and what were displeasing. And many other things are 'said of him by those who philosophize after the institution 'of Pythagoras: which I must forbear to relate, as I must 'hasten to the history which I have undertaken.'

'For Apollonius, [v] who lived not very long ago, nor yet 'very lately, attempted the like things in a more perfect 'manner than Pythagoras.'

Huet [w] has in one place expressed himself after the same manner that I have done, upon a view of this work of Philostratus: his words, which I have placed below, are very remarkable.

And Eunapius, who was as likely to understand the design of Philostratus as any modern, speaks also to the same purpose. In the preface to his work, speaking of such as had written the lives of sophists and philosophers: 'And [x] Apol-'lonius of Tyana,' says he, 'was a philosopher indeed, but 'more than a philosopher, being somewhat between the gods

[u] De Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. 1.

[v] Αδελφα γαρ τυτοις επιτηδευσαντα Απολλωνιον, και θειοτερον η ὁ Πυθαγορας τη σοφιᾳ προσελθοντα. κ. λ. Cap. 1.

[w] Mihi vero rem introspicienti Pythagoricæ philosophiæ penitus videtur addictus fuisse Philostratus. Ex quâ disciplinâ quicumque prodierunt, quod jam supra monui, in θαυματοποιίας et παραδοξολογιας fuerunt pronissimi, nihil non et fingere promti et credere. Testis aureum Pythagoræ femur, testis et Abaridis sagitta, et quæcumque de Epimenide, et Empedocle, aliisque ex Italicâ scholâ profectis memorantur. Vel primum legatur Philostrati caput, ex quo, velut ex ungue, leonem, hominis propensum in Pythagoræ deliramenta animum et superstitiosam credulitatem deprehendas. Huet. ib. n. v. p. 664.

[x] Απολλωνιος τε ὁ εκ Τυανων, ουκετι φιλοσοφος, αλλ' ην τι θεων τε και ανθρωπων μεσον. Την γαρ Πυθαγορειον φιλοσοφιαν ζηλωσας, πολυ τε θειοτερον και ενεργοτερον κατ' αυτην επεδειξατο. Αλλα το μεν ες τυτον ὁ Λημνιος επιτελεσι Φιλοστρατος βιον επιγραψας Απολλωνιυ τα βιβλια, δεον επιδημιαν ες ανθρωπυς Θευ καλειν. Eunap. Pr. p. 11.

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'and man: for following the philosophy of Pythagoras, he 'raised the reputation of it as truly divine and excellent. 'Philostratus of Lemnus has written his history in several 'books, calling his work, The Life of Apollonius; which 'might have been more properly entitled, The Peregrination 'of God among Men.'

Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in resemblance of Pythagoras, not of Jesus Christ. 'When[y] he was sixteen 'years of age, he determined to follow the institution of 'Pythagoras, higher powers instigating him thereto. From 'that time he forbore the food of animals, and wore linen 'garments, not admitting such as were made of wool taken 'from animals, and wore long hair.' How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, every where, and in all things, may be seen, l. i. cap. 32, if Damis may be relied upon. Pythagoras was a great traveller: according to Philostratus, Apollonius visited many parts of the then known world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. He[z] observed the Pythagorean five years' silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty with which it was attended. A plague broke out at Ephesus; Apollonius was at Smyrna; the Ephesians sent to Apollonius to come to them, expecting help from him. 'He[a] said to those about him, Let us not delay the journey. 'And he was at Ephesus: therein imitating, as I think,' says Philostratus, 'Pythagoras, who was at the same time 'with the Thurians and at Metapontus.' Porphyry's account in his life of Pythagoras is to this purpose: 'That[b] in one 'and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontus in Italy, 'and at Tauromenum in Sicily, and conversed with his 'friends in both places. Almost all agree in asserting this.' Διαβεβαιωνται σχεδον απαντες. Another like story is afterwards told of Apollonius by Philostratus.[c]

It is manifest therefore, that Philostratus compared Apollonius and Pythagoras; but I do not see, that he endeavoured to make him a rival with Jesus Christ. Philostratus has never once mentioned our Saviour, or the christians his followers, neither in this long work, nor in the Lives of the Sophists, if it be his, as several[d] learned men of the best judgment suppose: nor is there any hint, that Apollonius any where in his wide travels met with any followers of

[y] De Vit. Ap. l. i. cap. 7, 8. p. 9, 10. [z] L. i. cap. 14. p. 16.

[a] Ὁ δε ουκ ωιετο δειν αναβαλλεσθαι την ὁδον· αλλ' ειπων, ιωμεν, ην εν Εφεσῳ, τω Πυθαγορᾳ, οιμαι, εκεινο πραττων, το εν Θουριοις ὁμου και Μεταποντιοις ειναι. l. iv. c. 10. p. 147. [b] De Vit. Pyth. num. 27. p. 34. al. p. 192.

[c] De Vit. Ap. l. viii. c. 10—12. [d] Vid. Fabr. B. Gr. l. iv. cap. 24. T. iv. p. 49. et Gothofr. Olear. Pr. in Philost. p, 3, &c.

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Jesus. There is not so much as an obscure or general description of any men met with by him, whom any can suspect to be christians of any denomination, either catholics or heretics. Whereas I think, that if Philostratus had written with a mind averse to Jesus Christ, he would have laid hold of some occasion to describe and disparage his followers, as enemies to the gods, and contemners of their mysteries and solemnities, and different from all other men.

Nor is there any resemblance between Jesus and Apollonius. Apollonius travelled from Spain to the Indies, a Gadibus ad Gangem. Our Lord never travelled abroad: he never was out of the small tract of the land of Israel, excepting when he was carried into Egypt to avoid the design of Herod upon his life: and he ate and drank and dressed like other men, without any affectation of austerities like those of the Pythagoreans. Nor was John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus, like them: there was somewhat austere in his character, but he likewise ate animal food, and wore animal clothing. "He had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts and wild honey," Matt. iii. 4. Nor has Philostratus told any such wonderful works of Apollonius, as should make out any tolerable resemblance between Jesus and him in that respect.

Huet is the person who has taken the most pains to show this. He[e] affirms, that Philostratus transferred many things from the history of Christ into his life of Apollonius: and he has alleged a great number of particulars; but to me they appear so slight, and so inadequate to the purpose, as to deserve little regard.

For instance, of our Lord[f] it is said, Luke ii. 52, "that he increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men." 'And Philostratus says, that Apollonius in early 'life, as he grew up, gave proof of great ingenuity, and a 'strong memory, and was much taken notice of.'

But, first of all, what is there extraordinary in this? Has not the like been said of innumerable men who have afterwards made a figure in the world? And, secondly, here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the[g] writers of his life.

[e] Ex historiâ Christi pleraque in suam Apollonii vitam transtulit. Huet. ib.

[f] Quod de Christo scriptum legisset Philostratus. 'Et Jesus proficiebat sapientiâ et ætate'—idcirco scripsit Apollonium procedentibus annis egregia ingenii et memoriæ dedisse specimina, et formæ elegantiâ omnium in se oculos convertisse. Ib. num. iv. p. 661.

[g] Πυθαγορυ δ' εκ παιδων εις πασαν μαθησιν οντος ευφυως. κ. λ. Porph. de Vit. Pyth. num. i. Vid. et Diog. Laërt. lib. viii. sect. 2. et Jambl. de Vit. Pythag. num. 9, 10.

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Again: 'Jesus[h] ascended to heaven:' nor would Philostratus, says Huet, 'have his Apollonius inferior to him in 'that respect.'

Nevertheless here is no resemblance at all; nor can there be any. According to all the gospels, Jesus was publicly crucified at Jerusalem: and it was in all the ancient creeds received by all catholic christians in general, 'that Jesus 'suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and 'buried: the third day he rose again from the dead, and 'ascended into heaven.' But Philostratus did not know, when, or where, or how Apollonius died, nor at what age: how is it possible then that there should be here any resemblance? 'Concerning[i] the manner of his death, if indeed 'he died, there are various reports. But Damis says nothing '——Nor does Damis inform us of his age: but some say 'he lived to be eighty years old, others more than ninety, 'some more than an hundred. Some say he died at Ephe-'sus, others say he died at Lindus, others at Crete, and that 'having gone into the temple there, he disappeared in a 'wonderful manner: and that there were heard virgins 'singing this ode: "Come from the earth, Come to heaven, 'come."' So writes Philostratus.

Surely this is all uncertainty, and nothing to be depended upon; as[k] Huet himself, and[l] other learned men of the best note, have acknowledged.

But though this is all uncertainty, and here is no resemblance of Jesus Christ, here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras; who either give no account of his death, or say, there[m] are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said he[n] died in the eightieth year of his age, others in the ninetieth year;

[h] Jesus ascendit in cœlum: nec hac parte inferiorem esse Apollonium suum voluit Philostratus. Huet. ib. num. iv. p. 662.

[i] Περι γαρ τροπυ καθ' ὁν ετελευτα, ειγε ετελευτα, πλειυς μεν λογοι. Δαμιδι δε ωδεν ειρηται—Philost. l. viii. cap. 29, 30.

[k] ——nec uspiam postea comparuisse. Quæ quam inconcinne et absurde conficta sint, clarissime patefaciunt ea, quæ a Philostrato præmissa sunt. Nam quo ætatis anno decesserit Apollonius, ignorari ait,—discrepantes, quoque esse de loco obitûs ipsius sententias, Ephesi aliis, aliis Lindi, aliis in Cretâ interfisse narrantibus, sepulcrum vero ejus nullibi gentium reperiri. Huet. ib. p. 662.

[l] Quando, et quo mortis genere obierit, incertissimum est. Philostratus ipse hic nihil explorati scire profitetur. Quare justo confidentiores habendi sunt, qui in tempore mortis ejus constituendo elaborârunt, &c. &c. Mosheim. ubi supr. sect. 4.

[m] Vid. Diog. Laërt. lib. viii. segm. 39, 40, 41.

[n] Ὁ γεν Πυθαγορας, ὡς μεν Ἡρακλειδης φησιν, ογδοηκοντατης ετελευτα—ὡς δε οἱ πλειως, ετη βιυς εννενηκοντα. Id. Segm. 44.

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and some said he[o] lived to be almost an hundred, others, that[p] he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age.

Upon the whole, I do not see any reason to believe, that Philostratus had read any of our gospels, or any other of the books of the New Testament, or that he any where makes any references to the history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Before I proceed any farther, I would just observe here, that[q] Photius has two articles concerning this work of Philostratus, entitled, The Life of Apollonius Tyanæus: one of which is a general account of the work; the other is a copious abridgment of all the eight books of it; but I do not recollect, that he any where hints it to have been his design to oppose Apollonius to Jesus. However, in the first article he gives the true character of it, representing it to be extremely[r] fabulous.

Jerom[s] likewise has given a particular account of Philostratus's eight books of the Life of Apollonius, whom, as he says, the vulgar called a magician, the Pythagoreans a philosopher: but he gives not any hint, that Philostratus had designed to set up Apollonius in opposition to our Saviour.

And beside that every thing is uncertain, and nothing related in a credible manner and upon good authority, as was formerly shown, the things ascribed to Apollonius by Philostratus are not so extraordinary as some imagine. Some[t] cures of dæmoniacs, and others, are inserted after a sort in this history of Apollonius, but not one instance of a miraculous resurrection is asserted by him. Something of

[o] —το παντα βιωσαντα ετη εγγυς των ἑκατον. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. cap. 36. num. 265.

[p] Ὅτι ἑκατον και τεσσαρων ετων λεγεται εζηκεναι τον Πυθαγοραν. Anon. de Vit. Pythag. Ap. Phot. cod. 259. p. 1313. et apud Kusteri Jamblichum. p. 56.

[q] Phot. Cod. 44. p. 29. et 241. p. 996.

[r] Ταυτα μεν περι ἑαυτω αναπλαττει. p. 29. lin. 51.—Παραπλησια τυτοις ανοιας μετα, και ἑτερα πλειστα, τερατευσαμενος. Εν οκτω δε λογοις ἡ πασα αυτῳ της ματαιοπονιας σπυδη καταναλωται, p. 32. in.

[s] Apollonius (sive ille magus, ut vulgus loquitur, sive philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt) intravit Persas, pertransivit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Massagetas, opulentissima Indiæ regna penetravit; et ad extremum latissimo Physon amne transmisso, pervenit ad Brachmanas, ut Jarcam in throno sedentem aureo, et de Tantali fonte potantem, inter paucos discipulos, de naturâ, de moribus, ac siderum cursu audiret docentem. Inde per Elamitas, Babylonios, Chaldæos, Medos, Assyrios, Parthos, Syros, Phœnices, Arabes, Palæstinos, reversus Alexandriam, perrexit Æthiopiam, ut Gymnosophistas, et famosissimam Solis mensam videret in fabulo. Invenit ille vir ubique quod disceret, et semper proficiens, semper se melior fieret. Scripsit super hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philostratus. Hieron. ad Paulin. ep. 50. [al. 103.] T. iv. P. 2. p. 568.

[t] L. iii. cap. 38, 39. l. iv. c. 20.

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this kind he attempts in one [u] place; but after all it was not certain to those who were present that the young woman was dead; nor does Philostratus affirm it: for there were, it seems, some signs of life in the person who had been supposed by some to be dead. Upon which story Eusebius has made good remarks: who says, 'As [v] it was not 'credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much mind 'it: for in reasoning about it he supposeth, that there were 'some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having 'a dew of sweat upon her face: moreover, as this is said to 'have happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would un-'doubtedly have come to the knowledge of the emperor 'Domitian and his courtiers, and to the philosopher Euphra-'tes, then at Rome, and would have been particularly taken 'notice of, either in favour of Apollonius, or to his disadvan-'tage: neither of which happened.'

Of this Eusebius takes notice again afterwards, saying: 'As [w] for the young woman brought to life from the dead, 'or rather still breathing, having in her symptoms of life, 'according to the historian himself, it cannot be reckoned a 'miracle: nor, as before said, would so great a work have 'been buried in silence, if it had been performed at Rome 'itself, where the emperor then was.'

Some will ask here, how then it came to pass, that many heathen people were disposed to equal Apollonius to Jesus, or even to prefer him before our Lord? I answer, the reason was, that they were willing to lay hold of any thing that offered to save the sinking cause of polytheism, and the rites belonging to it: as shipwrecked men catch at every twig or straw that comes in their way to save themselves from drowning.

This observation may be illustrated and confirmed by an argument of Origen with Celsus.

'Now,' says [x] Origen, 'let us observe some of the strange

[u] L. iv. cap. 45.

[v] Το γε μην επι της Ῥωμαιων πολεως μετα ταυτα κοριον, ὁτι δη μετα θανατον επι δευτεραν ζωην ηγαγεν, απιστοτατην και αυτῳ δοξαν τῳ Φιλοστρατῳ παραιτητεον. Εν διαγμῳ μεντοι αμφιβαλλει, μη σρα σπινθηρ της ψυχης ενυπαρχων τῃ παιδι, τυς θεραπευοντας ελεληθει. Λεγεσθαι γαρ φησιν ὡς ψεκαζοι μεν ὁ ζευς, η δε ατμιζοι απο τυ προσωπυ. Και γαρ δη ει αληθως αυτο τοιον και επι της Ῥωμης επεπρακτο, υκ αν ελεληθει βασιλεα τε πρωτον, και τυς μετ' αυτον ἁπαντας ὑπαρχυς, μαλιστα δε τον φιλοσοφον Ευφρατην εγχωριαζοντα κατ' εκεινο καιρυ, και επι Ῥωμης διατριβοντα. Cont. Hierocl. p. 530.

[w] Το γαρ της αναβιωσασης κορης, ειτ' εμπνυς ὑπηρχε, σπινθηρα ψυχης κατα τον συγγραφεα, και ικμαδα επι τυ προσωπυ φερυσαν, περιαιρετεον της θαυματοποιΐας. Ου γαρ αν, ὡς και προσθεν εφην, σιωπῃ το τηλικυτον παρεδοθη επ' αυτης Ῥωμης, βασιλεως επι παροντος γεγενημενον. Ib. p. 534. D.

[x] Ἰδωμεν δε και ἁ μετα ταυτα λεγει ὁ Κελσος παρατιθεμενος απο ἱστοριων

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'things alleged by Celsus, which, though in themselves 'incredible, are believed by him, if we may credit his word. 'Such are the stories which he alleges, first concerning '"Aristeas of Proconnesus, who, after he had wonderfully 'disappeared from the eyes of men, was afterwards seen 'again, and visited many parts of the world, and related 'the wonderful things he had seen." 'Afterwards[y] he insists 'upon the history of Clazomenius, "of which it is said, 'that his soul often left the body, and wandered about with-'out the body." 'He[z] also speaks of Cleomedes of Asti-'pyléa, letting us thereby know, that he was not unac-'quainted with the Grecian histories. "Who," as he says, '"when he was shut up in a chest held it fast; nevertheless, 'when it was opened he was not found in it, having escaped 'by some divine power."'

If Celsus, an Epicurean, when arguing against the christians, could lay hold of such things, and speak of them as true, what might not other prejudiced and ignorant men do? For these things must have been looked upon as fabulous by all wise men, when they had no particular interest to serve. Plutarch having related how Proculus said and swore, that he had seen Romulus after he was dead, goes on: 'This[a] is like some of the Grecian fables of Aristéas 'the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypaleian. For 'they say that Aristeas died in a fuller's work-house; and 'his friends coming to him, his body vanished; and that 'some presently after coming from a journey, said they met 'him travelling to Croton. And that Cleomedes, being an 'extraordinary strong man, and withal crazed, committed 'many desperate freaks. At last, in a certain school-house, 'striking a pillar that sustained the roof with his fist, broke 'it in the middle, so the house fell and destroyed the chil-'dren in it, and being pursued he fled into a great chest, 'and shutting to the lid, held so fast, that many men with 'all their strength could not force it open. Afterwards 'breaking the chest to pieces, they found no man in it—— 'Many such improbabilities do your fabulous writers relate.' So says Plutarch.

As Celsus, and possibly some others, for want of better, laid hold of old Greek stories to oppose to the miracles of Jesus, and the Jewish prophets; so many heathens in latter

παραδοξα, και καθ' αυτα μεν απιστοις εοικοτα, ὑπ' αυτου δε απιστουμενα, ὁσον γε επι τῃ λεξει αυτου. Contr. Cels. l. iii. n. 26. p. 125.

[y] Ib. num. 32. p. 129. [z] Ib. num. 33. p. 130.

[a] Εοικε μεν ταυτα τοις ὑφ' Ἑλληνων, περι τε Αριστου, του προκοννησιου, και Κλεομηδους του Αστυπαλαιεως μυθολογουμενοις. Plutarch. sub fin. Vit. Rom.

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times might endeavour to improve the history of Apollonius in opposition to Jesus and his followers: though Philostratus had no such thing in view, no more than the first inventors of the old fabulous stories among the Greeks.

One thing here offers itself to our observation, for showing the temper of the heathen people in this point, which therefore cannot be omitted.

For in the time of Augustine many heathen people, and those of no small consideration, ascribed not only to Apollonius, but to Apuleius of Madaura likewise, many miracles. Says [b] Mr. Bayle, 'Nothing can more sensibly demonstrate 'the absurd credulity of the pagans, than their saying that 'Apuleius had done so great a number of miracles, that they 'equalled, or even surpassed those of Jesus Christ. Un-'doubtedly there were many people who took for true history 'all that he relates in his Golden Ass; though himself pub-'lished that book as a Romance, or a Milesian fable, as he 'calls it in the [c] introduction.' And as the same author goes on: 'It [d] could not be easily believed that any had formed 'such a notion, were it not that it is attested by men of good 'credit: and that the great [e] prelate Augustine was earnestly 'entreated to confute it. Nay,' says Bayle, 'these pretended 'miracles were talked of long before Augustine: for Lac-'tantius [f] wonders, that the author of whom he is speaking 'did not join Apuleius with Apollonius of Tyana; for of 'him also many wonderful things are related.' So Mr. Bayle.

And I think it does appear from Lactantius, that in his time many wonderful things were ascribed to Apuleius, and believed by some; but, as it seems, they were mean and vulgar people only. For which reason Hierocles, of whom he speaks, did not bring them into his argument against the christians; he was wiser than to do it. But things were altered before the time of Augustine: the christian religion had made farther progress in the world, and the necessities of the heathen people were increased; and they now added the miracles of Apuleius to those of Apollonius to strengthen

[b] Apulée. [c] Ut ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conferam. Apul. in Prol. Asini Aurei. [d] Apulée, note (L).

[e] ——— precator accesserim, ut ad ea vigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, gessisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitisse miracula. Marcellin. ad Augustin. ep. 136. [al. 4.] Tom. ii. ed. Bened.

[f] Voluit ostendere Apollonium vel paria vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum, quod Apuleium prætermisit, cujus solent et multa et mira memorari. Lactant. Div. Inst. lib. v. cap. 3.

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their cause, though there was no ground for either. It is manifest from the letter of Marcellinus to Augustine, that the works then ascribed to Apuleius and others, were a real and weighty objection against christianity in the minds of some heathen people of note, and who were well disposed to it: with how little reason we can now easily discern. But such cases as these are continually happening in this world of ours, owing to want of careful and impartial examination, the great source of ignorance and error in all sorts of people in all ages.

We have now finished our digression, and return to Philostratus.

Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities: nevertheless as Tillemont[g] observes, 'he[h] composed a very long apology for himself with a 'design to deliver it to Domitian; but his pretended pro-'phetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would 'not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he 'was at in composing it would be useless.'

A man[i] who had lost an eye came to a temple of Æsculapius, where also Apollonius was, hoping to have his eye restored to him; but understanding that his affliction was the punishment of his intemperance, the priest and Apollonius agreed to dismiss him as a profane wretch unworthy of cure. May it not be reasonably suspected, that the cure was above their ability?

We are indebted to Eusebius for his account of the work of Hierocles, and for his remarks upon Philostratus; nevertheless it is somewhat unhappy for us, that he did not transcribe at length that passage of Hierocles, where[k] he enumerated the wonderful works ascribed to Apollonius; that passage might have enabled us to judge better for ourselves, and to form a distinct notion of Hierocles's argument, and what were the actions of Apollonius upon which he chiefly relied. However, as we still have the work of Philostratus, we can be assured, that nothing more than human was credibly related of him; and I have endeavoured to supply the above-mentioned defect by divers quotations and observations; to which I shall add a few more, though to some they may appear unnecessary.

'A[l] plague broke out at Ephesus; and no remedy offer-'ing,' says Philostratus, 'they sent messengers to Apollo-

[g] Tillem. H. E. Tom. ii. P. i. p. 220, 221. Brux.

[h] Philost. de Vit. Apoll. l. viii. cap. 7. p. 327—353.

[i] Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. 10.

[k] Ειτα καταλεγει απο πρωτου αρξαμενος τα παραδοξα. Contr. Hier. p. 512. D.

[l] Vit. Ap. l. iv. cap. 10.

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'nius at Smyrna, who presently came to them: and gather-
'ing together all the Ephesians in general, he bid them be
'easy, for he would stop the plague that very day. Having
'thus said, he invited the people of every age to the theatre,
'where now stands the statue in memory of their deliver-
'ance. Here was seen an old man in the shape of a beggar,
'winking with his eyes, and a scrip by his side, where he
'put pieces of bread, with ragged clothes, and sorrowful
'face. He bid the Ephesians to surround him, and to throw
'stones at that enemy of the gods. The Ephesians won-
'dered at what he said, and thought it inhuman to kill a
'stranger who earnestly importuned their mercy. But he
'renewed his orders to the Ephesians, and that they should
'not let him escape. Some then began to attack him
'Whereupon he, who before seemed to wink, looked fierce,
'with eyes full of fire; whereby the Ephesians perceived
'it to be a dæmon. They therefore went on casting stones
'at him, till they had raised a great heap upon him. Soon
'after Apollonius directed them to remove the stones, that
'they might discern the wild beast which they had killed.
'When that was done, the person whom they thought they
'had killed was vanished: but a dog, in shape like to a
'mastiff, in size equal to a very great lion, appeared over-
'whelmed with stones, and foaming after the manner of
'mad dogs: which is the form of the averting statue.
'Moreover, a statue of Hercules stands in the place where
'this spectre was stoned.'

There is no need of remarks upon so silly a story of our great rhetorician: justly does Eusebius say, that Philostratus's accounts of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, *ασυστατα*, and therefore altogether incredible.

But it was necessary that some miracle of this kind should be ascribed to Apollonius, in order to make out a resemblance with Pythagoras, of whom, among other things, are mentioned [m] the sudden removals of plagues.

However, I shall observe a few more passages in this work of Philostratus.

'When [n] Damis first met Apollonius in Assyria, he said,
'he believed he could be of use to him, as he knew the
'road to Babylon, and understood the languages of those
'barbarians, the Armenians, the Medes, the Persians, the
'Cadusians. Apollonius answered, "My friend, I under-
'stand them all, though I have learned none of them."
'At which Damis was much surprised. But Apollonius

[m] ——*και λοιμων αποτροπαι συν ταχει.* Jambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 28. num. 135.

[n] Vit. Ap. l. i. cap. 19. p. 23.

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'proceeded: "Do not wonder at that, my friend, that I 'know all the languages of men: for I know their secret 'thoughts." Damis then worshipped him, considering him 'as a dæmon, and continued with him improving in wisdom.'

Upon[o] which Eusebius observes, 'that according to 'Philostratus, Apollonius[p] was a very forward child, tak-'ing learning very well, and having a good memory: and 'that at the fourteenth year of his age he was carried by 'his father to Tarsus, to be there instructed by Euthyde-'mus the Phœnician, who was a good rhetorician. Where 'he was also instructed in the philosophy of Plato, and 'Chrysippus, and the Peripatetics, not neglecting entirely 'that of Epicurus: but the Pythagoræan doctrine he most 'approved. In all these things,' says Eusebius, 'this man 'was instructed, who is said to have learned no language, 'and to have known the thoughts of men by a divine power.' A just observation.

I shall now take another passage from the first book of the Life of Apollonius. 'That[q] my history might be the 'more complete,' says Philostratus, 'I once intended to omit 'nothing related by Damis, and to give a particular account 'of what passed among the barbarians: but my design 'leads me to higher and more wonderful things. Two 'things, however, there are which cannot be omitted: one 'is the fortitude of Apollonius in travelling among barba-'rous people, whose country abounds with robbers, as hav-'ing never been under the Roman government: the other is 'his wisdom, whereby, after the manner of the Arabians, he 'attained to the knowledge of the languages of brute ani-'mals. This he learned among the Arabians; for this sci-'ence is common among the Arabians: and they attend to 'the voices of birds with the same respect as they do to 'oracles.'

But what is there wonderful in all this? The celebrated fortitude is merely human; and the interpretation of the languages of brutes is all conjecture; and any man who undertakes it may ascribe what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without being confuted by any. Nevertheless, such pretensions can expose men to laughter only.

Upon which Eusebius[r] remarks after this manner: 'So 'that to all the fore-mentioned masters must be added the 'wise men of Arabia, who taught him the art of divination, 'and enabled him to understand, that[s] sparrows by chirping

[o] Contr. Hierocl. p. 518.
[p] Philost. l. i. cap. 7.
[q] L. i. cap. 20.
[r] Ut supr. p. 518.
[s] Vid. Philost. l. iv. c. 3.

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'call others to partake of food with them; an observation 'delivered by him with the admiration of many. And in 'like manner, when in his journey to Assyria he espied a 'lioness just dying with eight whelps, by the same learning 'he understood how long he should stay with the Persians.'

I shall here refer such readers as are curious, and have leisure, to some chapters of Porphyry[t] in his work concerning Abstinence from the flesh of animals; where he speaks of some men having attained to the skill of understanding the languages of animals, and then of animals understanding each others' languages.

The story of the lioness to which Eusebius refers, as it stands in Philostratus, is to this purpose: 'As[u] Apollonius 'and Damis were travelling, a lioness was killed near them 'in hunting, which was of an uncommon size, and when 'opened had eight whelps. Apollonius therefore, after 'observing the wild beast, and after having meditated a 'good while, said: "O Damis, the time of our stay with 'the king will be a year and eight months: for he will not 'let us go sooner; nor will it be easy for us to leave him 'before that time. From the whelps the number of the 'months is to be concluded, as the lioness herself denotes a 'year."' Wonderful mystery, truly!

This story brings to my mind what is said by Laertius[v] of Empedocles, 'an ancient Pythagoræan philosopher; who, 'when the Etesian winds were very violent at Agrigentum, 'so as to destroy the fruits of the earth, he ordered some 'asses to be flayed: and having made bottles of their skins, 'they were placed at the tops of the hills for stopping the 'winds: and the effect being answerable, he obtained the 'name of Averter of winds.'

Menage, in his notes, says, 'nothing[w] more silly could 'possibly be invented.' But yet it is mentioned with tokens of approbation and credit by Porphyry[x] and Jamblichus[y] in their Lives of Pythagoras, and by Philostratus[z] in his Life of Apollonius: and, indeed, I think it as likely a method for stopping a plague, as that taken by Apollonius at Ephesus before mentioned.

Upon the whole, this work of Philostratus appears to me throughout Pythagoræan; as Jamblichus himself says in

[t] De Abstin. &c. l. iii. sect. 3, 4, 5, &c.

[u] De Vit. Ap. l. i. cap. 22.

[v] Diog. l. viii. sect. 60.

[w] Nihil ineptius fingi potest eo quod refert hic Laërtius, Empedoclem excoriatis compluribus asinis, et eorum pellibus oppositis austro, exclusisse ventum, et simul pestem, quam perniciosi isti flatus Agrigentinis inducebant. Menag. in loc. p. 379.

[x] —num. 29, 30.

[y] Cap. 28. num. 136.

[z] L. viii. cap. vii. sect. 8. p. 339.

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his Life of Pythagoras: 'Hence[a] it comes to pass, that all 'Pythagoræans in general readily assent to such things as 'are related of Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Abaris the 'Hyperborean, and all other such like things. They assent 'to all these stories, and they invent many others themselves, 'as thinking nothing incredible which is said of the deity. '——Nor do they think, that they therefore are weak and 'silly, but others are so who disbelieve them. For to say, 'some things are possible to the gods, others impossible, is 'the principle not of wise men, but of ignorant pretenders 'to science.' A very fair and honest confession!

My advice, therefore, with which I would conclude this section, is, that they who are desirous to understand the history which Philostratus has left us of Apollonius Tyanæus, should read the Life of Pythagoras written by Diogenes Laërtius, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and the anonymous author in Photius, and the lives of Empedocles, and other Pythagoræans in Laërtius: observing likewise the stories relating to these men found in Plutarch, Ælian, and other ancient authors.

Let me however add an observation from Chrysostom: 'Jesus Christ,'[b] says he, 'not only prescribed a rule of life, 'but also planted it every where throughout the whole 'world. How many things have been said of Apollonius 'Tyanæus! but that you might be satisfied they are all false-'hood and fiction, and nothing true, they are extinct, and 'come to an end.'

I have now enlarged upon this point, and have said a great deal of Apollonius, and the history of Philostratus, and some things very different from the general apprehensions of learned men in our time: nevertheless, if I am not mistaken, I have said little more than was said long ago by Dr. S. Parker, bishop of Oxford, in his Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion: and I therefore intend to transcribe his observations upon this subject, as an appendix to this chapter.

VII. As I have been led to say so much about the Life of Apollonius, written by Philostratus, I shall take this opportunity to consider two Lives of Pythagoras, written, one by Porphyry, whom we have placed at the year of Christ

[a] Vit. Pyth. cap. 28. num. 138, 139. Vid. et num. 135, 136.

[b] Ὁ δε Χριστος ουκ εγραψε πολιτειαν μονον, αλλα και πανταχου της οικουμενης αυτην κατεφυτευσε. Ποσα λεγεται Απολλωνιος ὁ εκ Τυανων πεποιηκεναι; Αλλ' ἱνα μαθῃς ὁτι ψευδος παντα εκεινα ην, και φαντασια, και αληθες ουδεν' εσβεται, και τελος ελαβεν. Chrys. ad. Judæos, Or. v. T. i. p. 631. A.

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270, the other by Jamblichus of Chalcis,[c] a disciple of Porphyry: who, as Fabricius[d] says, lived in the time of Constantine, and probably died before the year 333: I therefore place him at the year 313. I speak of these writings together, and in this place, for the sake of brevity, that I may not be obliged to make distinct articles of works that are of little importance to us.

Here I shall transcribe at length the observations of Mr. La Roche referred to before:[e] 'I am by no means,' says he, 'of Mr. Kuster's opinion in his note[f] upon Jamblichus. 'I think, he did not design to oppose the pretended miracles 'of Pythagoras to those of Jesus Christ: nor do Rittershu-'sins or Lucas Holstenius in their notes say, that Jamblichus 'or Porphyry had any such intention. There is nothing in 'Jamblichus, or in what remains of Porphyry's Life of Py-'thagoras, but what they would have said if there had been 'no christians in the world: the same may be said of Phi-'lostratus in the Life of Apollonius. I wonder the learned 'Dr. Gale should suspect, in his notes upon Jamblichus de 'Mysteriis, p. 244, that Jamblichus[g] did indirectly reflect 'upon the incarnation of the Θεανθρωπος.[h]'

I am of opinion, that this last observation, as well as the others, is very right: but what I add farther shall relate to the two Lives of Pythagoras, written by Porphyry and Jamblichus; and that they had no intention to oppose Pytha-

[c] Vid. Eunap. de Vit. Philosoph. p. 21, &c. I think it best to transcribe here entire the article of Jamblichus in Suidas. Ιαμβλιχος ἑτερος. Χαλκιδος της Συριας, φιλοσοφος, μαθητης Πορφυριε τυ φιλοσοφυ τυ Πλωτινυ ακυτυ, γεγονως, κατα τυς χρονυς Κωνσταντινυ τυ βασιλεως· Εγραψε βιβλια φιλοσοφα διαφορα. Suid.

[d] Hoc certe constat, regnante adhuc Constantino M. atque, ut videtur, ante A. C. 333, e vitâ discessisse. Nam post Jamblichi mortem Sopater, ejus discipulus, in Constantini M. se aulam contulit, teste Eunapio, in Ædesio, p. 34. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 28. T. iv. p. 283. Vid. et Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin. art. 91.

[e] See above, p. 489, 490.

[f] Vid. Jambl. de Vitâ Pythag. cap. 2. num. 10. not. 13. p. 7. Amst. 1707.

[g] Suspicor interim Jamblichum per hæc jamdudum oblique notâsse ενσαρκωσιν Θεανθρωπυ. Gale.

[h] Since writing what is above, and indeed, since finishing this whole chapter, as I was revising it, I have observed, that Mr. Mosheim also went into the common opinion concerning these two Lives of Pythagoras. I shall therefore here transcribe what he says; but I do not think it needful to add one syllable to my argument as already finished. Pythagoræ vitam hoc seculo Porphyrius, sequenti Jamblichus, uterque eo sine dubio consilio exaravit, ut par Christo rebus omnibus maxime miraculis et præceptorum sapientiâ, philosophus ille videretur. Demonstratum hoc dedit in adnotationibus ad Jamblichi vitam a se editam Ludolphus Kusterus; et videbit facile, cui placebit cum Servatoris nostri historiâ utramque vitam conferre. Non agnus agno similior esset, quam Christo Pythagoras, si vera forent quæ de hoc duumviri illi scripta reliquerunt. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 562.

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goras to the Lord Jesus Christ, appears to me very evident for these two reasons.

First of all, they have said nothing new of Pythagoras, nothing but what had been often said of him before the appearance of the christian religion in the world. As Josephus says, 'many[i] authors have written the history of 'Pythagoras:' so it appears from the two writers of his Life above mentioned, and from Diogenes Laertius, who expressly quote many authors by name for what they say, and seem also sometimes to refer to traditionary accounts.

And Origen observes, 'that[k] many strange things were 'said of Pythagoras, who showed his ivory thigh at the as-'sembly of the Greeks, and pretended to know the shield '(hung up at Mycenæ) with which he had fought when 'he was Euphorbus, and is said to have been seen on one 'and the same day in two cities.' So writes Origen; and they were old stories long before his time.

Kuster[l] was of opinion, that in his Life of Pythagoras Jamblichus borrowed from Porphyry without naming him; and he wonders at it. Vossius[m] was of the same opinion; and other learned men, I suppose, have formed the same judgment: nevertheless I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot see any good ground for the supposition: and I am of opinion, that they both found the same stories in writers more ancient than themselves; whom they both transcribed, and sometimes almost word for word.

Secondly, most of the things related by those two authors are so trifling, and so manifestly fabulous, that I cannot believe they intended to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

The golden or ivory thigh of Pythagoras comes over again and again in[n] Jamblichus; nor is it omitted by Porphyry:[o] and his solicitous concern to dissuade men from eating beans; which they endeavour to justify by saying, that by their food[p] he endeavoured to lead men to virtue.

[i] —*πολλοι δε τα περι αυτον ἱστορηκασι.* Contr. Ap. l. i. cap. 22.

[k] Cont. Cels. l. vi. num. 8. p. 280.

[l] Vid. Jambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 14. num. 63. et Porph. de Vit. Pythag. num 27, et 45.

Cum Jamblicho, ob argumenti et materiæ similitudinem conjunximus Porphyrium de Vitâ Pythagoræ; cujus scrinia noster (quamvis tacito, quod miror, ejus nomine) identidem compilavit. Kust. Præf in Jambl.

[m] Tractârat hoc argumentum antea præceptor ejus Malchus, sive Porphyrius; ex cujus de Pythagorâ libro multa, vel iisdem vel leviter immutatis verbis scripsit Jamblichus. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 18.

[n] Jambl. cap. 19. n. 92. cap. 22. n. 135. Vid. et num. 140.

[o] Porph. num. 28.

[p] ——*δια της τροφης αρχομενος εις αρετην ὁδηγειν τους ανθρωπους.* Jambl. cap. 23. num. 109.

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Abaris the Scythian, or Hyperborean, they say,[q] travelled with great ease and expedition over seas and rivers upon an arrow: 'Which,'[r] as they also say, 'some supposed to have 'been the case of Pythagoras, when he was in one and the 'same day in Mentapontus and Tauromenium.' This is both in Jamblichus and Porphyry in the places above referred to: and says Porphyry, 'if credit[s] is to be given to his his-'torians, and those ancient and of unquestioned authority, 'he extended his instructions to brute animals. He laid 'hold of the Daunian bear, which had done abundance of 'mischief, and having stroked it a long while, and given it 'bread and acorns, he adjured it no more to eat flesh, and 'let it go: after which it lived quietly in the woods and on 'the mountains, and never more attacked so much as a brute 'animal. And when he saw the ox at Tarentum straying 'at will in the fields, and eating green beans, he went to the 'herdsman, and desired him to speak to the ox, "not to 'eat beans:" but he said he did not understand the language 'of oxen. Pythagoras then went to the ox himself, and 'whispered it in the ear: whereupon the ox not only left 'the field in which the beans were, but never more eat any.' So writes that great philosopher Porphyry; and to the like purpose Jamblichus.

The miracles of our Saviour are all great and awful, related by credible witnesses, with all the circumstances of credibility: the trifling and fabulous accounts of Pythagoras cannot be set in competition with them. It is sufficient disparagement to those proud and learned philosophers, that they give credit to the Pythagoræan fables: we need not reproach them with an intention to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

I therefore allege no testimonies out of these two works; I see not in them any references to our Saviour's miracles, or the evangelical history: they are all over Pythagoræan, like the Life of Apollonius written by Philostratus; upon which I have expatiated so much that there can be no need for me to enlarge any farther upon these.

VIII. As I have been obliged to take some notice of these two Lives of Pythagoras, I shall also observe upon another work of Jamblichus not now extant, entitled, Of Images, or as

[q] Jambl. cap. 28. n. 136. Porph. num. 28, 29.

[r] Ὅπερ ὑπενοησαν και Πυθαγοραν τινες πεπονθεναι ποτε, ἡνικα εν Μεταποντιῳ και εν Ταυρομενιῳ τοις ἑκατερωθι ἑταιροις ὡμιλησεν τῃ αυτῃ ἡμερᾳ. Porph. num. 29. Jambl. n. 138.

[s] Ει δε δει πιστευειν τοις ἱστορηκασι περι αυτου, παλαιοις δε εισι και αξιολογοις, κ. λ. De Vit. Pyth. num. 23, 24. Vid. et Jambl. de Vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 13. num. 60, 61.

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Fabricius[t] calls it, Of the Divinity of Images, of which there is some account in Photius.

Says Photius: 'We [u] read the treatise of John Philoponus against the work of Jamblichus, which he inscribed, 'Of Images. The design of Jamblichus is to show the 'divinity of idols, (for so he calls images,) and that they 'are filled with the divine presence, and not only such as 'having been formed by a secret art, and therefore are said 'to have fallen down from Jupiter; for these being of an 'heavenly nature, and having fallen down thence to this 'earth, are always so called; but also such as have been 'formed by the skill of the founder, or engraver, or smith. 'All these, Jamblichus says, are supernatural works, and 'surpass the common opinion of men about them. In support of this, he tells a great many incredible stories; some 'things he ascribes to occult causes: nor is he ashamed to 'assert things contradictory to what is obvious to human 'sight. The whole work is divided into two parts, one called the greater, the other the less; both which are confuted 'by Philoponus.'

A wonderful work truly! Another instance of Pythagoræan credulity, and in that respect exactly resembling the Lives of Pythagoras before mentioned. So writes Jamblichus, himself a philosopher and a disciple of Porphyry, also a renowned philosopher and hearer of Plotinus. [v]

Lucas Holstenius was of opinion, that Porphyry [w] likewise published a work with this same title, Of Images.

Such were the philosophers of that time: they did little or nothing to improve the sentiments of mankind: they confirmed the prejudices of the common people, and made

[t] Περι αγαλματων, seu de divinitate imaginum liber, quem confutavit Joh. Philoponus, teste Photio, quem vide codice 215. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. iv. c. 24. T. iv. p. 293. Conf. Tom. ix. p. 450.

[u] Ανεγνωσθη Ιωαννου του Φιλοπονου κατα της σπουδης Ιαμβλιχου, ην εγραψε περι αγαλματων. Εστι μεν ουν ὁ σκοπος Ιαμβλιχῳ θεια τε δειξαι τα ειδωλα (ταυτα γαρ ὑποβαλλει τῳ ονοματι του αγαλματος) και θειας μετουσιας αναπλεα· ου μονον ὁσα χειρες ανθρωπων κρυφιᾳ πραξει τεχνησαμεναι, δια το αδηλον του τεχνιτου διοπετῃ επ' ωνομασαν· ταυτα γαρ ουρανιας τε φυσεως ειναι, κἀκειθεν επι γης πεσειν εξ ου και την επωνυμιαν φερειν συνεσησαντο· αλλα και ὁσα τεχνη χαλκευτικη τε και λαξευτικη, και ἡ τεκτονων επι δηλῳ μισθῳ και εργασιᾳ διεμορφωσαντο. Τουτων ουν ἁπαντων εργα τε ὑπερφυη, και δοξης ανθρωπινης υπειττονα γραφει Ιαμβλιχος, πολλα μεν απιθανα μυθολογων, πολλα μεν εις αδηλους φερων αιτιας, πολλα δε και τοις ὁρωμενοις εναντια γραφειν ουκ αισχυνομενος. Εις δυο δε ὁλην την πραγματειαν διατεμνει, την μεν μειζονα καλων την δε ελαττονα. Καθ' ἑκατερας δε τουτων και Φιλοπονος ἱσταται. Phot. Cod. 215. p. 353.

[v] See before, p. 504, note [e].

[w] Luc. Holsten de Vitâ et Scriptis Porphyrii, cap. 9. p. 53. Cantabrig. 1655. cap. x. p. 268. Ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iv.

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them still worse than they otherwise would have been. If any others have since resembled them therein, they are far from deserving commendation.

AN APPENDIX TO CHAP. XXXIX.

I SHALL now, according to my promise at p. 503, transcribe the observations of Dr. S. Parker[a] upon the character of Apollonius Tyanæus, and the history of him written by Philostratus.

His observations, I believe, will be generally allowed to be right and pertinent. They are particularly remarkable upon two accounts: First, he considers Apollonius as a professed and conceited Pythagoræan philosopher, or, as his terms are, 'a mere fanatic and pedantic Pythagoræan.' Secondly, he rejects the parallelisms of Huet, and shows their futility. Consequently he did not embrace the opinion of Dr. Cudworth, and divers other learned men, who have supposed, that 'Philostratus intended to set up Apollonius 'as a corrival with our Saviour.' I thought I had been singular in the opinion which I received from Mr. La Roche, but here is a learned man who wrote almost an hundred years ago, and thought in the same manner.

His words are these: 'But the man of wonders is Apollo-'nius Tyanæus, of whom they boast and insult as the true 'heathen Messias: in that he wrought not, as Vespasian 'did, one or two chance miracles, but his whole life was all 'prodigy, and equal to our Saviour's both for the number 'and the wonder of his works. But here, first, we have in 'part shown what undoubted records we have of the 'life of Jesus: whereas all the credit of Apollonius his 'history depends upon the authority of one single man, who, 'beside that he lived an hundred years after him, ventured 'nothing, as the apostles did, in confirmation of the truth, 'but only composed it in his study: thereby, as appears 'from his frequent digressions, to take occasion of commu-

[a] A Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the Christian Religion, in two parts. By Samuel Parker, D. D. Archdeacon of Canterbury. 1681. Dr. Parker was afterwards bishop of Oxford. The passage to be quoted by me is taken from P. 2. sect. xxvii. p. 293—300. I leave his references as they are, made to the Paris edition of Philostratus in 1608. And in some places I add, at the bottom of the page, references to the edition of Olearius at Leipsic, in 1709.

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'nicating to the world all the learning which he had raked 'together. Nay, so far was he from incurring any loss by 'the work, that he was set upon it by a great empress, 'whose religious zeal in the cause would be sure to see him 'well rewarded. And though he made use of the Commen-'taries of Damis, the inseparable companion of Apollonius, 'yet he confesses, that Damis himself never published his 'own Commentaries, but that a friend of Damis communi-'cated them to the empress, which himself might probably 'have forged (as is common in courts) to pick her pocket. 'However, as for Damis himself, it is evident from Philos-'tratus his whole story, that he was a very simple man, and 'that Apollonius only picked him up as a fit Sancho Pancha 'to exercise his wit upon; so that upon all occasions we 'find him not only baffling the esquire in disputes, but 'breaking jests upon him, which he always takes with much 'thankfulness, and more humility, still admiring his master's 'wisdom, but much more his wit.'

'But after all, what the story of Damis was, or whether 'there were ever any such story, we have no account, unless 'from Philostratus himself; and therefore we must resolve it 'all into his authority alone. And there it is evident, that 'Apollonius was neither a god nor a divine man, as his 'friends boasted, nor a magician or conjuror, as his enemies 'imagined, but a mere fanatic and pedantic Pythagoræan: 'who for the honour of his sect travelled, as many others 'have done, into all parts of the world: and when he re-'turned home told his countrymen, that all men renowned 'for wisdom all the world over were of the sect of the 'Pythagoræans; and then for advancement of their authority 'told strange and prodigious tales of their wonder-working 'power. Though here either he, or his historian, has ac-'quitted himself so awkwardly, as utterly to spoil the tale 'and defeat the design. This Eusebius has shown at large 'in his book against Hierocles, by taking to pieces all parts 'of the story, and discovering all its flaws and incohe-'rences.'

'But I shall content myself with proving the vanity of 'the whole from the notorious falsehood of one particular 'narration, upon which depends all that extraordinary power 'which he pretends to; and that is his conversation with 'the Indian Brachmans, from whom, if we may believe his 'account of himself, he learned all that he could do more 'than the common philosophers of Greece. And if this 'prove a romance, all the rest of his history must unavoida-'bly follow its fortune. And for this little proof will serve,

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'when most of the stories are so very mean and childish, as 'to be more contemptible than those little tales wherewith 'nurses are wont to quiet their children.'

'For what could be contrived more unphilosophically, 'than the Brachmans keeping tubs of rain, wind, and thun- 'der by them, which they bestow upon their friends as their 'necessities[b] required? l. iii. c. 3. And the swelling of the 'earth like the waves of the sea, only with the stroke of a 'Brachman's wand? c. 5. Though[c] the most pleasant scene 'of the whole comedy was their feast, in which there was 'no need of any attendants; but the chairs and the stools, 'the pots and the cups, the dishes and the plates, understood 'every one their own offices: and so served in the enter- 'tainment themselves, and ran hither and thither as the 'guests commanded, or their attendance required.' c. 8.

'But of all lies the geographical lie is the most unhappy: 'for the matter of them being perpetual, and not, as the 'actions of men are, transient, they may be confuted in any 'age. And yet in this very thing he has outdone Sir John 'Mandevil himself, for incredible monsters and fables, 'describing men and beasts of strange shapes, that were 'never seen by any man but himself; as[d] a sort of women 'half black, half white, a nation of pigmies,[e] living under 'ground, c. 14; griffins, apes as big as men, beasts with the 'faces of men, and bodies of lions, wool growing like grass 'out of the earth, and dragons[f] almost as common as sheep 'in other countries, c. 2. All which being so vulgarly 'known at this day to be mere fables, they cannot but over- 'throw the credit of the whole story. For either he wan- 'dered as far as the Indies, or not: if not, then his saying 'that he did is one lie for all: if he did, then it is evident 'from these particulars that he made no conscience of truth 'or falsehood, but designed only to amuse the world with 'strange and prodigious reports of the power of Pytha- 'gorism.'

'And that is the most that I can make of the story; 'though I know that Huetius[g] is of opinion, that all the 'substantial miracles are stolen out of the gospels and the 'Acts of the Apostles, and that, for the most part, in the 'words and phrases of St. Luke. And this he has endea- 'voured to make good by a great variety of parallel in- 'stances; and then thinks it a manifest discovery both of

[b] L. iii. cap. xiv. p. 104. Olear. edit.
[c] L. iii. cap. xxvii. p. 117, 118.
[d] L. iii. cap. 3. p. 96, 99, 100, 101.
[e] L. iii. cap. 47. p. 133.
[f] L. iii. cap. 6, 7, 8.
[g] Demonstr. Evang. c. 147. sect. 4.

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'the vanity of Philostratus, and the imposture of Apollonius, 'when he is only adorned with borrowed feathers, but a 'great accession to the credit of our Saviour, that when his 'enemies would frame the idea of a divine man, they were 'forced to steal their best feathers from his picture. So 'that, he says, it was no wonder, that Hierocles should so 'confidently compare the miracles of Apollonius to those of 'JESUS, when those of JESUS were with so little disguise 'clapped upon Apollonius.'

'This were a pretty discovery if it stood upon good 'grounds: but, alas! most of the parallelisms are so forced, 'or so slender, or so far fetched, that it were easy to make 'as many, and as probable, between any other histories 'whatever. And indeed, in such a design as this of Philo-'stratus, viz. to make up a story as full of strange things as 'he could contrive, it is scarce possible not to have hit upon 'some things like some of those miracles which are re-'corded in the gospels; so that in some few of them there 'may be some resemblance, as particularly there seems to 'be in that of the Gadarene dæmoniac and the Corcyrean 'youth; yet it is very obvious to apprehend, that this might 'happen not by design but by chance. Propos. i. sect. 5. 'And whereas Huetius will needs have it, that Philostratus 'has stolen not only the stories but the very words of St. 'Luke, I find no instance of it but only in this one relation, 'where they both, it seems, use the word βασανιζειν; and 'this they might easily do without theft or imitation, it be-'ing the common Greek word that signifies to torment: so 'that they could no more avoid that in Greek, than we 'could this in rendering it into English. Nay, setting aside 'this one story, I find so little resemblance between the 'history of Philostratus and that of the gospels, that I scarce 'know any two histories more unlike: for it is obvious to 'any man that reads Philostratus, that his whole design was 'to follow the train of the old heathen mythology; and 'that is the bottom of his folly, by his story to gain histo-'rical credit to the fables of the poets. So that it is a very 'true and just censure which Ludovicus Vives has given of 'him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate Homer, so he 'had abundantly out-lied him. For there is scarce any 'thing extraordinary reported in the whole history, in 'which he does not apparently design either to verify or to 'rectify some of that blind ballad-singer's tales: but espe-'cially in conjuring Achilles out of his tomb, and dis-'coursing with him about the old stories that were told of 'the Trojan war.'

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'And yet after all, few of Apollonius his miracles are sufficiently vouched, even in his own history: v. g. the last that I mentioned, of the apparition[h] of Achilles: which had no other testimony but of Apollonius himself, who stubbornly refused to have any companion or witness of the fact: beside many other absurdities in the story itself; as his rising out of the tomb five foot long, and then swelling to twice the length; his being forced to vanish away at cock-crowing, and the nymphs constantly visiting him.'

'And so again, he pretended to understand all languages without learning any: and yet, when he came to the Indian king, he was forced to converse with him by an[i] interpreter. And[k] whereas the story tells us of the devil's being cast out of a young man by a mandate from the Brachmans, yet it gives us no account of the event of it, only they pretended to do it: but whether it was effectually done we do not find that either Apollonius or Damis ever inquired.'

'But the great faculty which he pretended to was the understanding of the languages of birds and beasts; which he says he learned from the Arabians, and the citizens of Paræa in India, who acquired it by eating dragons'[l] hearts. Now all stories of dragons are hard of belief, but especially of his Indian dragons; which he says were as commonly[m] hunted by the inhabitants as hares in other countries. But granting that there were so great numbers of them in his time, though since that they were never seen by any man, it is very hard to believe, that the mere eating a piece of their hearts should inspire men with such an odd and singular faculty.'

'But the great miracle of all was his vanishing away at his trial before Domitian in the presence of all the great men of Rome. But then, though our historian be very desirous we should believe it, yet he falters afterwards, like a guilty liar, in his confidence. For whereas[n] at first he positively affirms ηφανισθη τυ δικαστηριυ, that he quite vanished away; at last he only[o] says, απηλθε, that he went away, l. viii. c. 4. And this, though he would seem to affirm that it was after a wonderful manner, and

[h] L. iv. cap. 15, 16. p. 151—154.
[i] L. ii. cap. 26. p. 77. et conf. l. i. c. 27. et l. ii. cap. 23.
[k] L. iii. cap. 38. p. 128.
[l] L. iii. cap. 9. p. 101. Conf. l. i. cap. 20. p. 25.
[m] See the references at note [g]. [n] L. viii. cap. 5. p. 326
[o] Ib. cap. 8. p. 353. f. et cap. 10. p. 354.

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'nobody knows how, is a pitiful abatement to the bigness 'of his former expression "vanishing away." Though the 'truth is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have 'proved itself a lie; for it is utterly incredible, that so 'strange a thing as that should have been done in so great 'a presence, and yet never any notice be taken of it.'

'But in the last place, the historian would fain bid at 'something of his hero's appearing after death: yet he 'does it so faintly, that in the conclusion of all it comes to 'nothing, especially when he tells us, that the time of his 'death was altogether unknown, and that the uncertainty 'of it took in no less than the compass of thirty years. 'And then, they that were so utterly at a loss as to the 'time of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very 'likely to give a very wise account of the certain time of 'any thing that he did after it!'

'But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a young 'man, one of his followers, that doubted of the immortality 'of the soul, for ten months together after his death, l. viii. 'c. 13. But how, or where? Why,[p] the young man being 'tired with watching, and praying to Apollonius, that he 'would appear to him only to satisfy him in this point, one 'day fell into a dead sleep in the school, where the young 'men were performing their several exercises: and on the 'sudden he starts up in a great fright, and a great sweat, 'crying out, πειθομαι σοι, I believe thee, O Tyanæus. And 'being asked by his companions the meaning of his trans-'port: Why, says he, do you not see Apollonius? They 'answer him, No; but they would be glad to give all 'the world if they could. It is true, says he; for he only 'appears to me, and for my satisfaction, and he is invisible to 'all others. And then he tells them what he had said to 'him in his sleep concerning the state of souls. This poor 'account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is 'all that this great story affords to vie with our Saviour's 'resurrection.'

'And now, upon the review of this whole history, it 'seems evident to me, that this man was so far from being 'endowed with any extraordinary divine power, that he 'does not deserve the reputation of an ordinary conjurer: 'for though Huetius has taken some pains to prove him so, 'yet he gives no evidence of it beside the opinion of the 'common people; and if that were enough to make a con-'jurer, there is no man of an odd and singular humour (as 'Apollonius affected to be) who is not so thought of by

[p] L. viii. cap. 31. p. 370, 371.

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'the common people. And therefore, when he was accused for it before Domitian, the emperor, upon coming to 'hear the cause, slighted both him and his accusers, and 'dismissed him from the court for an idle and fantastic 'fellow.'

'And it is manifest from the whole series of his history, 'that he was a very vain man, and affected to be thought 'something extraordinary; and so wandered all the world 'over in an odd garb to be gazed at and admired, and made 'himself considerable in that age by wit, impudence, and 'flattery; of all which he had a competent share. And for 'his wonder-working faculty which he would needs pretend to, he fetched that as far off as the East Indies, that 'is, the farthest off, as he thought, from confutation: and 'yet the account which he has given of those parts is so 'grossly[q] fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life 'of imposture and impudence.'

'And this may suffice to make good this part of the demonstration of our Saviour's divine authority, from the 'certain evidence both of his own and his apostles' miracles, 'and to set it above the reach of all manner either of objection or competition.'

That is the whole of the article of Dr. Parker concerning Apollonius: whence it appears, that the history of him in Philostratus is fabulous, and not to be relied upon: and that Apollonius was not so considerable a person as some have imagined. And I hope I may say, that these observations of Dr. Parker do in a great measure confirm those which have been before proposed by me.

[q] That is a just and valuable observation, and is fully verified by the second and third books of Philostratus's Life of Apollonius.

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CHAP. XL.

DIOCLESIAN'S PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I. *An introduction to the history of this persecution.* II. *The civil state of the empire at that time.* III. *General accounts of this persecution taken from ancient authors.* IV. *The date of it, and the several edicts then published against the christians.* V. *The sufferings of the christians at that time.* VI. *The edict of Maximian Galerius in their favour in the year* 311. VII. *How the persecution was still carried on by Maximin in the East.* VIII. *How Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome in* 312, *and he and Licinius in the same year published their first edict in favour of the christians.* IX. *Maximian's letter to Sabinus in favour of the christians in* 312. X. *The second edict of Constantine and Licinius in favour of the christians.* XI. *Maximin is overcome by Licinius, publisheth a new edict in favour of the christians, and dies.* XII. *Two ancient inscriptions concerning Dioclesian's persecution.* XIII. *Concluding observations upon this persecution.*

I. IT is not my intention to write at length a history of the persecution which began in the reign of Dioclesian, or to give an account of all who suffered at that time; but I shall refer to several ancient authors who have given a general account of it, and shall take some remarkable events from Eusebius, and from Lactantius or Cæcilius, and whoever is the author of the book concerning the Deaths of Persecutors. I shall likewise take particular notice of the several edicts which were then published against the christians, and the edicts published in their favour by Constantine and Licinius, and others: to all which may be added some remarks.

Eusebius begins the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History in this manner: 'It[a] is beyond our abilities fully 'to declare how great credit the doctrine concerning the 'worship of the God over all, which had been published to 'the world by Christ, was in with all men, both Greeks and 'barbarians, before the persecution which happened in our

[a] Euseb. H. E. l. viii. cap. 1. p. 291, 292.

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'time. However there are these evidences of it; for such 'was the favour of the emperors toward our people, that 'some of them were intrusted by them with the government 'of provinces, at the same time excusing them from the 'necessity of offering sacrifices, out of respect to our re-'ligion. What need have I to mention the many who were 'in the palaces of the emperors? by whom not only they, 'but likewise their wives, and children, and servants, were 'allowed to live openly according to the principles of their 'religion; and who were preferred to others for their 'fidelity. Among these I may particularly mention[b] Do-'rotheus, who was advanced above the most honourable 'magistrates and governors of provinces: to whom I might 'add the excellent Gorgonius, and divers others, who 'attained to the like glory, and who, like them, strictly ad-'hered to the doctrine of the word of God. And great 'respect was shown to the presidents of the churches, not 'only by private persons, but also by procurators and 'governors of provinces. Great multitudes of men daily 'embraced the faith of Christ: assemblies in the places of 'prayer were numerous: and not contented with the old 'edifices, they erected from the foundation in every city 'spacious buildings. Thus they went on continually in-'creasing till they had provoked the divine displeasure.' For, as he goes on to acknowledge, this liberty and prosperity had produced looseness of manners and carelessness about their conduct: and there were contentions among the presidents of the churches, and the people were divided into factions.

Thus writes Eusebius, somewhat oratorically as must be owned: nevertheless, I believe, very truly. And I have thought fit to take this his preface for my Introduction to the account of this persecution: for it is a testimony to the great progress of the christian religion, and shows what was at that time the state of things among the professors of it.

II. And as it is needful to have some notion of the civil state of the empire at that time, I shall here briefly rehearse some things, which were formerly shown more at large in another[c] place.

Dioclesian, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, was proclaimed emperor on the 17th day of September, in the year of Christ 284. On the first day of April, in 286,

[b] Those two great men had the honour to suffer martyrdom in the beginning of this persecution, being put to death by strangling. Euseb. H. E. l. viii. cap. 6. p. 297.

[c] See Vol. iv. p. 7—14.

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Maximian, called Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Cæsar some while before, was declared Augustus, and joint emperor with Dioclesian.

On the first day of March 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian were created Cæsars by the two forementioned emperors: and the better to secure the fidelity of the Cæsars, new marriages were concluded for them. Constantius, dismissing Helena, mother of Constantine, married Claudia Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius; and Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Dioclesian.

Constantius, the first of the two Cæsars, is highly commended by Eusebius; and has likewise a good character in heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had several sons and daughters.

Under those two emperors and their two Cæsars, in the year 303, began what is called Dioclesian's persecution, which lasted ten years or more, in some parts of the empire, before it was extinguished.

In the year 305 Dioclesian and Maximian Herculius resigned the empire, both[d] on the same day, the first of May; the former at a place near Nicomedia, the other at Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian were declared august and emperors, and Maximin and Severus Cæsars. Dioclesian after that spent the remainder of his days near Salonæ in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximian Herculius retired for the present into that part of Italy which was called Lucania.

The empire was then divided between Constantius and Galerius and their Cæsars: Constantius had for his part Italy, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the empire: Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, and the East, with Egypt. Constantius soon quitted Italy, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave them to Severus, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. Galerius too kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia, yielding to Maximin the East, that is, Syria, with the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

Constantius died at York in Britain on July 25, in the year 306: and upon his death-bed appointed his son Constantine, who was with him, his heir and successor, with the

[d] Uterque unâ die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediæ Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani. Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam. Diocletianus in villâ, quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit, inusitatâ virtute usus, &c. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. 27, et 28. Conf. Victor. de Cæsar. cap. 39. et Victor. Epit. cap. 39.

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style and title, as it seems, of emperor and Augustus. Immediately upon the death of his father, Constantine was so proclaimed by the soldiers in Britain: but Galerius Maximian would allow him no higher title than that of Cæsar: which Constantine accepted of for the present. So, as Eusebius says[e] in his Chronicle, Constantine began to reign in the fourth year of the persecution.

On the 27th day of October in 306, Maxentius, son of Maximian Herculius, who had married the daughter of Galerius, assumed the title of emperor and Augustus at Rome: and being sensible that this would displease Galerius, he sends for his father Maximian Herculius, who thereupon resumed the purple. And in this year, or the following, 307, Severus, who, as Cæsar, had for his share Italy and Africa, was overcome and put to death.

Maximian and his son Maxentius did not long agree together; Maximian therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to Constantine in Gaul: and some time in this year, 307, gives to him in marriage his daughter Fausta: Minervina his former wife, by whom he had his eldest son Crispus, being dead, as is supposed: and now, as it seems, Constantine receives the title of Augustus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, a man of mean extraction, Augustus: and now there were in effect six emperors; Maximian, who, as before said, had resumed the purple, Galerius, Constantine, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian Herculius, after a base and unsteady conduct, was condemned and put to death by Constantine's order in 310. Galerius died in 311, of a long and grievous distemper, supposed to have been inflicted upon him as a judgment from heaven for his inhuman treatment of the christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the river Tiber on the 27th day of October in 312. Maximin died in 313: the manner of his death is particularly described in the[f] book of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in[g] Eusebius. I just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Dioclesian also died in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin in the same year 313, Constantine married his sister Constantia to Licinius: and, as from that time their interests were united, so, upon the death of Maximin the whole empire was in their power, and was divided between them.

[e] Quarto persecutionis anno Constantinus regnare cœpit. Chr. p. 180.
[f] De M. P. cap. 49. [g] H. E. l. ix. cap. 10. p. 363. C. D. 364. A

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But their friendship did not long subsist without interruption: for in the year 314 the animosity between them broke out into an open war, and two battles were fought: after the last of which, peace was concluded, and a new partition was made of the empire.

A second war between them began in 323, and was concluded in 324, with the entire defeat of Licinius, who was then reduced to a private condition: and though his life was then given him, at the intercession of Constantia, he was put to death in the year 324 or 325.

That was the end of those civil wars in the empire; and Constantine now became sole emperor of the East and the West: and having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22, 337.

III. I shall now observe some general accounts of this persecution, which are to be found in divers ancient authors.

Says Orosius: 'The[h] tenth persecution was ordered by 'Dioclesian and Maximian Herculius, the one ruling in the 'East and the other in the West: which persecution was 'longer and more grievous than any of the former: it was 'carried on for ten years without ceasing, with burning 'down the churches, proscriptions of innocent men, and 'slaughters of martyrs.' But he presently after says, that[i] in the second year of the persecution Dioclesian and Herculius resigned the empire, leaving the government to Galerius and Constantius.

Sulpicius Severus says, 'that[k] in the reigns of Dioclesian

[h] Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculius in Occidente vastari ecclesias, adfligi interficique christianos, decimo post Neronem loco, præceperunt. Quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior et immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, cædibus martyrum, incessabiliter acta est. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 25.

Per annos decem eversæ sunt ecclesiæ vestræ, ut etiam tu fateris: dilacerati cruciatibus, exinaniti mortibus toto orbe christiani. Tenemus evidens testimonium tuum, nullam superiorem persecutionem adeo vel gravem vel diuturnam fuisse. Id. lib. vii. cap. 26.

[i] Secundo persecutionis anno Diocletianus ab invito exegit Maximiano, ut simul purpuram imperiumque deponerent———&c. Id. ibid.

[k] Post eum [Valerianum] interjectis annis fere quinquaginta, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutio exorta, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est: quâ tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est: quippe certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur, multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus adpetuntur. Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est; neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam cum decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus. Sed finis persecutionis illius fuit abhinc annos IX. et LXXX. A quo tempore christiani imperatores esse coperunt. Namque tum Constantinus rerum potiebatur, qui primus om-

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'and Maximian began that severe persecution which for ten 'whole years afflicted the people of God. At which time 'almost the whole world was stained with the precious blood 'of martyrs; for then glorious martyrdoms were as earnestly 'contended for, as bishoprics are now sought by ambitious 'men. Never was the world more wasted by any war; nor 'ever had we a more glorious victory than when we could 'not be overcome by the slaughters of ten years. After the 'end of that persecution there began to be christian empe-'rors, which have continued to this time.'

Theodoret[l] says, this persecution lasted nine years: the author of The Deaths of Persecutors says,[m] ten years and about four months, making his computation from the first beginning of it at Nicomedia, to the edicts of Constantine and Licinius, which restored full peace to the churches.

IV. These are only general accounts of this persecution: the particulars of it, the time, the events and circumstances of it, and the several edicts then published against the christians, or in their favour, may be seen in Eusebius, and in the Author of The Deaths of Persecutors, who by many has been supposed to be Firmianus Lactantius, but I rather think to be Lucius Cæcilius, as was formerly[n] shown at large, and has often been hinted again in several places.

There had been before a persecution in the army, which began, as some think,[o] in the year 298, others[p] in the year 301. It is taken notice of by Eusebius[q] in his Chronicle, and by[r] the Author of The Deaths of Persecutors. In his Ecclesiastical History[s] Eusebius says, that many military men embraced a private life, rather than renounce the worship of the great Creator of all: and that some of them not only resigned their honours, but also suffered death for their resolution in professing the truth.

In the year 303[t] the persecution became general; for[u] on

nium Romanorum principum christianus fuit, &c. Sul. Sever. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 47. al. cap. 32, et 33. [l] Theod. H. E. l. viii. cap. 39. p. 248. B.

[m] Sic ab eversâ ecclesiâ usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses plus minus quatuor. De M. P. cap. 48. ad fin.

[n] See Vol. iv. p. 495—499. [o] Pagi 298. num. ii. et ann. 302. iii.

[p] Itaque ab anno 298, particularis militum vexatio incipere potuit. Ab anno 301, generalis exorsa est. Basnag. ann. 301. num. ii.

[q] Veturius, magister militiæ, christianos milites persequitur, paullatim ex illo jam tempore persecutione adversum nos incipiente. Chr. p. 179. Et conf. Vales. Ann. in H. E. l. viii. cap. iv. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 301. n. ii. iii. iv.

[r] —datisque ad Præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâ solverentur. De M. P. cap. 10.

[s] L. viii. cap. iv.

[t] Vide Pagi 302. num. iii. v. Basnag. 303. num. v.

[u] Terminalia deliguntur, quæ sunt ad septimum Kalendas Martias; ut

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the 23rd day of February in that year, the church of the christians at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Dioclesian and Galerius being then both in that city: on the next day, Feb. 24th, the[v] edict against the christians was published. According to[w] the author of The Deaths of Persecutors, and[x] Eusebius likewise, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it[y] was sent to Herculius and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the empire which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculius[z] in Italy readily complied; but Constantius,[a] though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated the persecution within the extent of his government.

When[b] the prætorian and other soldiers, who were appointed to demolish the church at Nicomedia, had broken open the doors, they searched for the image of the God of the christians, but found none: however, they found their scriptures, which they burnt.

When the edict was set up the next day, a christian of uncommon zeal took it down, and tore it to pieces, not rightly, as Cæcilius acknowledgeth; for which he was put to death, after having suffered great torments; all which he endured with great fortitude. This particular is mentioned both by[c] Cæcilius and[d] Eusebius.

By that[e] edict, as Cæcilius says, whom I consider as

quasi terminus imponeretur huic religioni—Qui dies cum illuxisset—ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus, et tribunis, et rationalibus venit—Veniebant igitur prætoriani, acie structâ, cum securibus—et immissi undique, tamen illud editissimum paucis horis solo adæquatur. De M. P. cap. 12.

[v] De M. P. cap. 13. in. [w] De M. P. cap. 10, 11, 12.

[x] Euseb. H. E. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314. D.

[y] Et jam literæ ad Maximianum et Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus non expectata erat. De M. P. cap. 15. [z] Et quidem senex Maximianus libens per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens. Id. ib.

[a] Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est; verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. De M. P. cap. 15.

Vexabatur ergo universa terra, et præter Gallias, ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestiæ sæviebant. Id. cap. 16. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. vii. cap. 13. p. 309. D. et p. 317. D. Vit. Const. l. i. cap. 13. p. 413. D. et cap. 16, et 17.

[b] —et revulsis foribus, simulacrum Dei quæritur. Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur; datur omnibus præda. Rapitur, trepidatur, discurritur. De M. P. cap. 12. [c] Quod edictum quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo, diripuit et conscidit.—Statimque productus, non modo extortus, sed etiam legitime coctus, cum admirabili patientiâ postremo exustus. De M. P. cap. 13. [d] H. E. l. viii. cap. 5.

[e] Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore et dignitate, tormentis subjecti essent ex

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author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, 'it was 'ordained, that all men of the christian religion should be 'deprived of all honours and dignities; that of whatever 'rank or degree they were they should be liable to torture; 'that any action might be received against them; and that 'they, on the other hand, should have no right to bring an 'action against any, for any violence done to them, or for 'any goods taken from them; and finally, that they should 'lose all privileges, and the right of voting.'

Eusebius says, 'that[f] in the nineteenth year of the reign 'of Dioclesian, in the month of March, were set up every 'where imperial edicts, [d] appointing, that the churches 'should be demolished to the foundation, that the scriptures 'should be burnt; that they who enjoyed any honours 'should lose them, and that men of private condition should 'be deprived of their liberty if they persisted in the pro-'fession of christianity." Such was the first edict that was 'published against us. Soon after which, by other edicts, 'it[g] was ordered, "that all presidents of the churches every 'where should be put into prison, and then that they should 'by all ways imaginable be compelled to sacrifice."'

He afterwards speaks of a third edict, to this purpose: "The[h] former edicts were followed by another, in which it was ordained, that they who were in prison should be set at liberty upon their having sacrificed: but that they who refused should be subjected to all kinds of torments." 'Whereupon,' he says, 'it is scarcely possible to reckon up 'the numbers of martyrs who after that suffered in every 'province, especially in Africa, Mauritania, Thebais, and 'Egypt: from which [last] many went to other cities and 'provinces, where they were honoured with martyrdom.'

In the third chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius has these words: 'Afterwards,[i] in 'the second year of this terrible war waged against us, im-'perial edicts were first brought to Urbanus governor of

quocumque ordine aut gradu venirent, adversus eos omnis actio valeret: ipsi non de injuriâ, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent. De M. P. cap. 13.

[f] L. viii. cap. 2. p. 294. B.

[g] ——πρωτα μεν δεσμοις παραδιδοσθαι, ειθ' ὑστερον πασῃ μηχανῃ θυειν εξαναγκαζεσθαι. Ibid.

[h] Αυθις δ' ἑτερων τα πρωτα γραμματα επικατειληφοτων, εν οἱς τους κατακλειστους, θυσαντας μεν, εαν βαδιζειν επ' ελευθεριας· ενισταμενους δε μυριαις καταξαινειν προστετακτο βασανοις. Ib. cap. 6. p. 298. C.

[i] Δευτερου δ' ετους διαλαβοντος, και δη σφοδροτερον επιταθεντος του καθ' ἡμων πολεμου, της επαρχιας ἡγουμενου τηνικαδε Ουρβανου, γραμματων τουτῳ πρωτον βασιλικων πεφοιτηκοτων, εν οἱς καθολικῳ προσταγματι παντας πανδημει τους κατα πολιν θυειν τε και σπενδειν τοις ειδωλοις εκελευετο. De Mart. Pal. cap. 3. p. 321. A

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'this province, in which by a general precept it was ordered, 'that all people in every city should be required to offer 'sacrifice and incense to idols.'

This must be a fourth edict; for there were three before this, all set forth in the first year of the persecution. When Eusebius says, that this edict was now, in the 'second year, 'first brought to Urbanus:' he must not be understood, that no edict against the christians had been brought to Urbanus before: but no such edict.

This edict Eusebius supposeth to have been more general than any of the former: and indeed he expressly says at the end of the preceding chapter, 'that[k] the first year of 'the persecution affected the presidents of the churches 'only.' I do not think that to be exactly true: for Eusebius himself has related martyrdoms of divers others in the first year of the persecution. But we must conclude, from what he here says, that the edict in the second year was expressed in more general and comprehensive terms than any of the foregoing: which is a proof of the increasing rage of the persecutors.

We have now settled the date of this persecution, and have seen the everal edicts which were published at the beginning of it: and in all these four edicts Dioclesian must have joined with Maximian Galerius, for they were published before his resignation in 305, the third year of the persecution.

V. I should now give some account of the many and grievous sufferings of the professors of christianity at this time; but it must be a summary account only: however, we cannot pass over in silence this affecting scene, in which we behold the grievous sufferings of many innocent and excellent men, and their heroical patience and fortitude under them.

1. At the beginning of his history of the calamities of this time, Eusebius with great grief says, 'he[l] had with his 'own eyes seen the houses of prayer demolished to the 'foundation, and the divinely inspired and sacred scriptures 'burnt in the market-places.'

2. After having mentioned the edict before taken notice of by us, which ordered, that all presidents of churches

[k] *Ταυτα μεν ετει πρωτῳ τουτον απετελεσθη τον τροπον κατα μονων των της εκκλησιας προεδρων επηρτημενου τυ διωγμυ.* De Mart. Pal. cap. 2. p. 320. D.

[l] ——*δπηνικα των μεν προσευκτηριον τυς οικυς εις εδαφος αυτοις θεμελιοις καταβριπτομενυς, τας δε ενθειυς και ἱερας γραφας κατα μεσας αγορας πυρι παραδιδομενας αυτοις επειδομεν οφθαλμοις.* H. E. l. viii. cap. 2. p. 293. C.

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should be bound, and imprisoned, he says: 'There[m] followed a spectacle, which no words can sufficiently express. Great multitudes were thereupon confined every where; and in every place, the prisons, which used to be filled with murderers, and robbers of sepulchres, were then filled with bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and readers, and exorcists, so that there was no room left for such as were condemned for crimes.'

3. In the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius rehearseth in a summary manner the martyrdoms of divers presidents of the churches: of which he gives a more particular account in some other chapters of the same book, or of his book concerning the martyrs of Palestine.

As the titles of the chapters are supposed to have been drawn up by Eusebius himself, I also transcribe the title of this[n] chapter, which is in these words: 'Of the presidents of the church, who demonstrated the truth of the religion which they preached, by the effusion of their own blood.'

'Among those presidents of the churches who suffered martyrdom in the most noted cities, the first to be recorded by us in the monuments of the pious, as a witness of the kingdom of Christ, is Anthimus bishop in the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded. Of Antioch, Lucian a presbyter of that church, a man of an unblemished character throughout his whole life. He also suffered at Nicomedia, where, in the presence of the emperor, he first apologized for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, and afterwards farther recommended it by deeds. The most eminent martyrs in Phœnicia, and most acceptable to God, were those pastors of the flock of Christ, Tyrannio bishop of the church at Tyre; Zenobius presbyter of the church at Sidon; Silvanus bishop of the church at Emesa, who, with several others, was given to be food to the wild beasts at Emesa itself, and in that way was numbered among the martyrs. The other two suffered at Antioch, where they glorified the word of God by patience unto death. The bishop Tyrannio was drowned in the sea. Zenobius, a most excellent physician, whose sides were cruelly racked, died courageously under those tortures. Among the martyrs of Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches at Gaza, was beheaded, together with nine and thirty others, at the mines of brass which are in Phæno. Peleus and Nilus, Egyptian bishops, with divers others, were burnt to

[m] Ibid. cap. 6. p. 298. B. [n] Cap. 13. p. 307, &c.

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'death in the same place. Nor can[o] Pamphilus be omitted 'here, a presbyter, who was the great ornament of the church 'of Cæsarea, the most admirable man of our age, whose 'virtues we have also celebrated elsewhere. Of those who 'were perfected by a glorious martyrdom at Alexandria, 'and throughout all Egypt and Thebais, the first to be 'mentioned is Peter bishop of Alexandria, a most excellent 'preacher of the christian religion: and of the presbyters, 'who were with him, Faustus, and Dius, and Ammonius, 'were perfect martyrs of Christ. Phileas likewise, and 'Hesychius, and Pachumius, and Theodorus, bishops of the 'churches in Egypt. And beside these, many others, emi-'nent men, who have an honourable mention among the 'churches, which are in those places and countries.'

4. The eighth chapter of the same book not being very long, I shall transcribe it entire, as it represents a variety of sufferings, endured by the christians at that time. 'Such[p] 'was the combat of those Egyptians, who gloriously con-'tended for the faith at Tyre. They also are justly 'admirable, who suffered martyrdom in their own country; 'where innumerable men, [μυριοι τον αριθμον ανδρες,] with 'their wives and children, despising this temporal life for 'the sake of our Saviour's doctrine, underwent various 'sorts of death. Some of them, after their flesh had been 'torn off by torturing irons, after having been racked and 'cruelly scourged, and a great variety of other tortures 'frightful to hear of, were committed to the flames, or thrown 'into the sea. Some cheerfully offered their heads to be 'cut off by the executioners: some expired under their 'tortures: some died by famine; some were crucified; 'some of them after the usual manner of inflicting that 'punishment upon malefactors, others after a more cruel 'manner, being nailed to the cross with their heads down-'ward, and kept alive, till they died by famine on the 'crosses.'

5. Eusebius still goes on in the next chapter, of which also I shall take a part. 'But[q] the pains and tortures endured by 'the martyrs at Thebais exceed all expression; for they were 'torn all over their bodies with sharp shells, instead of tor-'turing irons, till they expired. Women were tied by one 'of their feet, and drawn up on high into the air by certain 'machines, with their heads downwards; and their bodies

[o] A more particular account of Pamphilus, who, with eleven others, suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea, may be seen, De Mart. Palæst. cap. 11. p. 336. The history of this excellent man, and remarks upon it, may be seen, Vol. iii. p. 216—233. [p] L. viii. cap. 8. p. 300. [q] Cap. 9. p. 300.

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'being naked and wholly uncovered, they were made a 'shameful as well as inhuman spectacle to all beholders. 'Others were bound to the boughs of trees, and so killed; 'for by certain engines they drew together the strongest 'boughs, and having fastened the legs of the martyrs to 'each of them, they let the boughs return to their usual 'situation, that the members of the persons, against whom 'they had invented that torture, might be presently pulled 'asunder. Such things were done, not for a few days, nor 'a small space of time, but for whole years together; when 'sometimes more than ten, at other times above twenty in 'number, were destroyed; at some times not less than thirty, 'at other times almost sixty, and at other times an hundred 'men together, with many little children and women, were 'killed in one day; they having been condemned to various and 'interchangeable punishments. We ourselves also, when in 'that country, have seen many suffer in one day; when some 'were beheaded, others were consumed by fire: insomuch 'that the swords of the executioners were blunted, and being 'useless were broken to pieces; and the executioners being 'tired, they succeeded each other by turns.'

6. In a following chapter: 'But[r] what need can there 'be that I should mention any more by name, or recount the 'vast number of the persons, or describe the various tor- 'ments of the admirable martyrs of Christ? But some were 'beheaded, as it happened to those in Arabia; others had 'their legs broken, as it happened to those in Cappadocia. 'Some were hung up on high with their heads downwards, 'and a slow fire being put under them, they were suffocated 'by the smoke of that combustible matter; which was the case 'of those in Mesopotamia. Others had their noses or their 'ears and their hands cut off, and the other members and 'parts of their bodies mangled, as it happened to those in 'Alexandria. What need I to revive the remembrance of 'what was done at Antioch; where some were broiled on 'gridirons, not to kill them outright, but to prolong the pains 'of their sufferings?'

'These things were done at Antioch; but to hear what 'was done at Pontus must fill the mind with horror. Some 'had sharp reeds thrust up the fingers of both their hands 'from the tops of their nails; others had melted lead poured 'upon their backs, whilst it was boiling, which ran down 'and scalded the most necessary parts of the body: others, 'without commiseration, were made to endure obscene tor- 'tures in their bowels, and those members of the body which

[r] Cap. 12. p. 305.

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'modesty forbids to mention; by [s] all which these noble and 'legal judges manifested their wonderful acuteness; as if 'they had thought it a part of wisdom and virtue to exceed 'each other in contriving new ways of torture; and as if 'such inventions were entitled to signal rewards. Nor was 'there an end put to these calamities, till, despairing to add 'any thing new to those already practised, wearied with 'slaughters, and satiated with the effusion of blood, they 'betook themselves to what was esteemed by them clemency 'and humanity, that they might seem no longer to practise 'severity toward us. Nor was it fit, they said, that the 'cities should be polluted by the blood of their inhabitants; 'nor that the government of the emperors, who were benign 'and merciful to all, should be blemished by any excessive 'cruelties: but it was reasonable, that the imperial benevo-'lence should be extended to all, and that christians should 'not suffer capital punishments; forasmuch as we were now 'exempted from it by the indulgence of the emperors. 'From that time, therefore, it was enjoined, that their eyes 'should be plucked out, and that one of their legs should 'be debilitated. Such was their humanity, and that the 'most gentle punishment that could be inflicted upon us! 'And henceforward, upon account of this lenity of those 'impious wretches, it is [t] impossible to reckon up the num-'ber of those, who had their right eyes first thrust out with 'a sword, and then seared with red-hot irons; and of those 'who had the flexures of their left legs seared with irons; 'after which they were sent to the brass mines in the pro-'vince, not so much for the sake of the service they could 'do there, as with a view to increase their miseries.'

7. In [u] his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius again makes mention of this, and says, 'that Firmilian, pre-'sident of the province after Urbanus, inflicted this punish-'ment upon many, and as by express order from the emperor 'Maximin.' Nor [v] has Cœcilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, omitted to take notice of this cruelty.

8. And in another place [w] Eusebius has particularly mentioned an excellent man, named John, of whom he says,

[s] —ἃς οἱ γενναιοι και νομιμοι δικαται την των σφων επιδεικνυμενοι δεινοτητα. κ. λ. p. 306. C.

[t] Ουκετι δυνατον εξειπειν το πληθος των ὑπερ παντα λογον. p. 307. A.

[u] De M. Pal. cap. 8. p. 330. B.

[v] Nam cum clementiam specie tenus profiteretur, occidi servos Dei vetuit, debilitari jussit. Itaque confessoribus effodiebantur oculi, amputabantur manus, pedes detruncabantur, nares vel auriculæ desecabantur. De M. P. cap. 36. in fin.

[w] De Martyr. Pal. cap. 13. p. 344. A. Compare Credib. Vol. iii. p. 222.

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'He had before lost his sight; nevertheless, in the confes-
'sions which he had made, when the flexures of one of his
'feet were seared, as those of others were, his eyes likewise,
'though already deprived of sight, were burnt with the
'searing irons.'

9. Once more under this article, Eusebius assures us, 'that [x] armed soldiers invested a town in Phrygia, and 'set fire to it, and consumed all the people therein, men, 'women, and children: because all the inhabitants of the 'place, the curator, the duumvir, and the rest of the magis-'trates, and all the common people, professed themselves 'christians, and would not obey those who commanded 'them to sacrifice.' Lactantius,[y] in his Institutions, representing the great cruelty of this persecution, and the number of sufferers in it, has referred to this among other severities of the governors of provinces, at that time.

VI. In the year 309 Galerius Maximian was seized with a grievous distemper, the symptoms of which are described very particularly and at large, both in [z] Eusebius and [a] Cæcilius. It continued above a year. And when he was near expiring, in 311, he published an edict in favour of the [b] christians. It is still extant in Latin in Cæcilius, and in Eusebius in Greek, with the inscription, which is omitted by Cæcilius. I intend to translate it from the Greek of Eusebius, and to put the Latin of Cæcilius at the bottom of the page.

'Having[c] long struggled with his disease,' says Eusebius, 'he in the end, seriously recollecting things within himself, 'became sensible of the injuries he had done to pious men; 'and having first made confession to the God of the universe, 'he called to him the chief officers of his court, and ordered, 'that they should cause the persecution against the christians 'to cease immediately, without any delay. And by an im-

[x] H. E. l. viii. cap. 11. p. 304.

[y] Quæ autem per totum orbem singuli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Acceptâ enim potestate pro moribus suis quisque sævivit. Alii, præ nimiâ timiditate, plus ausi sunt, quam jubebatur; alii suo proprio adversus justos odio; quidam naturali mentis feritate; nonnulli, ut placerent, et hoc officio viam sibi ad altiora munirent; alii ad occidendum præcipites existiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygiâ, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit. Lact. Inst. l. v. cap. 11. p. 490.

[z] H. E. l. viii. cap. 16. [a] De M. P. cap. 33.

[b] Et hæc facta sunt per annum perpetem, cum tandem, malis domitus, Deum coactus est confiteri, novi doloris urgentis per intervalla exclamat, se restiturum Dei templum, satisque pro scelere facturum. Et jam deficiens edictum misit hujusmodi. De M. P. cap. 33. fin.

[c] Euseb. H. E. l. viii. cap. 17. p. 315. &c.

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'perial edict he directed, that the churches of the christians 'should be rebuilt, that they might there perform their usual 'worship, and make supplications to God for the emperor. 'Whereupon edicts were without delay set up in all the 'cities, containing a retractation of what had been done 'against us, and conceived in the form following.'

'"The emperor Cæsar Galerius Valerius Maximian, In-'vincible, August, High-Priest——to the people of the 'province. Among[d] other things which we have ordered, 'with a view to the benefit and prosperity of the public, we 'did indeed formerly strive to correct all things according to 'the ancient laws, and established constitution of the Ro-'mans. And, among other things, that the christians, who 'had forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return 'to a right mind: forasmuch as by some means such an 'obstinacy had seized them, and such was their folly, that 'they followed not the institutions of the ancients, which, 'possibly, some of their own ancestors had appointed; but, 'according to their own fancy, and just as they pleased, 'they made laws for themselves, to be observed and followed 'by them: and in many places they drew over multitudes 'of people to follow their customs. Wherefore, when after 'we had published our edict, that they should return to the 'institutions of the ancients, many have been exposed to dan-'ger, and many have been greatly afflicted, and have under-'gone various kinds of deaths: and forasmuch as great 'multitudes persist in their opinions, and we have perceived 'that they give not due worship and reverence to the im-'mortal gods, nor yet worship the God of the christians: 'we duly considering our accustomed mildness and hu-'manity, with which we are wont to dispense pardon to all 'men, we have thought proper readily to hold forth to 'them our indulgence that they may at length be christians,

[d] Inter cætera quæ pro reipublicæ semper commodis et utilitate disponimus, nos quidem volueramus antehac juxta leges veteres, et publicam disciplinam Romanorum cuncta corrigere, atque id providere, ut etiam christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent. Siquidem quâdam ratione tanta eosdem christianos voluntas invasisset, et tanta stultitia occupâsset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quæ forsitan primum parentes eorum constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo, atque ut iisdem esset licitum, ita sibimet leges facerent, quas observarent, et per diversa varios populos congregarent. Denique cum ejusmodi nostra jussio extitisset, ut ad veterum se instituta conferrent, multi periculo subjugati, multi etiam deturbati sunt: atque cum plurimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec christianorum Deum observare, contemplationem mitissimæ nostræ clementiæ intuentes, et consuetudinem sempiternam, quâ solemus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam: ut denuo sint chris-

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'and that they may rebuild the houses in which they had 'been used to assemble, provided they do nothing contrary 'to good government. By another letter we shall make 'known our pleasure to the judges, for the direction of their 'conduct: wherefore, agreeably to this our indulgence, they 'ought to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the 'public, and for their own, that on all sides the public may 'be preserved in safety, and they may live securely in their 'own habitations.'

This edict, as[e] Cæcilius says, was published at Nicomedia, on the last day of the month of April, in the year 311. It was of benefit to many; Donatus[f] in particular, to whom Cæcilius addresseth his book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, was set at liberty, after having endured an imprisonment of six years. During[g] which time he had made divers confessions before several governors of the province, and undergone various tortures. And, to his great honour, he continued steady to the persuasion of his own mind,[h] showing an example of invincible fortitude.

It is obvious to all to observe, that this edict bears testimony to the great progress of the christian religion. There were many christians in the Roman empire, and they were continually making new converts, and increasing their numbers. Some were unsteady; but many others persisted, notwithstanding the sufferings they were exposed to. We seem also to see here a very bad effect of persecution. Some became desperate, and cast off all religion: neither worshipping with due reverence the established, nor any other deities. We have here also evident proof of the strong and prevailing prejudice in favour of antiquity. As the christians had departed from the ancient customs, they were judged to deserve the severest treatment upon that account, till they returned to them. This alone was reckoned sufficient to cast and condemn them; without weighing the reasons which they might allege for their innovation.

tiani, et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant. Aliâ autem epistolâ judicibus significaturi sumus quid debent observare. Unde juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram, debebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostrâ, et reipublicæ, ac suâ, ut undiqueversum respublica perstet incolumis, et securi vivere in sedibus suis possint. De M. P. cap. 34.

[e] Hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediæ pridie Kalendas Maias, ipso octies et Maximino iterum consulibus. Cap. 35.

[f] Tunc apertis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum cæteris confessoribus e custodiâ liberatus es; cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. Id. ib.

[g] Novies enim tormentis cruciatibusque variis subjectus, novies adversarium gloriosâ confessione vicisti, &c. Id. cap. 16.

[h] Documentum omnibus invictæ fortitudinis præbuisti. Ibid.

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There are still other remarks which might be made, and have been made upon this edict, and the accounts given of it by our ecclesiastical historians.

Says Mr. Mosheim: 'Eusebius[i] and the author of the 'book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, say, "that Maximian, 'before he published this edict, confessed his offence to God, 'and amidst the pains of his distemper, cried out, that he 'would make satisfaction for the injuries he had done to 'the christians." If that be true, he must have acknow-'ledged, that the distemper under which he laboured, was 'a just punishment from God for his cruelties against the 'christians. But so far is he from doing so, that, on the 'contrary, the edict shows, that the emperor is so far from 'confessing that he had acted unjustly, that he declares that 'all his sanctions against the christians were well and wisely 'ordered. "His aim," he says, "had been, to effect by his 'laws, that the christians, who had forsaken the religion of 'their ancestors, should return to a right mind." In this 'last act of his life, therefore, he considered the christians as 'labouring under distraction, and did not at all doubt, that 'the religion of the Romans was much better and sounder 'than the christian. A little lower he expressly chargeth 'the christians with folly. Nor does one word drop from 'him, whereby we should be induced to suppose, that he 'believed the christian religion to be true. He assigns a 'twofold reason of the change of his mind toward the chris-'tians. First of all, he had observed, that the christians 'who had been compelled by force to sacrifice, had thrown 'off all religion, and worshipped neither Christ nor the 'gods. And he thought that any religion, though bad,

[i] Eusebius et Lactantius tradunt, Maximianum, antequam hoc edictum ferret, 'Deo errorem suum confessum esse, atque exclamâsse inter dolores, se 'pro scelere satisfacturum.' Quod si ita sese haberet, professus esset, se christianorum Deo justas crudelitatis adversus christianos pœnas dare, atque ultionem ejus sentire. Sed ne hoc verum esse putemus, obsistit ipsum imperatoris, quod nobis hi scriptores exhibent, edictum. Tantum enim abest, ut Maximianus in eo fateatur, se male ac injuste egisse, ut potius bene ac sapienter acta esse omnia, quæ in christianos sanxerat, contendat. Nempe ait, voluisse se legibus suis efficere, 'ut christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, 'ad bonas mentes redirent.' Amentes ergo christianos etiam in ultimo vitæ suæ acto judicabat, et Romanorum religionem meliorem longe et saniorem christianâ non esse dubitabat. Paullo post diserte christianos stultitiæ arguit, neque vocula ipsi excidit, ex quâ cogi possit pœnitentiam factorum animum ejus subiisse, aut christianam religionem ipsi sanctam et unice veram esse visam. Duplicem vero causam affert animi sui erga christianos mutati: primum animadvertisse se, christianos vi et periculo ad sacrificandum coactos omnis religionis expertes vivere, atque nec Christum nec Deos colere. 'Cum plu-'rimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec diis eosdem cultum ac 'religionem debitam exhibere, nec christianorum Deum observare.' Qualem-

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'was better than none; and he had rather that the christians 'should follow their own religion, than be without religion. 'To this reason he adds another, which is his own clemency: 'for he had been accustomed to hold forth pardon to all 'men. Therefore Maximian would not be thought to yield 'to right and justice, but he would display his own cle- 'mency. He gave pardon to men, whom he had called '"fools," and "destitute of a sound mind:" but he did not 'show himself just to innocent and good men. I can easily 'believe,' says Mr. Mosheim, 'that these reasons were sug- 'gested to the emperor by his friends and counsellors, who 'were about him. But the last words of the edict, no doubt, 'open the true reason which drew it from him, and at the 'same time declare his mind concerning the religion of the 'christians. "Wherefore, agreeably to this our indulgence, 'the christians ought to pray to their God for our welfare, 'and for that of the public, and for their own, that on all 'sides the public interest may be safe, and they may live 'securely in their own habitations." From these words it 'appears, 1. That Maximian believed the christians had 'some God. 2. That this God was not the supreme God, 'maker of all things, whom all ought to worship, but the 'God of the christians only, that is, the God of some certain 'people, as many of the gods were supposed to be. For 'at that time the Greeks and Romans, and all other people, 'believed that there were gods proper and peculiar to 'every nation. 3. He believed, that this God of one nation 'had great power, and was able to bestow health, and de-

cunque igitur et pravam etiam religionem meliorem esse ducebat nullâ religione, christianosque malebat sua sacra sequi, quam sine religione vivere. Causæ huic aliam addit, clementiam nempe suam: 'Contemplationem mitis- 'simæ clementiæ nostræ intuentes, et consuetudinem sempiternam, quâ sole- 'mus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque in- 'dulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam, ut denuo sint christiani.' Non ergo juri et justitiæ, verum clementiæ suæ videri volebat Maximianus obtemperare: veniam, ut ait, hominibus, quos stultos esse dixerat, et bonæ mentis inopes, indulgebat; non innocentibus et bonis justum sese præbebat. Credam facile, has rationes imperatori amicos et consiliarios suggessisse, quibus utebatur. Sed ultima edicti verba veram sine dubio causam aperiunt, quæ ipsi hoc edictum expressit, et mentem simul ejus de religione christianorum declarant: 'Unde juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt Deum suum orare 'pro salute nostrâ et reipublicæ, ac suâ, ut undiqueversum respublica restet 'incolumis, et securi vivere in sedibus suis possint.' Ex his verbis manifestum est, 1. Maximianum credidisse, habere christianos Deum quendam. Atqui, 2. Deum hunc non esse supremum rerum omnium conditorem, quem omnes homines colere debent, sed Deum tantum christianorum, id est, certæ cujusdam gentis Deum quales multi dii videbantur esse. Suos enim cuique genti Deos esse proprios et peculiares, Romani Græcique, omnesque illâ ætate populi arbitrabantur. 3. Huic certæ gentis Deo magnam esse potentiam, ut bonam

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'liver the public from many evils. 4. That this God did 'not bestow such benefits upon any, unless they who wor-'shipped him asked them of him. Without doubt, there-'fore, some of those who attended on Maximian in his 'deplorable sickness, had informed him that the God of the 'christians, when he dwelt on this earth, had given life to 'the dead, and health to the sick: and that his beneficence 'had not yet ceased: and that there were many instances 'of men who had been healed in a wonderful manner by 'the prayers of christians. It was not impossible, therefore, 'but that he also might obtain deliverance from his grievous 'malady, if he gave peace to his worshippers, and asked 'their prayers for him. The emperor, earnestly desirous of 'life, had a regard to this adviser, and thereupon, when 'prayers and sacrifices to the gods of the Romans had failed 'of success, he at length fled to the God of the christians, 'whom, nevertheless, he himself would not worship. Fear 'of death, therefore, and the force of superstition, produced 'this edict; not anguish of conscience for the sins which 'he had been guilty of. However, upon the promulgation 'of this edict, the persecution against the christians ceased, 'the prisoners were set at liberty, the exiles were recalled.'

These observations of Mr. Mosheim are uncommon, and, as seems to me, curious. I therefore have transcribed them here, supposing that my readers may be willing to see them.

VII. At the beginning of the ninth book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius says: 'The revocation [k] contained 'in the foresaid imperial edict was published throughout 'Asia, and in all its provinces. But Maximin, who ruled 'in the provinces of the East, an impious man, if ever there 'was one, and a bitter enemy to the worship of the God of 'the universe, being much displeased with it, instead of

valetudinem largiri, periculaque a reipublicâ depellere possit. 4. Beneficia vero hæc sua non erogare Deum illum, nisi a cultoribus suis exoretur. Sine dubio igitur aliquis eorum, qui misere ægrotanti Maximiano aderant, subjecerat, Deum christianorum, his in terris agentem, mortuis vitam, ægrotantibus sanitatem reddidisse; hanc ejus beneficentiam non desiisse: multa exempla exstare hominum christianorum precibus mirabili modo sanatorum. Fieri ergo posse, ut ipse quoque ejus ope atrocem illum morbum, a quo consumebatur, superaret, si cultoribus illius pacem daret, precesque eorum expeteret. Fidem imperator, vitæ cupidissimus, monitori huic habebat, et eâ re, quum omnia desperata essent, frustraque dii Romanorum precibus et sacrificiis fatigati essent, postremo ad christianorum Deum, quem tamen ipse colere nolebat, confugiebat. Metus ergo mortis, visque superstitionis, non vero angor conscientiæ admissa scelera detestantis, edictum illud pariebat. Promulgato vero eo, statim ubique bellum in christianos cessabat; captivi dimittebantur; exules revocabantur; conventus ubique, nemine repugnante, habebantur. Moshem. De Reb. Christian. &c. p. 956—958.

[k] H. E. l. ix. cap. 1. p. 346, &c.

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'publishing the edict itself, only[1] sent orders by word of 'mouth to the governors, directing, that they should forbear 'to give us any disturbance, and no longer persecute us: 'which ordinance the governors of provinces were to com-'municate to each other. And Sabinus, who had the præ-'fecture of the prætorium, which is the highest office in the 'empire, made known the emperor's mind to the governors 'of the several provinces in a letter written in the Roman 'language, which we have translated into Greek, and is to 'this purpose: "The majesty of our most sacred lords the 'emperors, influenced by the pious and devout principle 'with which their minds are filled, have long since designed 'to bring all men to the true and right way of living; and 'that they who have embraced different usages from the 'Romans, should be induced to give due reverence to the 'immortal gods. But such is the obstinacy and perverse-'ness of some men, that neither the justice of the imperial 'edicts, nor the imminent danger of punishment, could pre-'vail upon them. Forasmuch, therefore, as by this means 'it has happened, that many have brought themselves into 'great dangers, our most sacred and powerful lords the 'emperors, agreeably to their innate piety and clemency, 'considering it to be far from their intention, that upon this 'account many should be exposed to danger; have com-'manded us to write this letter to you, and to direct you, 'that if any of the christians should be found practising the 'worship of their sect, you should not bring him into any 'danger, nor give him any trouble, nor appoint any punish-'ment to him upon that account. Forasmuch as it has 'been manifestly found, by the experience of a long course 'of time, that they cannot by any means whatever be in-'duced to depart from this obstinacy of disposition, you are 'therefore to write to the curators, and other magistrates, 'and to the governors of the villages of every city, that 'they are no longer to concern themselves in this affair.'

Here is a remarkable testimony, from enemies, to the patience and fortitude of the christians at that time: they were not induced to renounce their religion through fear of sufferings: if some yielded, as undoubtedly some did, many persevered, and were faithful to death.

Eusebius goes on: 'Hereupon the presidents of pro-'vinces thought that to be the real mind of the emperor, 'which had been communicated to them in the letter of

[1] — *λογῳ προσαττει τοις ὑπ' αυτον αρχεσι, τον καθ' ἡμων ανειναι πολεμον —αγραφῳ προσαγματι τοις ὑπ' αυτον αρχεσι τον καθ' ἡμων διωγμον ανειναι προσαττει.* Ib. p. 347. A. B.

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'Sabinus. And they accordingly wrote to the officers and 'magistrates[m] in country places; nor did they only write 'these things in their letters, but by their actions also they 'endeavoured to secure a regard to those orders of the em-'peror. They, therefore, presently set at liberty all whom 'they had confined in prisons for the confession of their 'faith in God. A like liberty was granted to such as had 'been condemned to the mines: for they really thought 'that to be the mind of their prince, though it was quite 'otherwise. However, upon this occasion our places of 'worship were opened, and the congregations of the faith-'ful were numerous—And many were seen returning to 'their habitations, singing hymns of praise to God as they 'travelled along the roads.'

'But,' says[n] Eusebius, 'that enemy of good men, and of 'all goodness, who ruled in the East, could not endure this, 'nor suffer this state of things to last more than six months: 'and trying all manner of ways to subvert the peace, upon 'some pretence or other he forbade our meeting in the cœ-'meteries. Then[o] he took care to send embassies to himself 'from the Antiochians, and the people of other cities, in which 'they ask it of him as the greatest benefit, that no christians 'might be allowed to live in their cities. The author of 'this contrivance at Antioch was Theotecnus, a subtle and 'wicked impostor, who then had the office of Curator in 'that city.'

'This[p] man forged against us many injurious reports and 'calumnies, that we might be treated as thieves and the 'worst of malefactors. At length he erected an image to 'Jupiter Philius, and consecrated it with magic charms; and 'in honour of it instituted many vain and impure ceremonies 'of initiation, and detestable rites of expiation; and sent 'some of the oracles of his god to the emperor himself: and 'the better to flatter and please the emperor, he stirred up 'his dæmon against the christians; and gave out, "that the 'god commanded, that the christians should be expelled out 'of the city and the territories belonging to it, as being 'enemies to him."'.

In the next chapter[q] Eusebius says, that the like things were practised in some other places; and the magistrates and people in general, in the countries subject to this emperor, behaved very uncivilly and injuriously to the christians.

[m] *Και τοις κατ' αγρους επιτεταγμενοις.* p. 348. A.

[n] H. E. l. ix. cap. 2. p. 349.

[o] *—μετα δια τινων πονηρων ανδρων αυτος ἑαυτῳ καθ' ἡμων πρεσβευεται.* p. 349. B.

[p] Ibid. cap. 3. p. 349.

[q] Cap. 4. p. 350.

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'Then[r] having composed some Acts and Memoirs of Pilate 'and our Saviour, filled with all manner of blasphemy against 'Christ, by the authority of the emperor they were sent 'abroad every where into cities and country places, and 'published all over the empire: and it was commanded, 'that they should be set up every where in country places 'and cities to be read by all men; and that they should be 'delivered by schoolmasters to the boys to get them by heart, 'and to declaim upon them instead of other themes. Whilst 'these things were doing, a military officer, whom the Ro-'mans call Dux, at Damascus in Phœnicia, fetched some 'infamous women from the market-place, whom by threat-'enings he compelled to declare, and testify in writing, that 'they formerly had been christians, and that they were ac-'quainted with their worship, and that in their places of 'worship they practised obscene actions, and every thing 'else which he required them to say for defaming our reli-'gion. Having inserted the testimonies of those women 'into the Acts, he sent them to the emperor; and by his 'command, those Acts were published in every city, and 'other place.'

In another place[s] Eusebius has observed, that the falsehood of those pretended Acts of Pilate was manifest from the date of them; for they placed the sufferings of our Saviour under Pilate in the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius: whereas, says he, it is certain from Josephus, that Pilate was not then come into Judea, and that he was made procurator of Judea in the twelfth year of that emperor's reign.

'Moreover,' says[t] Eusebius, 'in the midst of the cities, 'which never was done before, decrees of cities and impe-'rial rescripts against us were set up to public view, en-'graven on tables of brass: and the boys in the schools 'had nothing in their mouths all the day long, but Jesus 'and Pilate, and the Acts which had been forged to our 'prejudice. I think it proper for me here to insert the 'very rescript of Maximin, which was engraven on tables 'of brass. It was conceived in these very words; "A 'copy of the translation of Maximin's rescript in answer to 'the decrees of the cities against us, transcribed from the 'brass table set up at Tyre. Now at length," says he, "the 'impudent confidence of men, having once shaken off the 'dark mists of error and ignorance, which for a while 'blinded the minds of men rather miserable than wicked,

[r] H. E. l. ix. cap. 5.
[s] H. E. l. i. cap. 9. p. 27.
[t] H. E. l. ix. cap. 7. p. 352.

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'may discern, that the world is governed by the indulgent 'providence of the immortal gods. It is impossible to say, 'how grateful, how delightful, how acceptable, your pious 'resolution for the honour of the gods has been to us: nor 'was it before unknown to any, how great is your respect 'and veneration for the gods, which have been manifested 'not by vain words only, but also by great works: upon 'which account your city may be deservedly styled the 'seat and habitation of the immortal gods. And it is evi-'dent by many proofs, that she flourisheth by the advent 'and the presence of the heavenly deities. And now your 'city, negligent of your own particular interests, and no 'longer sending to me the requests which you formerly 'were wont to send, conducive to your own prosperity, 'when it perceived, that the promoters of the detestable 'vanity began to creep abroad again; and like fire care-'lessly raked up, it broke out again with redoubled vio-'lence: immediately, without delay, you had recourse to 'our piety, as the metropolis of all religion, requesting re-'dress and assistance. Nor can it be doubted, that this 'wholesome design has been put into your minds by the 'immortal gods, for the sake of your pious regard for them. 'The most high and most mighty Jupiter has suggested 'this petition to you, who presides in your famous city: 'who preserveth your country gods, your wives, your chil-'dren, your families and houses, from destruction. He it 'is who has breathed into your minds this salutary resolu-'tion; evidently showing, how excellent, and noble, and 'profitable it is to worship him, and to perform the sacred 'rites and ceremonies of the immortal gods with due venera-'tion. Who can be so void of all sense and reason as not 'to know, that it is owing to the propitious favour and 'bounty of the gods towards us, that the earth does not 'neglect to restore to us the seeds committed to it, and that 'the hope of the husbandman is not disappointed; and that 'the aspect of destructive war is not immovably fixed on 'the earth; and that our bodies are not destroyed by the 'intemperance of the air, and that the sea is not perpetually 'tossed, and made to overflow with stormy winds; and that 'the earth, the mother and nurse of all things, is not rent 'asunder by agitations within its own bowels, and mountains 'swallowed up by vast and unexpected scissures? There 'is no man that does not know, that all these and worse 'calamities have heretofore often happened: and they have 'befallen us, because of the pernicious error and empty 'vanity of those execrable men, which has so spread as

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'to cover almost the whole earth with shame and dis-
'honour." Then after some other things he adds: "Let
'men now look into the open fields, and see the flourishing
'corn waving its full ears: let them see the meadows be-
'decked with plants and flowers, they having been watered
'with seasonable rain: let them observe the calm and agree-
'able temperance of the air. Let all men therefore hence-
'forth rejoice, that by your piety and respect for the
'sacred rites of religion, the deity of the most valiant
'and most potent Mars has been appeased; and that they
'may now securely enjoy the benefits of a profound and
'delightful peace. And as many as have forsaken that
'blind error, and intricate maze of vanity, and are returned
'to a right and sound mind, let them rejoice abundantly, as
'men delivered from a dangerous tempest, or a grievous
'disease, and have now before them the prospect of a plea-
'sant and comfortable life for time to come. But if any
'still persist in their vain and detestable folly, let them be
'expelled far away from your city and country as you have
'desired; that thus, conformably to your laudable care in
'this matter, your city being purged from all defilement and
'wickedness, you may, according to your own genuine dis-
'position, with all due veneration and solemnity, perform
'the sacred rites of the immortal gods. And that you may
'know how grateful this your petition has been to me, and
'that without decrees, and without petitions, I am of myself
'forward to encourage well disposed minds; we permit you
'to ask the greatest benefit you can ask, as a reward of so
'religious a purpose. Take care that you ask immediately,
'and that you receive what you ask, for you shall obtain it
'without delay. Which benefit bestowed upon your city,
'shall be henceforward throughout all time a monument of
'your devout piety for the immortal gods, and shall declare
'to your children and posterity, that you have received
'from our hands a recompence of your love and virtue."'

These petitions from the cities to Maximin, Eusebius, in a place before quoted, elegantly calls 'embassies to himself,' they having been solicited by his agents in those cities. Cæcilius[u] also has taken notice of these petitions, and expresseth himself much after the same manner, saying, that these petitions from the cities were procured by himself.

Eusebius, having exhibited the above rescript taken from

[u] In primis indulgentiam christianis communi tutelâ datam tollit, subordinatis legationibus civitatum, quæ peterent, ne intra civitates suas christianis conventicula extruere liceret, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videretur quod erat sponte facturus. De M. P. cap. 36.

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the tables at Tyre, goes on: 'This[v] rescript against us was 'set up on pillars in every province, and as far as it was in 'the power of man, shut us out of all comfortable hopes: so 'that according to that divine oracle, "if it were possible, 'even the elect themselves would be offended."'

These and other things do certainly show the bitter spirit of heathenism at that time: and these edicts, and the hard usage which the christians met with in consequence of them, are sufficient to satisfy us, that the heathen people did their utmost to extirpate christianity; and if it had been in the power of man, they would have actually destroyed it.

The sufferings of christians at that time, in that part of the empire which was subject to Maximin, were then very grievous. Deliverance was very desirable, and it was near at hand.

VIII. Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome on the 28th day of October, in the year 312. 'And,' as Eusebius says, 'soon[w] after that, Constantine, and Licinius, who was 'colleague in the empire with him, having first adored and 'praised God, who had been the author of these successes 'and of all the good that had happened, did with one mind 'and consent enact a full and comprehensive edict in favour 'of the christians; and then sent it to Maximin, who ruled 'in the eastern parts of the empire, and who pretended 'friendship for them. Though Maximin was extremely 'uneasy about it, he could not refuse it: and now first,' as Eusebius says, 'he sent an edict to the presidents in favour 'of the christians, and as of his own proper motion, though 'really out of necessity and against his will.'

IX. That edict of Constantine and Licinius, which Eusebius calls a 'full and complete law,' is not now extant. It was published, as may be supposed, at Rome, in the month of November, 312, and then sent to Maximin, who then immediately published a Letter to Sabinus in favour of the christians, which now follows in Eusebius.

A[x] copy of the Translation of the letter of the Emperor Maximin.

'Jovius Maximin Augustus to Sabinus. It is, I am per-'suaded, well known to yourself, and to all men, how that

[v] Ubi supr. p. 354. C.

[w] *Και δη επι τυτοις αυτος τε Κωνσταντινος και συν αυτῳ βασιλευς Λικιννιος Θεον τον των αγαθων ἁπαντων αυτοις αιτιον ευμενισαντες αμφω, μιᾳ βουλῃ και γνωμῃ, νομον ὑπερ χριστιανων τελειωτατον πληρεστατα διατυπωνται.* κ. λ. H. E. l. ix. cap. 9. p. 360.

[x] Ibid. p. 360, 361.

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'our lords and fathers Dioclesian and Maximian, when 'they saw that almost all mankind were forsaking the wor-'ship of the gods, and going over to the sect of the chris-'tians, did rightly ordain, that[y] all men who had forsaken 'the worship of their immortal gods, should be called back 'again to the worship of the gods by public pains and 'penalties. But when I first of all happily came into the 'East, and perceived that great numbers of men who might 'be useful to the public, were for the fore-mentioned cause 'banished by the judges into several places, I gave orders, 'that for the future none of them should be severe toward 'the people of their province, but rather endeavour to re-'duce them to the worship of the gods by fair words and 'good usage. So long therefore as my orders were obeyed 'by the judges, no men in the eastern parts were banished 'or otherwise ill treated: and by reason of the mildness of 'the treatment given to them, they were the more disposed 'to return to the worship of the gods. But after that, when 'I the last year happily entered into Nicomedia, the citi-'zens of that place came to me with the images of the gods, 'earnestly entreating me, that by all means none of that 'sect might be at all permitted to dwell in their country. 'But as I knew that a great many of that religion were in 'those parts, I returned them this answer: That I willingly 'granted their petition, but I did not perceive that the 'thing was desired by all: if therefore there were any who 'persisted in their superstition, every one should, according 'to his own discretion, choose as he saw fit; and if they 'would embrace the worship of the gods they might. At 'the same time I was under a necessity to give a favourable 'answer to the citizens of Nicomedia, and to the other cities, 'who also had presented to me the like petitions, that none 'of the christians might live in their cities, the rather be-'cause this had never been allowed by the former empe-'rors; and moreover it was pleasing to the gods them-'selves, by whom all men and the public weal subsist. 'Upon all these accounts, I was under a necessity to grant 'their request in behalf of the worship of the gods. Where-'fore, though I have often before, both by letters, and by 'word of mouth, recommended to you, that nothing griev-'ous should be done to this sect in the provinces, but that 'they should be treated with mildness and gentleness: yet 'that no injury may be done to them by any of the inferior

[y] —ορθως διατεταχεναι, παντας ανθρωπους τους απο της των αυτων θεων των αθανατων θρησκειας αναχωρησαντας, προδηλω κολασει και τιμωρια εις την θρησκειαν των θεων ανακληθηναι. p. 360. C

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'officers, I have thought it needful now by these letters 'again to remind you, that by fair words and good usage, 'you should induce the people of our government to ac-'knowledge the providence of the gods. Therefore if any 'of their own accord embrace the worship of the gods, they 'ought to be cheerfully received; but if any will still ad-'here to their own religion, you are to leave them in their 'own power. You are therefore carefully to observe these 'orders; nor let any one be permitted to oppress the peo-'ple of our government by fines, or other hardships: and 'that this our edict may be known to all men in the pro-'vinces, you are to publish it with a decree also set forth 'by yourself.'

This[a] edict of Maximin is supposed to have been published before the end of the year 312.

Eusebius having alleged this edict goes on to say: 'These[a] orders being published by him from a kind of 'compulsion, and not according to the sense of his own mind, 'he was not reckoned to be sincere or worthy to be trusted; 'and the rather, because after publishing a like indulgence, 'he had showed himself to be deceitful and perfidious. 'Therefore none of our people dared to assemble together 'for worship, nor to show themselves abroad openly. Nor 'indeed did the edict in express terms allow of this, but 'only that we might be secure from violence and bad treat-'ment: it did not empower us to meet together, nor to build 'houses for our worship, nor to perform any of those solemn 'acts of religion which are customary among us; though 'Constantine and Licinius, those patrons of peace and re-'ligion, had particularly signified in their letters to him, 'that such things had been granted by them, and they were 'expressed in the laws set forth to the view of all men. But 'that wicked wretch would not yield yet; nor till at last, 'when, pursued by the divine vengeance, he was compelled 'to do it against his will.'

X. Constantine did not stay long at home after his victory over Maxentius, but before the end of the year 312, or in the beginning of 313, he went thence to Milan, where he gave his sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius: and there these two emperors now set forth a second edict in favour of the christians; which is preserved in Eusebius[b] in Greek, and is in Cæcilius[c] in Latin, excepting that he has omitted

[a] Postea refert Eusebius epistolam quam Maximinus ad Sabinum Præfectum Prætorii sui scripsit, quamque currenti anno datam esse, non vero anno insequenti, ut multi eruditi credidere, ex dictis liquet. Pagi ann. 312. xv.

[a] Ibid. p. 362. [b] H. E. l. x. cap. 5. p. 388, &c. [c] De M. P. cap. 48.

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the introduction, or preamble. I shall, as I did in another instance, translate the Greek of Eusebius, and place the Latin from Cæcilius at the bottom of the pages.

'Now,' says [d] Eusebius, 'I shall allege the imperial constitutions of Constantine and Licinius, translated from the Latin.'

'"Having been long since convinced, that the freedom of religion ought not to be restrained, but that leave should be given to every one to follow the sense of his own mind in things of religion; we have ordained, that as well all others, as the christians, should adhere to that sect and way of worship which they approve. But because in that rescript where this liberty was granted, many and divers sects are expressly named, some possibly have desisted from such worship. Wherefore,[e] when I Constantine Au-

[d] *Φερε δε λοιπον και των βασιλικων διαταξεων Κωνσταντινυ και Δικιννιυ τας εκ Ῥωμαων γραφης μεταληφθεισας ἑρμηνειας παραθωμεθα.* Ib. p. 388. A.

[e] Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam etiam Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quæ ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractu haberemus, hæc inter cætera, quæ videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et christianis, et omnibus, liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset: quod quidem divinitas in sede cœlesti, nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostrâ sunt constituti, placatum ac propitium possit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri, ac rectissimâ ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederat, quam ipse aptissimam esse sentiret; ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cujus religioni liberis mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque præstare. Quare scire dicationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnibus conditionibus, quæ prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis, super christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc cavere, ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandæ religioni christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui idipsum observare contendant. Quæ solicitudini tuæ plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque absolutam colendæ religionis suæ facultatem hisdem christianis dedisse. Quod cum hisdem a nobis indultum esse pervideas, intelligit dicatio tua etiam aliis religionis suæ vel observantiæ potestatem similiter apertam et liberam pro quiete temporis nostri esse concessam: ut in colenda quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam facultatem, quas——honori neque cuiquam religioni aut aliquid a nobis. Atque hoc ipsum in personâ christianorum statuendum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca, ad quæ antea convenire consueverant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium literis certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, priore tempore aliquid vel fisco nostro, vel ab alio quocumque videntur esse mercati, eadem christianis, sine pecuniâ, et sine ullâ pretii petitione, propositâ omni frustratione atque ambiguitate restituantur. Qui etiam dono fuerant consecuti, eadem similiter hisdem christianis quantocyus reddant etiam vel tui qui emerunt, vel qui dono erant consecuti, si putaverint de nostrâ benevolentiâ aliquid, Vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram clementiam consulatur. Quæ omnia corpori christianorum protinus per intercessionem tuam, ac sine morâ tradi oportebit. Et quoniam iidem christiani non in ea loca tantum, ad quæ convenire consueverunt,

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'gustus, and I Licinius Augustus, happily met at Milan, 'and we consulted together what might be best and most 'conducive to the benefit of the public, among other things 'these following were resolved upon as beneficial for all. 'And in the first place it was resolved, that such constitu-'tions should be ordained as might secure the worship and 'veneration of the Divine Being: that is, that we should 'grant both to the christians, and to all others, a free choice 'to follow that way of worship which they judge best; that[f] 'so the Godhead, and whatever is divine and heavenly, may 'be propitious to us, and to all living under our dominion. 'We publish this therefore as our will and pleasure, and 'agreeable to sound and right reason, that leave shall not 'be denied to any man whatever to follow and choose the 'constitution and worship of the christians: and that leave 'be given to every one to betake himself to that religion 'which is most agreeable to him, that so the Divine Being '[*το Θειον*] may in all things display his usual favour and 'benignity toward us. Moreover it is now thought proper 'to signify to you, that all the restraints concerning the 'christians, which were in the former letter sent to you, 'should be left out, that whatever is unsuitable to our be-'nignity may be omitted, and that now for the future every 'one who chooseth to adhere to the christian religion, may 'observe it freely, without any impediment or molestation. 'These things we have thought proper to signify to you, in 'order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full 'liberty to these same christians to follow their own religion. 'And you may perceive, that as we have granted this full 'liberty to them, so in like manner we have granted the

sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum, pertinentia, ea omnia lege quâ superius comprehendimus, citra ullam prorsus ambiguitatem vel controversiam hisdam christianis, id est, corpori et conventiculis eorum, reddi jubebis, supradictâ scilicet ratione servatâ, ut ii qui eadem sine pretio, sicut diximus, restituerint, indemnitatem de nostrâ benevolentiâ sperent. In quibus omnibus supradicto corpori christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam exhibere debebis; ut præceptum nostrum quantocyus compleatur: quo etiam in hoc per clementiam nostram quieti publicæ consulatur. Hactenus fiet, ut sicut superius comprehensum est, divinus juxta nos favor, quem in tantis sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospere successibus nostris cum beatitudine nostrâ publicâ perseveret. Ut autem hujus sanctionis benevolentiæ nostræ forma ad omnium possit pervenire notitiam, prolata programmata tuo hæc scripta et ubique proponere, et ad omnium scientiam te perferre conveniet, ut hujus benevolentiæ nostræ sanctio latere non possit. De M. P. cap. 48.

[f] *Ὅπως ὁ, τι ποτε εστι θειοτης και ουρανιου πραγματος, ημιν και πασι τοις ὑπο την ἡμετεραν εξουσιαν διαγουσιν ευμενες ειναι δυνηθη.* Ap. Euseb. H. E. p. 388. D.

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'same liberty to others to observe their own institution and 'religion: for, as is manifest, this is suitable to the tran-'quillity of our times, that every one should have liberty to 'choose and follow the worship of that deity which he ap-'proves [ο ποιον δ' αν βυλεται Θειον]. This we have deter-'mined, that it may appear, we do not forbid or restrain 'any religion or way of worship whatever. And farther, 'with regard to the christians we ordain, that the places of 'worship (concerning which in the letter formerly sent to 'you there was another rule) in which they had been wont 'to assemble, that if any of them have been adjudged to our 'treasury or exchequer, or have been purchased by any, they 'should be restored to the christians without price and with-'out delay: and if any by grant have obtained such places, 'they are to be immediately restored to the christians: and 'if any of those who have purchased such places, or have 'obtained them by grant, are desirous to have an allowance 'made to them by us, let them apply to the officer who 'administers justice in the place where they reside, that a 'proper regard may be had to them according to the bene-'volence of our disposition. You are to take care, that all 'these things be restored to the body of the christians with-'out failure. And whereas the same christians, beside the 'places where they assemble, are well known to have also 'other possessions, and such as belong not to particular 'persons separately, but to the community, you are to take 'care, that such places also be restored to the body to which 'they appertain, without any subterfuge or delay; upon this 'condition however, that they who restore these things 'without price, may expect indemnity from our liberality. 'In all these things you are to exert yourself with the utmost 'care and vigour, in behalf of the aforesaid body of the 'christians, that our appointment may be performed with 'all speed: that by this means, agreeably to our gracious 'intention, provision may be made for the common and 'public tranquillity without delay. Hereby, as before said, 'the divine favour, of which we have already had great ex-'perience, will be secured to us for ever. And that the 'design of this our law and our gracious indulgence may 'come to the knowledge of all, you are to take care, that 'this our letter be set up every where to public view, that 'none may be ignorant of this appointment of our gracious 'indulgence."'

This[g] constitution or edict was signed and published at

[g] Literæ de restituendâ Ecclesiâ ad Presidem missæ, die quidem Iduum Juniarum Nicomediæ propositæ, ut testatur Lactantius, sed datæ fuerant Me-

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Milan, in the former part of the year 313, in the month of March, as it seems, by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius.

In the mean time Maximin,[h] who had sided with Maxentius, took this opportunity, whilst Constantine and Licinius were at Milan, and in the depth of winter, marched with his army from Syria into Bithynia, and crossed the Hellespont into Thrace. Licinius left Milan, and went to meet him, and in a pitched battle overcame him, near Adrianople, on the 30th day of April, in the year 313, and pursued him into Bithynia. Maximin fled to mount Taurus, and thence to Tarsus, where he took poison, and died miserably, about the month of August in the same year, 313.

When Licinius came to Nicomedia, having offered up his thanksgivings to God for the victory vouchsafed to him, 'as[i] Cæcilius says, he set up the fore-mentioned edict in 'favour of the christians at Nicomedia, on the 13th day of 'June. So that,' as the same writer says, 'from the time 'of the edict which proclaimed the persecution, to the 'restoring of peace to the churches, was the space of ten 'years and about four months:' or in other words, from the 23d day of February in the year 303, to the 13th day of the month of June in 313, was the space of ten years, three months, and nineteen days.

In the first edict published by Constantine and Licinius there were some defects or faults, which were supplied, or corrected and rectified, in the second edict. What those faults or defects were cannot be perceived with certainty,

diolani eodem anno, Christi 313, circa mensem Martium, ut Constantinus et Licinius in iisdem diserte asserunt. Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.

[h] Constantinus, rebus in urbe compositis, hieme proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem. Maximinus, ubi eos intellexit nuptiarum solemnibus occupatos, exercitum movit e Syriâ, hieme quam maxime sæviente, et mansionibus geminatis, in Bithyniam concurrit debilitato agmine, &c. De M. P. cap. 45. Vid. et cap. 46, 47.

[i] Tum cap. 48. 'Licinius vero, acceptâ exercitûs parte ac distributâ, tra-'jecit exercitum in Bithyniam paucis post pugnam diebus: et Nicomediam 'ingressus, gratiam Deo, cujus auxilio vicerat, retulit, ac die Iduum Junarum 'Constantino atque ipso ter Consulibus' (anno nempe Christi 313,) 'de 'restituendâ ecclesiâ hujusmodi literas ad Præsidem datas proponi jussit.' Tum literas refert, quas Eusebius, lib. x. cap. 5, describit e linguâ Latinâ, quâ primum editæ sunt, ut ipsemet docet. Postea Lactantius [al. Cæcilius] ait: 'His literis propositis, etiam verbo hortatus est' (nempe Licinius) 'ut con-'venticula in statum pristinum redderentur. Sic ab eversâ ecclesiâ' (a die sc. xxiii. Februarii anni 303) 'usque ad restitutam' (usque ad diem videlicet xiii. mensis Junii anni 313, quâ propositum est Nicomediæ edictum de restaurandis ecclesiis,) 'fuerant anni decem, plus minus quatuor:' nempe menses tres, dies novemdecim. Ideoque pax universæ ecclesiæ anno tantum cccxiii. reddita. Pagi ann. 314. num. vi.

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as the expressions in this new edict relating to that matter are obscure. Various things have been proposed by learned men [k] in the way of conjecture; but I do not think it needful to take particular notice of them here.

It is, however, manifest, that this second edict is full and comprehensive, giving liberty to all men to worship God according to the best of their own judgment, and in the way that each one should choose. At the same time, as I apprehend, there is special regard had to christians; and the places of worship, of which they had been deprived, are restored to them, and likewise some other possessions which belonged to their religious societies, in a body.

XI. Maximin, after his arrival at Tarsus, beside the shame and disappointment of his defeat by Licinius, was afflicted with a grievous distemper, and violent pains, described at large by [l] Cæcilius; who also says, that now Maximin confessed his fault, and implored the forgiveness of Christ, and relief from him under his distemper: soon after which he expired.

Eusebius says, that after the fore-mentioned defeat Maximin 'gave [m] glory to the God of the christians, and enacted 'a full and complete law for their liberty; and then being 'struck with a mortal distemper, he expired, no longer 'respite being granted to him. The law issued by him is 'to this purpose.'

'The copy of the edict of Maximin in favour of the 'christians, translated out of the Roman into the Greek lan-'guage.'

'The [n] emperor Cæsar Caius Valerius Maximin Germani-'cus Sarmaticus Pius Happy Invincible Augustus. It is 'notorious to all, that by all means, and at all times, we

[k] Vales. in Euseb. loc. Basnag. ann. 313. num. xi. xii. Mosheim. de Reb. Christianorum. p. 973, &c.

[l] ——Tarsum postremo confugit. Ibi cum jam terrâ marique perterreretur, non ullum speraret refugium, angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum, quæ Deus in caput suum congessit. Sed prius cibo se infersit, ac vino ingurgitavit——et sic hausit venenum.—— Deinde post multos gravesque cruciatus, cum caput suum parietibus infligeret, exilierunt oculi ejus de cavernis. Tunc demum, amisso visu, Deum vadere cœpit candidatis ministris se judicantem. Exclamabat ergo sicut ii, qui torqueri solent, et non se, sed alios, fecisse dicebat. Deinde, quasi tormentis adactus, fatebatur, Christum subinde deprecans, et plorans, ut suimet miseretur. Sic inter gemitus, quos, tanquam cremaretur, edebat, nocentem spiritum detestabili genere mortis efflavit. De M. P. cap. 49.

[m] *Ειτα δη δυς δοξαν τῳ των χριστιανων Θεῳ, νομον τε τον ὑπερ ελευθεριας αυτων τελεωτατα και πληρεστατα διαταξαμενος, δυσθανατησας αυτικα, μη δε μιας αυτῳ χρονυ δοθεισης προθεσμιας, τελευτα τον βιον.* H. E. l. ix. cap. 10. p. 363. D.

[n] Ap. Euseb. ib. p. 363, 364.

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'have consulted the welfare of our subjects in the provinces, 'and have endeavoured to procure for them what might be 'most for the good and benefit of the public in general, and 'for the comfort and satisfaction of every one in particular; 'and we trust that all who shall look back upon our past 'proceedings and administration of affairs, will be convinced 'in their own minds of this. For when formerly it came to 'our knowledge, that upon occasion of the law enacted by 'our deified fathers, Dioclesian and Maximian, which for-'bade the assemblies of christians, many injuries and ex-'tortions have been committed by the officers, and that these 'mischiefs increased among our people, and the goods and 'estates of our subjects were wasted, for whose welfare we 'are always earnestly concerned: we[o] the last year sent 'letters to the governors of every province, by which it was 'enacted, that if any one would adhere to such custom, and 'the observance of their own religion, he should be at liberty 'to follow his own judgment and inclination, without 'obstruction or hinderance from any man: and that they 'should be permitted freely to do, without fear or distrust, 'whatever in this manner they approved of. Nevertheless, 'at the same time, it could not be concealed from our 'knowledge, that some of the judges have misunderstood 'our orders, and have endeavoured to make our people dis-'trust the sincerity of our intentions, and have made them 'afraid to perform the worship agreeable to them. Where-'fore, that for the time to come, all fear and suspicion of 'ambiguity may be removed, we have ordered this edict 'to be published, that it may be known to all, that by this 'our grant, it is lawful for those who choose this religion 'and worship, to act therein as they see best, and to perform 'worship in the way to which they have been accustomed. 'And it is granted to them that they may repair their domini-'cal houses. And that our beneficence may be the more con-'spicuous, we have thought fit farther to enact, that if any 'buildings or lands, aforetime belonging to the christians, 'have by virtue of the edict of our fathers been confiscated, 'and brought into our treasury, or have been seized and 'occupied by any city, or have been sold, or given in grant 'to any, we have ordered, that all these should be returned 'to the former right and possession of the christians; that

[o] Upon this place Valesius rightly observes: 'He intends his epistle sent 'to Sabinus, Præfect of the Prætorium, which Eusebius had alleged before. 'Maximin here says, he had written that letter in the preceding year, meaning 'the year of Christ 312. It follows, therefore, that this last edict of Maximin 'was written in the year of Christ 313.' And see Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.

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'all men may be fully persuaded of our piety and provident 'concern in this matter.'

Eusebius said, as quoted above, that now Maximin 'gave 'full and complete liberty to the christians.' And, indeed, this edict, so far as it relates to the christians, is conformable to the edict of Constantine and Licinius, before exhibited.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that,[p] according to the computation of learned critics, Maximin died, as already hinted, in the month of August, in the year 313.

XII. I have now recited at length all the edicts concerning the persecution of Dioclesian.

There are two inscriptions in[q] Gruter, relating to it, in which it is intimated, that in the times of 'Dioclesian, and 'Maximian Herculius, and Galerius, the name of the chris-'tians, who had overthrown the republic, was extirpated.' And again, 'that the superstition of the christians was every 'where extirpated, and the worship of the gods restored.'

I shall put down those two inscriptions at length, in the Latin original. They are said to have been found in Spain, at a place called Clunia, which[r] was a Roman colony.

Cluniæ in Hisp. in pulchra columna.

DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET
MAXIMIAN. HERCULIUS
CAES. AUGG
AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIEN
TEM. ET OCCIDENTEM
IMP. ROM
ET
NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM
DELETO. QUI. REMP. EVER
TEBANT.

[p] Baluzius recte in Notis observat non statim mortuum esse Maximinum ac Tarsum pervenit, sed aliquanto tempore gravissimos dolores sustinuisse, sicque non videri, eum ante mensem Augustum periise. Vide quæ ibidem sequuntur. Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.

Il mourut, vers le mois d'Août à Tarse dans Cilicie. Tillem. Persécution de Dioclétien art. 48. Mem. E. T. v. p. 117. Paris.

[q] Ap. Gruter. p. 280. [r] Vide Cellarii Geogr. Antiq. l. ii. cap. 1.

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Cluniæ Hisp.

DIOCLETIAN. CAES.
AUG. GALERIO. IN ORI
ENTE. ADOPT. SUPER
STITIONE. CHRIST.——
UBIQUE. DELETA. ET CUL
TU. DEOR. PROPAGATO

XIII. I think it may not be improper to add some concluding observations upon this persecution. Mr. Mosheim will furnish me with some; after which I may subjoin others of my own.

Obs. 1. This [s] persecution might as properly, or more properly, be called Maximian's as Dioclesian's. It is evident from [t] Cæcilius, and from [u] Eusebius, that Maximian Galerius was the first mover in this design. He seems to own as much himself, at [v] the beginning of the edict published by him in favour of the christians, a short time before his death. Cæcilius, in his book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, has largely related, how [w] Galerius urged Dioclesian to it: who [x] for some while objected to it, alleging the great disturbances which it might occasion in the empire. And it is allowed, that the persecution did not begin till the 19th year of Dioclesian's reign, before which time many christians were admitted to posts of honour, near the emperor's person, and in the provinces. Moreover, in the third year of the persecution, Dioclesian resigned, and concerned himself no longer in the affairs of the empire. However, it must be acknowledged, that he joined and concurred in the several edicts against the christians, which were published in the

[s] Quæ a Diocletiano nomen habet decennis, et omnium atrocissima christianorum vexatio, rectius Maximiana vocanda esset. Etsi enim Diocletianus, fraudibus sacerdotum deceptus, injuriarum aliquid christianis in aulâ degentibus, et castra sequentibus, intulit, leges etiam deinde in eos rogavit; certum tamen est, præcipuum hujus calamitatis auctorem generum ejus, Maximianum Galerium, fuisse. De Reb. Christian. p. 916.

[t] De M. P. cap. 10, 11, 12. [u] H. E. l. viii. cap. 16. p. 314. D.

[v] Vid. De M. P. cap. 34. in. Euseb. H. E. l. viii. cap. 17. p. 316.

[w] Deinde, interjecto aliquanto tempore in Bithyniam venit hiematum [Diocletianus:] eodemque tempore Maximianus quoque Cæsar inflammatus scelere advenit, ut ad persequendos christianos instigaret senem vanum, qui jam principium fecerat. De M. P. cap. 10.

[x] Ergo habito inter se per totam hiemem consilio, cum nemo admitteretur ——diu senex furori ejus repugnavit, ostendens, quam perniciosum esset inquietari orbem terræ, fundi sanguinem multorum; illos libenter mori solere; satis esse, si palatinos tantum et milites ab eâ religione prohiberet. Nec tamen deflectere potuit præcipitis hominis insaniam. Ibid. cap. 11.

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first two years of the persecution. Nor[y] do we aim to acquit him of all guilt in this affair: but only to mitigate the reflections which have been cast upon him both in former and later times. Dioclesian was timorous and superstitious; but it does not appear that he delighted in cruelty.

Obs. 2. In the first edict for the persecution, as we learn from[z] Eusebius, the sacred scriptures were ordered to be burnt; and so far as we know, this is the first imperial edict of that kind. Mr. Mosheim suspects, that[a] Hierocles, or some other learned men, were the contrivers of this malignant order, and suggested it to the emperors. Mr. Mosheim is also of opinion, that[b] ecclesiastical history has greatly suffered by it. The precept in the edict might speak only of sacred books, or scriptures. But the officers employed in the execution, when they searched for sacred books, would lay hold of any writings, which they found in the places of christian worship, or in the habitations of bishops or other christians. The copies of the sacred books of the Old and the New Testament were now so numerous, that they could not be all found and destroyed. But of some Acts of Martyrs, Registers of church-affairs, Epistles of Bishops to each other, there might be few copies only, or perhaps one alone. If such papers were seized and thrown into the flames, they were irrecoverably lost.

Those observations are from Mr. Mosheim. I shall now add two or three others.

Obs. 3. Dioclesian's persecution was very grievous: indeed, it was the longest and the worst that the christians had ever endured. This may appear from the particulars alleged above from Eusebius, though my accounts have

[y] Quocirca multum, meo quidem judicio, de contumeliis et querimoniis detrahi debet, quibus et veteres et recentiores imperatorem hunc obruunt. Peccabat fateor, levitate, superstitione, timiditate: at multo tamen, quam vulgaris opinio fert, tolerabilius peccabat. Moshem. ubi supr. p. 922. M.

[z] H. E. l. viii. cap. 2. p. 294. B.

[a] Non dubito vero, malignam hanc voluntatem libros christianorum delendi, Hieroclem, de quo diximus, Augustis injecisse. Certe, non hominum rudium, et rei christianæ ignarorum, quales Maximianus ejusque socer erant, sed eruditorum, et sacri codicis peritorum, qui quid in illis traderetur, et quantam vim haberent ad christianorum animos contra deorum cultum et superstitionem muniendos, ex lectione eorum ipsi percepissent. Id. ib. p. 925.

[b] Ex Actis purgationis Felicis apud Baluzium Miscell. Tom. ii. p. 84. constat, epistolas etiam salutatorias, quas episcopi mutuo sibi variis de rebus scribebant, combustas esse. Nam hæ in tabulariis etiam templorum reponi solebant. Hinc incredibilem Historia Christiana jacturam in hoc bello Diocletianæo fecit. Nam ex primis rerum christianorum temporibus quæ supererant documenta, chartæ, epistolæ, leges Acta Martyrum et Conciliorum, ex quibus antiqua christianæ civitatis historia egregie illustrari potuisset, omnia in his turbis, plurima saltem, interierunt. Id. ib. p. 924, 925.

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been designedly brief, and therefore defective. Sulpicius Severus, as may be remembered, said, 'Never was the world 'more wasted by any war.' That observation is verified by the eighth and ninth books of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, together with his book Of the Martyrs of Palestine: containing the authentic accounts of a learned and eminent man, who was a contemporary, and an eye-witness of many of the cruelties related by him. I say, that observation may be verified by those authentic histories, without having recourse to spurious acts of martyrs, or any other legendary writings.

Sulpicius Severus adds: 'Nor ever had we a greater vic-'tory, than when we were not overcome by the slaughters 'of ten years.' Another true and just observation! For the patience and fortitude of the christians of that time were invincible and admirable. Some of all orders, pastors of churches, and others, were presently terrified, and fell away; but many were faithful to death. They patiently endured calumnies, stripes, imprisonments, maiming of members, exquisite tortures of every kind, and still persevered; and though many were taken off by cruel deaths of every kind, the number of the faithful was not diminished, but increased and multiplied under that heavy weight of afflictions.

Obs. 4. The revolution made in the Roman empire, in favour of the christians, upon the conversion of Constantine, was a gracious dispensation of divine providence; it put an end to scenes of cruelty which are shocking to think of, and were disgraceful to human nature. The professors of the religion of Jesus had now endured many severe trials, and had approved their zeal and fidelity under them. They had been tried, and were "found faithful, and loved not their lives unto the death," Rev. ii. 10; xii. 11. And thereby they had done great and lasting honour to the principles of their religion. Now, therefore, God appointed them rest from those troubles. "For," as it is said, Ps. cxxv. 3, "the rod of the wicked shall not" always "rest upon the lot of the righteous, lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity."

Obs. 5. And lastly, the cruelties of Dioclesian's and other heathen persecutions, which have been endured by christian people, may fill our minds with horror for persecution, and every degree of it.

Never let us be persecutors: never let us encourage or give countenance to persecution: never let the cruelties of heathen persecutions be practised in christian countries.

If we would effectually secure ourselves from temptations

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to persecution, let us take care to derive our religion from the books of the Old and New Testament, without adding other doctrines, not found in them, as important parts of religion. Where transubstantiation, or other like absurdities, are taught as articles of religion, there will be persecution. Ancient gentilism could not stand before the light of the gospel. It was absurd, and could not be maintained by reason and argument. The christians, therefore, were continually gaining ground. They drew men off from the temples, from sacrifices, from the religious solemnities, from public sports and entertainments. This was a provocation to heathen people, which they could not endure; they had recourse, therefore, to violence, and tried every possible way to discourage the progress of the christian religion; and in the space of about two hundred and fifty years, from the emperor Nero to Maximin, there were ten or more heathen persecutions of the christians: the last of which was the longest, and the worst of all; at the end of which christianity prevailed. But if gentilism had been revived, heathen persecutions would have been repeated, and the cruelties of former times would have been practised over again, with equal, or, if possible, with redoubled rage and violence. The emperor Julian, when he became a heathen, though he was a man of wit and learning, and though he dressed up his scheme of gentilism in as plausible a form as he was able, to recommend it to the judgments of men, could not help being a persecutor, like his admired Marcus Antoninus, and many others, his heathen ancestors and predecessors. So it will be always. An absurd religion cannot maintain itself by reason and argument: it needs, and will have recourse to, force and violence for its support. But true religion, which is throughout reasonable, can rely upon its own intrinsic excellence, and those testimonials, which God, in his good providence, has been pleased to afford it, as the proper evidences of its high original.

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CHAP. XLI.

A review of the foregoing period, from the beginning of the third century to the conversion of Constantine: with some general observations upon the state of christianity under heathen emperors.

I. I HAVE now given an account of the heathen writers of the third century, who have taken notice of the christians: and I have made large extracts out of them, and transcribed many passages at length. It may be worth the while to recollect here what we have met with.

In Dion Cassius's noble work, The History of the Romans, published about the year 230, we have seen[a] another testimony to that important event, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by Vespasian and Titus. In him also we have seen[b] another testimony to Domitian's persecution of the christians. From him also we[c] learn Nerva's favourable regard to them.

In Amelius, a Platonic philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, about the year 263, we have seen a very distinct and honourable testimony to St. John's gospel.[d]

That eminent critic Longinus, about the year 264, in his work, Of the Sublime, has made very honourable mention of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, and commends the style, in which he represents the creation of the[e] world. There is also a Fragment[f] ascribed to him, where the apostle Paul is mentioned to advantage.

And we have met with a passage in Diogenes Laërtius[g] about the year 210, which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, where he puts the Athenians in mind of an "altar" of theirs, "with an inscription to the Unknown God."

The saying of Numenius, 'what is Plato, but Moses in 'Greek?' is well known, and recorded in divers ancient[h] writers. But the time of Numenius appears to me uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has at all referred to the affairs of christians, or their scriptures.

The emperor Alexander Severus, whose reign began in the year 222, as we learn from Lampridius,[i] one of the

[a] In this volume, p. 339—342. [b] P. 342—345.
[c] P. 345. [d] P. 373—375. [e] P. 379.
[f] P. 379, 380. [g] P. 319, 320. [h] P. 381. [i] P 330—333.

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Augustan writers, was favourable both to Jews and christians, and had a respect for the Lord Jesus Christ. He had two private chapels, one more honourable than the other. In the first were placed the deified emperors, and also some eminently good men, and among them Christ, and Abraham, and Orpheus. Some other things of a like kind may be seen in his chapter, which need not be recollected here; but they are of use to show that the christians were then well known, and that their innocence, or freedom from licentious principles and great crimes, was manifest. And this emperor deserves to be commended for his moderation, and for the justness of his sentiments.

The emperor Philip, whose reign began in 244, and ended in 249, has been by some supposed to be a christian. We have examined that question, and now refer our readers to what has been said upon it by divers learned [k] men.

The emperor Aurelian reigned from 270 to 275. Flavius Vopiscus, one of the Augustan writers, has preserved a part of a letter written by him to the senate at the beginning of his reign, in which the christians are expressly [l] mentioned: which shows that the christians were then well known to the Roman emperors, and to the Roman senate, and to all men.

A like observation may be made upon a story told by the same writer [m] concerning Heliogabalus, whose reign began in 218.

In this period were several learned men, who wrote against the christians, and the christian religion: one of whom is [n] Porphyry. He was born about the year 233. We have placed him as flourishing in the year 270. He was disciple of the celebrated Plotinus, and was himself a learned man, and a philosopher of the first rank. He published many books, some of which are still extant. His work against the christians consisted of fifteen books, and seems to have been prolix, and carefully studied, and filled with a great deal of learning, and the quotations of divers authors not now extant. Rufinus [o] calls him a determined

[k] P. 349—356. [l] P. 386, 387. [m] P. 470. [n] See his chapter, p. 390, &c.

[o] Si nihil aliud est, vel de Porphyrio silere debuerat, qui specialis hostis Christi est, qui religionem christianam, quantum in se fuit, penitus subvertere conatus est scriptis suis. Rufin. in Hieron. Invectiv. lib. ii. ap. Hieron. T. 4. p. 418.

Nam Porphyrius tuus, dic, quæso, quid te docuit; qui adversum christianos, et adversum religionem nostram blasphemiæ volumina conscripsit? &c. Ib. p. 424.

———ipsum Porphyrium sequendo, qui adversum Christum, et adversus Deum libros impios ac sacrilegos scripsit. Id. ib. p. 422.

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enemy of Christ, and says he did his utmost to overthrow the christian religion by his writings. His objections against christianity were in esteem with heathen people for a great while, as we learn from Augustine and others; and his memory was in abhorrence with christians, for the bitterness with which he had opposed them. His work was a violent attack upon our scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament; as we can perceive by the fragments of his work still remaining in christian writers, who have quoted him; at the same time they are a testimony to them; they bear witness to their antiquity, and to the great esteem which they were in with christians; and if his work were still extant, it might be of farther use to us in that respect, and upon some other accounts. I have made a large collection of the remaining fragments of his work, to which I refer my readers, without adding any more observations here. But the work called The Philosophy of Oracles,[p] which has been quoted by some as his, I take to be a forgery; and I have assigned my reasons at large for that opinion.

At the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution, about the year 303, another[q] published a work against the christians. We do not know his name, but he likewise was by profession a philosopher. His work was written in an insinuating manner, making fair pretences of good-will to the christians, that he might recover them from error, and deliver them from the sufferings to which they were exposed by a worship contrary to the laws. It seems to have been a large volume, for it consisted of three books; Lactantius slights it; but this philosopher's objections may have been sufficient to affect many of the common people among the Gentiles, and if it were now extant, it would be a great curiosity.

About the same time another work was written against the christians by[r] Hierocles, a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence, as he was a magistrate; it was in two books. Nor did he take upon him the character of an enemy to the christians; he aimed rather to be esteemed a kind and friendly counsellor and adviser. He was well acquainted with our scriptures, and made many objections against them; thereby bearing testimony to their antiquity, and to the great respect which was shown to them by the christians: for he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the gospels and the epistles.

And by Dioclesian's edict, the christian scriptures were ordered to be burnt when their temples were demolished:

[p] P. 444, &c. [q] P. 471, &c. [r] P. 474, &c.

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it was the first order of the kind; it shows, that our scriptures were then well known, and that the Gentile people were sensible of their importance: whether Hierocles was the adviser of that order we cannot say.

He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles; but in order to weaken the argument which the christians formed from them, in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up Apollonius Tyanæus as a rival, or superior to him: but it was a vain effort. We still have the Life of Apollonius, which Hierocles made use of, written by Philostratus; we are therefore able to pass a judgment upon his argument, and we can discern it to be very weak: for the works there ascribed to Apollonius are not equal to our Saviour's miracles, nor comparable with them: nor are the things ascribed to Apollonius written in a credible manner. And moreover, the history of him which Hierocles made use of, was not written till more than an hundred years after his death.

By Lactantius we are informed, that[s] the famous lawyer Domitius Ulpian, about the year 222, in his book Of the Duty of Proconsul, made a collection of all the edicts of former emperors against the christians.

And we have now in this volume seen an account of all the persecutions endured by the christians, from the year of our Lord 202, when the emperor Severus published his edict against the christians, to the year 312, or 313, when Constantine and Licinius put an end to the persecution begun by Dioclesian.

The progress of the christian religion in this period is abundantly attested: every thing bears witness to it. Porphyry says, that 'there[t] were many christians and others who 'censured Plato, against whom Plotinus [about the year '260 and before] often argued in his disputations, and also 'wrote a little book, which was entitled, Against the Gnos-'tics.' Porphyry complained also, that 'since[u] Jesus had 'been honoured, none had received any public benefit 'from the gods.' I presume, it could not be a very small number of christians, in some obscure place, which so disgusted the gods, as to induce them to withhold their gracious influences from the whole Roman empire. From his reflections upon Origen,[v] who, as he says, 'had many ad-'mirers and followers,' it appears, that the christians were then a numerous body of men.

If the number of the professors of the christian religion had not been increased and multiplied, there would have

[s] P. 334. [t] P. 443. [u] P. 439. [v] P. 396, &c.

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been no persecutions, nor any adversary writers: those learned men and philosophers would have spared the labour of composing voluminous works against the christian religion if it had few or no votaries. Persecutions likewise bear witness to the growing number of the christians. Says the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, near the beginning of his work: 'In[w] the time of Nero, Peter 'came to Rome, and having wrought divers miracles by the 'power of God, he converted many to righteousness. Nero 'being informed of this, and hearing, likewise, that not only 'at Rome, but every where else, many forsook the worship 'of idols, and, slighting antiquity, went over to the new re-'ligion, he resolved to extirpate that doctrine, and was the 'first who persecuted the servants of God. At which time, 'by his order, Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded.'

Sulpicius Severus has expressed himself much after the same manner: I shall place a part of what he says below,[x] without translating him.

And Maximin, one of the last persecuting emperors, in his letter to Sabinus above[y] quoted, speaks to this purpose: 'It is, I am persuaded, well known to yourself, and to all 'men, how that our lords and fathers, Dioclesian and Max-'imian, when they saw that almost all mankind were for-'saking the worship of the gods, and going over to the 'sect of the christians, did wisely ordain, that all men, who 'had forsaken the worship of their immortal gods, should 'be brought back to the worship of the gods by public 'pains and penalties.' Where the great increase of men professing christianity is expressly assigned as the reason of inflicting pains and penalties upon them at that time: 'that 'they might be brought back to the old religion.' And what is here so clearly owned, must be supposed to have always been the real occasion of those violent methods, which

[w] Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quæ virtute ipsius Dei, datâ sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ, cum animadverteret, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnatâ vetustate, transire, ut erat exsecrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosilivit ad excidendum cœleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit, &c. De Mortib. Persec. cap. 2.

[x] Interea, abundante jam christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto———Hoc initio in christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati; quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Sulp. Sever. l. ii. cap. 29.

[y] See p. 340, 341.

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had been so often made use of to check the increase of the number of christians, and to root them out, if possible, and all traces and footsteps of their religion. And the several edicts of all the persecuting emperors are proofs, that the christian religion was continually making progress, and gaining ground.

Let this suffice for a review of the argument of this volume.

II. I now proceed to make some observations upon the state of christianity under heathen emperors; and they shall be these three.

It was all along in a state of persecution:

Nevertheless it prevailed greatly.

Which is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

1. Christianity, from the time of its first appearance in the world, was all along in a state of persecution till the conversion of Constantine.

I forbear to show here, how it was opposed and persecuted, after the resurrection of Jesus, by the Jewish rulers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and then by Herod Agrippa when king of Israel, and afterwards by other Jews in Judea, and out of it. Upon these things I do not now insist, which may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of the New Testament, and also in the second chapter of the sixth volume of this work, where was shown 'the treatment given to the first christians by the unbelieving Jews.' I am now only to consider the state of christianity in Gentile countries, and under heathen emperors, from the time that it began to be preached among the Gentiles, and to make some progress among them, from about the middle of the first century to the end of this period, when Constantine embraced the christian religion, and by edicts gave leave to christians to worship God according to their own judgment and conviction.

St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, has taken notice of some difficulties which St. Paul met with in preaching the gospel in Gentile cities; particularly at Lystra in Lycaonia, ch. xiv. 19, 20, at Philippi, ch. xvi. 19—24. St. Paul himself speaks of some of his sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. 23—26, particularly at 25, "thrice was I beaten with rods:" meaning, as I suppose, by Roman magistrates: though St. Luke has mentioned one instance only, which was at Philippi, as just mentioned, when both Paul and Silas underwent that hard usage. But there were no imperial edicts issued against the christians, before that of Nero in the year of Christ 64

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or 65; at which time the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were put to death.

It has now of a long time been a prevailing opinion, that christians suffered ten persecutions under heathen emperors: nevertheless, there have been some exceptions made to this opinion by a learned writer, who is deservedly in great repute. 'If[z] you speak,' he says, 'of heavy persecutions that 'prevailed every where, there were not so many; if of les-'ser troubles, there were more than ten. The number of 'ten general persecutions is no more than a popular error 'which arose in the fifth century, destitute of good founda-'tion in history, and founded in a fanciful interpretation of 'some texts of the Old Testament, where the christian per-'secutions have been thought to be foretold. Lactantius, 'in his book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, makes but six 'persecutions: Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History does 'not number the persecutions, though nine persecutions may 'be made out from it. Upon the whole, the notion of ten 'heathen persecutions had its rise in the fifth century.'

Upon all which I must say, that in the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, whether written[a] by Lactantius, or another, we cannot expect to see an account of all the persecutions which christians had suffered in former times. His book is entitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors; his design therefore is to speak of such persecutors only as came to an untimely end: accordingly he writes of the persecution of Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, who suffered a violent death. Of their persecutions he

[z] Numeramus a multis jam seculis decem ejusmodi persecutiones. Verum non suffragatur huic numero vetus rerum christianarum historia. Si graviores intelligas persecutiones, et per universum orbem Romanum pertinentes, pauciores sunt quam decem; si minores, et provinciales, multo plures sunt quam decem. Auctores hujus numeri non eum in historiâ invenerunt, sed historiam ad partes quasdam sacri codicis accommodârunt, quibus persecutiones christianorum prædictas esse opinabantur——Perantiqua est, et a quinto seculo ad nos ducta sententia, de decem christianorum sub imperatoribus a Christo aversis persecutionibus. Quam ego tamen omnes veri amantes popularibus et fundamento destitutis erroribus, meo periculo, adscribere jubeo. Auctores ejus ignoti sunt. Hoc vero certum est, eos hanc sententiam non ab historiâ traditam accepisse, sed parum felicibus auspiciis ex divinis libris eruisse, atque historiæ reluctanti obtrusisse. Quarto post natum Servatorem seculo numerus persecutionum christianarum nondum definitus erat. Lactantius libello de Mortibus Persecutorum sex tantum numerat. Eusebius, in Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ, mala quæ christianis evenerant, recenset, numerum malorum non addit. At novem tamen ex eo christianorum calamitates colligi quodammodo possunt. Totidem seculo quinto Sulpicius Severus commemorat. Moshem. de Reb. Christianor. p. 97, 98.

[a] That Lactantius is not the author of that little book, was shown, Vol. iii. p. 495—499.

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gives a brief account in the first chapters of his book; and then he proceeds to Dioclesian's persecution, upon which he enlargeth. Here he computes four several persecutors, Dioclesian, Maximian Herculeus, Maximian Galerius, and Maximin. And according to his account Dioclesian[b] met with great misfortunes; Maximian[c] was strangled by order of Constantine for base treachery, and an attempt upon his life; Galerius[d] and Maximin[e] died miserably by grievous distempers, supposed to have been inflicted upon them by way of judgment from heaven, for their inhumanity to the christians. That is the design and substance of that book; and from it no argument can be formed for determining the number of persecutions which christians endured from heathen emperors.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not number the great afflictions which the christians had endured; but he has mentioned eleven persecutors, though the persecutions of some of them may have been of but short duration. The persecutors mentioned by Eusebius are these: Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, Severus,[f] Maximin the first, or the Thracian, Decius,[g] Gallus,[h] Valerian,[i] Aurelian, Dioclesian, and his colleagues.

The several persecutions of heathen emperors did not come to an end before the beginning of the fourth century; they could not be numbered till they were all over. Orosius[k] counts ten persecutions, and expressly calls Dioclesian's the tenth and last. Augustine likewise reckons ten heathen persecutions: he numbers them in this manner:[l] the first Nero's, the second Domitian's, the third Trajan's, the fourth Marcus Antoninus's, the fifth Severus's, the sixth Maximin's, the seventh Decius's, the eighth Valerian's, the ninth Aurelian's, the tenth Dioclesian's. These two learned writers lived partly in the fourth and partly in the fifth century: and it may be thence argued, that this way of computing was in use before the end of the fourth century;

[b] De Mort. Persecut. cap. 26.
[c] Ibid. cap. 30.
[d] Cap. 33—35.
[e] Cap. 49.
[f] H. E. l. vi. c. 28.
[g] L. vii. cap. 1.
[h] L. vii. cap. 10.
[i] L. vii. cap. 30. p. 283. B.

[k] Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculeus in occidente, vastari ecclesias, adfligi interficique christianos, decimo post Neronem loco præceperunt, quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit, &c. Oros. l. vii. cap. 25. Vid. et cap. 27.

[l] Primam quippe computant a Nerone quæ facta est, secundam a Domitiano, a Trajano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Diocletiano et Maximiano. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52.

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and indeed we can prove it. Jerom's book of Illustrious Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, was published in the year 392, and he there sometimes numbers the persecutions. In the chapter of St. John he calls[m] Domitian's the second persecution; in the chapter of Ignatius[n] he expressly mentions Trajan's persecution, though without numbering it; in the chapter of Polycarp[o] he says, he suffered in the time of the fourth persecution under Marcus Antoninus. He expressly calls Decius's[p] the seventh; and Cyprian's martyrdom he placeth[q] in the eighth persecution, in the time of Valerian and Gallienus: and in his Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius are ten persecutions, all expressly mentioned and numbered as in Augustine's.

There may have been some affectation in numbering the persecutions. Orosius,[r] and some others, have found out a way to compare the ten persecutions of the christians with the ten plagues of Egypt, which is trifling: but the number of persecutions has a foundation in history, as we have seen in the several chapters of this and the preceding volume. Some may compute nine, others ten, or eleven, but ten was a round number, and has generally prevailed: I think there were eleven; it seems to me that there is good reason to say so from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

The primitive christians, I think, called those troubles persecutions, which were ordered by edicts of emperors. Sulpicius Severus, having given an account of Nero's cruelty toward the christians at Rome, under a pretence that the city had been set on fire by them, adds: 'That[s] was the beginning of the cruel proceedings against the christians. 'Afterwards the christian religion was forbidden by laws; 'and by public edicts it was declared, that no man might 'be a christian.' Of such edicts or rescripts there were ten or eleven: and I suppose, that all persecutions ordered by imperial edicts were general; they were intended for the whole Roman empire subject to their government, but possibly they did not all actually reach to every part of the

[m] De V. I. c. 9. [n] De V. I. c. 16.

[o] Postea vero, regnante Marco Antonino, et L. Aurelio Commodo, quartâ post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnæ, sedente proconsule et universo populo, in amph.theatro adversus eum personante, igni traditus est. Ib. cap. 17.

[p] Septimâ autem persecutione sub Decio, quo tempore Babylas Antiochiæ passus est, Alexander ductus Cæsaream, et clausus in carcere, ob confessionem Christi, martyrio coronatur. Ib. cap. 62.

[q] Passus sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus, persecutione octavâ. Ib. cap. 67. [r] Oros. l. vii. cap. 27.

[s] Hoc initio in christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur; palamque editis propositis christianum esse non licebat. Sul. Sever. l. ii. cap. 29. Cleric.

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empire. The edict of Maximin the Thracian[t] is said to have been 'against the clergy only,' and his is sometimes called a local persecution: nevertheless, I think, it must have been general, and intended against the clergy every where. There is this proof of it: that Ambrose and Protoctetus were then imprisoned: this last was presbyter at Cæsarea in Palestine, and Ambrose is supposed to have been deacon in that or some other church not far off: and Orosius says, that this persecution was particularly intended against the presbyter Origen. But all those eminent christians lived in Syria, at a great distance from the capital of the empire; the edict, therefore, may have been intended against the clergy every where.

I apprehend I need not say any thing more here, nor make any recapitulation of what we have seen: but I would refer my readers to the accounts of the heathen persecutions which have been given in this and the preceding volume; which, I hope I may say, are authentic, and will be allowed to be so: and we have seen genuine copies of divers of the imperial edicts which were sent by them to the proconsuls, or other governors of provinces.

But it may be said, that all these ten persecutions will not prove, that christians were all along in a state of persecution till the conversion of Constantine: for the lives of some of those persecuting emperors were short, and when they were dead their edicts were little regarded; and then peace might be restored to the churches.

Undoubtedly there is some truth in what is here alleged; therefore I shall add some farther observations for clearing up this point, and for showing that they might still be in a state of persecution.

For Trajan's edict was never abrogated, but was still in being; and thereby the presidents were required to pronounce sentence of death upon all who were brought before them, and accused of christianity, unless they denied themselves to be christians, and made out the truth of what they said. And many might be accused by the spiteful and ignorant vulgar, as well as by other malicious people.

And some judges or governors of provinces might act without law, or contrary to it, as Pliny[u] had done. According to the edict of Trajan, christians were 'not to be 'sought for:' but the president at Lyons, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, '[v] issued out public orders, that strict 'searches should be made for them.' And it is manifest, that many christians suffered in the time of Adrian and

[t] See p. 348, 349. [u] See p. 34, 35, 50, 51. [v] P. 171.

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Titus Antoninus, though there were then no laws against them except the edict of Trajan: and though there were some laws in their favour, particularly the[w] Rescript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, which was also to be a rule to other governors of provinces, and the[x] Letter of Titus Antoninus to the states of Asia, and other[y] letters to the Larisseans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks.

We may do well to recollect here the history of Apollonius, a Roman senator, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Commodus, in the year of our Lord 186, or 187, or thereabout; of which I gave some account[z] formerly, but shall now transcribe more distinctly that chapter of Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History: where, after having given an account of the sufferings of christians in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and then of the works of Irenæus, and some other christian writers, he says: 'At[a] that time, 'in the reign of Commodus, there was a happy change in 'our affairs, and by the divine favour the churches enjoyed 'peace and tranquillity throughout the whole world. And 'by the same word of the gospel, many of all ranks were 'converted to the worship of the God of the universe: so 'that at Rome itself, many who were eminent for their 'riches, and for their descent, did with their whole families, 'and their kindred, embrace the way of salvation. But 'that was a thing not to be borne by the evil dæmon, envi-'ous of the happiness of men, and an enemy to all goodness. 'He therefore arms himself again, and sets his instruments 'to work against us; and he brings before the judgment-'seat Apollonius, one of the faithful, a man celebrated for 'learning and philosophy. A wicked wretch, one of his 'ministers, well fitted for such a purpose, is stirred up to 'accuse him: but that miserable man having brought his 'accusation unseasonably, when there was an imperial 'edict[b] appointing capital punishment for such things, had 'his legs broke, and was put to death by order of Perennis 'the judge. And the admirable man,[c] the martyr of whom 'I am speaking, being desired by the judge to give an ac-'count of himself to the senate, complied, and delivered an 'elegant apology for the faith for which he suffered, before 'the senate: and then, as by decree of the senate, was con-'demned to die; there being, as it seems, an ancient law, 'that if any christian were accused in a court of justice he

[w] P. 94, 95. [x] P. 126, 127. [y] P. 128. [z] See Vol. ii. p. 323, 324.
[a] Euseb. H. E. l. v. cap. 21. p. 189. [b] See before, p. 127.
[c] Ὁ δε γε θεοφιλεστατος μαρτυς——

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'should be punished, unless he denied himself to be a 'christian.' Eusebius then adds, 'that they who are de-'sirous to read what Apollonius said before the judge, and 'his answers to the interrogatories of Perennis, [præfect of 'the prætorium,] and his whole apology in the senate, they 'might see them in the collection which he had made of 'the ancient martyrdoms.' But that is entirely lost, to our great grief: for those Acts of the martyrdom of Apollonius, if they were extant, we may reasonably think, would be instructive as well as entertaining.

This shows, that in times called times of 'peace and tranquillity,' for the churches, some might suffer capital punishment as christians.

The ancient law to which Eusebius here refers, probably is Trajan's edict concerning the christians, and is so understood by [d] Valesius.

The edict of Severus against the christians was not published before the year of our Lord 202; but from Tertullian's apology, published in the year 198, or thereabout, it plainly appears, that the christians had suffered persecution for some while before the publication of that edict. Indeed it appears to have been a day of heavy affliction to the christians, as may be seen in what we have already written in this [e] volume.

And by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, we are fully assured, that [f] there was in that city a persecution under the emperor Philip, and that for a whole year the christians in that place underwent a great variety of heavy sufferings, before the publication of the edict of Decius.

And my readers will here recollect the remarkable history of Marinus before related in this volume,[g] who suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea, after that Valerian's persecuting edict had been revoked by his son Gallienus.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that the christians in this period were generally in suffering circumstances, and were always liable to suffer.

Nevertheless, after all, it is not to be supposed, that persecution was always violent and uninterrupted; there might be some abatements of those troubles, and some seasons of rest and peace; what they were, may be collected from what we have seen in this and the preceding volume; and I shall here reckon them up in a summary manner. We

[d] Legem igitur, seu rescriptum Trajani ad Plinium secundum intelligo, in quo cavetur, christianos quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Vales. in loc.

[e] See p. 314, 315. [f] P. 357. [g] P. 370, 371.

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reckon, that *Nerva* was favourable to them, who, when he repealed the other acts of Domitian, repealed also his law against the christians. His successor Trajan published an edict against the christians, which, as has been often hinted already, never was abrogated, but continued in force as long as heathenism subsisted in the Roman empire. Nevertheless we can perceive, that in the reigns of Adrian and Titus Antoninus, there were some edicts, or rescripts, which were favourable to them; though during those very reigns many christians still suffered in almost every part of the empire. They also received some favour and indulgence from Alexander Severus and Philip. They might also enjoy peace and tranquillity in the reigns of Commodus and Caracalla, who did not much concern themselves about the affairs of religion. The first years of Valerian, and the reign of Gallienus, after Valerian's captivity, were favourable to them; as likewise the former part of the reign of Dioclesian, when the[h] Roman empire was disturbed by enemies on every side.

In such seasons as these, it is reasonable to believe that the christians would exert themselves, and considerable accessions of new converts might be made to them. So it is said, Acts ix. 31, "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria:" occasioned by[i] the consternation into which the Jewish people were thrown by Caligula's order to have his statue set up in the temple at Jerusalem: "and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

When therefore I say, that all this while 'christianity 'was in a state of persecution;' I am willing that proposition should be understood in a mild and qualified sense: We now proceed.

2. 'Nevertheless it prevailed.'

Of this we have seen good evidence in heathen as well as in christian writers; which must be reckoned[k] very wonderful, admitting all the softenings and qualifications in

[h] Ita cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatæ essent, et Carausius in Britanniis rebellaret, Achilleus in Ægypto, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret; Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximinum Cæsares, &c. Eutrop. l. ix. cap. 22. Conf. Victor. de Cæsar. et Epitome. c. 39.

Igitur per omnes Romani Imperii fines subitarum turbationum fragores concrepuerunt. Carausio rebellante in Brittanniâ, Achilleo in Ægypto, cum et Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus etiam rex Persarum Orientem bello premeret. Hoc periculo Diocletianus permotus, Maximianum Herculeum ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, &c. Oros. l. vii. c. 25.

[i] See Vol. i. p. 101—104.

[k] Hoc temporum fractu, mirum est, quantum invaluerit religio christiana. Sulp. Sever. l. ii. cap. 33. al. 49.

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the fore-mentioned proposition, that can be asked or desired. From small beginnings it had mightily prevailed and increased in a short[1] time: and christians were very numerous, in every part of the empire, before the conversion of Constantine. Though they never had the princes of this world on their side, and from their first original they had endured a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and now were under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years in most parts of the empire; some have imagined it a suspicion not altogether without foundation, that a great prince may have joined himself to them from considerations of[m] interest. At least he perceived that he might do it, without dreading any bad consequences from the gentile people in the empire.

Nor were they considerable only for their numbers: they were also respectable for their quality. There now were among them, and always had been, men eminent for their skill in every part of literature, who wrote some in the Greek, others in the Roman language, and with uncommon purity and elegance: as appears from their works still remaining.

3, and lastly. 'This is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.'

The contention was between God and idols: and the cause of God prevailed. Many in every part of the empire "turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his son from heaven, even Jesus, who delivers us from the wrath to come," 1 Thess. i. 9, 10. 'The design of whose coming is to bring men to repent-'ance, and reclaim them from idolatry, and all other evil 'practices, and thereby to deliver his faithful followers 'from the future misery, which will be the portion of all 'wicked and impenitent men, and to bestow upon them 'everlasting happiness and salvation.'

[1] Now were fulfilled those prophetic parables of the first founder of this religion: Matt. xiii. 31—33, "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and hid in his field: which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spake he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. Compare Mark iv. 30—32; Luke xiii. 18—21.

[m] Avant que trois siècles se soient écoulées depuis la mort de J. C. le parti des chrétiens est déjà si fort, qu'un empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des payens. Il semble même, que, loin d'affoiblir par là sa puissance, il l'augmenta et la fortifia par ce moien. Sermons de S. Werenfels. p. 27. 1723.

That passage is quoted, Vol. iv. p. 27, where are other like observations.

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Many there were at that time who were inquisitive, and open to conviction, they therefore seriously attended to what was proposed to them, and impartially weighed the evidences of what was said. They forsook the error of their past way of worship; they embraced, and professed the christian doctrine, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, and then recommended it to others.

Our blessed Lord, in one of his beautiful parables, has expressed himself after this manner: "The kingdom of heaven," the state of things under the gospel dispensation, "is like unto a certain king, who made a marriage for his son; and he sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding, and they would not come. Again he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage. But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandize: and the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully and slew them," Matt. xxii. 1—6.

This parable may have been primarily intended to represent the conduct of the Jewish people in the time of our Saviour, and his apostles; but it is a just description of the temper and conduct of gentiles also, and of all men in general. The things of this world are preferred to those of another, and secular affairs are more minded than the things of religion. Few only are engaged in the search of truth: religious truth is the least regarded, and the most opposed of any. This truth may be hard to be found; when it is discerned, and obtained by impartial inquiries and serious meditation, it may be dangerous to own and profess it. The blessed Jesus therefore, our divine Master, says again, Matt. xiii. 44—46, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field: the which when a man has found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls; who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it."

In the first ages of christianity truth bore a high price; nevertheless there were those who bought it, and would not part with it upon any consideration whatever. Prov. xxiii. 23. Nor was this distraction or obstinacy, as through mistake it is called by the proprætor[n] Pliny, and the emperor[o] Marcus Antoninus. It was a just and reasonable resolu-

[n] See before, p. 23. [o] P. 135.

tion; it is agreeable to all sound philosophy, and the sentiments of all philosophers, who have considered the obligations of human conduct, that[p] we ought to suffer death rather than deny the truth, of which we are persuaded. And our Lord has expressed himself clearly upon this point, and without reserve, Matt. x. 32, 33, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." And he has given us full assurance that none shall be losers by fidelity to him, or by any acts of self-denial for the sake of him and his gospel. And he said to his disciples, Luke xviii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 29, "Verily I say unto you, there is no man, who has left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life." Mark x. 29, 30. He has himself engaged in this warfare, and knows by experience what it may cost; and therefore he has sometimes expressed himself after this manner. John xvi. 33, "In the world ye will have tribulation: but be of good cheer: I have overcome the world." Again: Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcome, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

If any of the first christians were too forward, and needlessly exposed themselves to sufferings, they are not to be vindicated; for they acted contrary to repeated precepts of Jesus himself. "Behold," says he to his disciples, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves:" and "when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." Matt. x. 16, 23.

But I do not think that they often transgressed those rules. I am rather of opinion that they were generally mindful of them, and paid them due regard. We have seen examples of it in[q] Polycarp and his people; in[r] Cyprian, bishop of Carthage; in the[s] christians at Alexandria, during the persecution of Valerian; and in the christians[t] living in Pontus and Cappadocia, in the time of Maximin the Thracian. Other instances of their discretion might be alleged.

The christians of the first three centuries were not perfect nor infallible: they had their failings and their errors; nor were they altogether free from strife and contention: but

[p] P. 137. [q] P. 152. [r] P. 140, 367. and Vol. iii. p. 7, 8.
[s] See here in this volume, p. 365. [t] P. 348, 349.

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there were among them many men of sincere and undissembled virtue, and some eminent therein, who were shining examples of every thing excellent and commendable in human life. They were quiet and peaceable, and obedient to magistrates in all things appertaining to their[u] jurisdiction. They[v] prayed for the Roman emperors, and for the officers under them, and for the prosperity of the empire. They were kind to each other, and to[w] strangers. 'Our affair,' said the ancient[x] apologists, Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, 'lies not in words, but in works.' And Lactantius, so low as the beginning of the fourth century, could say, 'The[y] 'great concern of our people is to be holy and unblamable 'in their lives.' Pliny has borne an honourable and ample testimony to the good design of their religious[z] assemblies; and they were remarkable for their patience and fortitude under sufferings for the principles which they had embraced: by all which they glorified God, edified each other, and were continually making converts from among their Gentile neighbours, and even from among such as hitherto had been their enemies.

If afterwards christians altered for the worse: if they departed from "the faith once delivered to the saints," Jude ver. 3: if they admitted into their belief and profession corrupt mixtures of human invention: if, instead of being persecuted themselves, they persecuted other men: or if they persecuted one another for difference in speculative opinions, of little importance: or if they did any thing else contrary to the purity of the doctrine of the gospel, we shall be obliged to acknowledge it without partiality, when we see the proofs of it.

And indeed Chrysostom has observed, 'that[a] christianity 'rather declines under christian emperors; so far is it from 'being cherished by the honours and preferments of this 'world: but it thrives most when it is persecuted, and lies 'under worldly discouragements.' And said Sulpicius

[u] P. 43. [v] Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro morâ finis. Tertull. ap. cap. 39. cited above, p. 49. And see p. 360, 364, 367.

[w] Instances of both those kinds of generosity to such as were in affliction, may be seen in the chapter of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Vol. iii. p. 9, 10; and in the chapter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 650, 651; and here at p. 365. See also the chapter of Lucian of Samosata, p. 279, 280.

[x] Ου γαρ μελετη λογων αλλ' επιδειξει, και διδασκαλια εργων τα ημετερα. Athen. p. 37. B. Vid. et p. 12. A. et Justin. ad Gr. Coh. p. 53. B.

[y] Nostro autem populo quid horum potest objici, cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere et sine maculâ vivere? Inst. l. v. cap. 9. sub fin.

[z] See above, p. 23, 24. [a] De S. Bab. contr. Gentil. T. ii. p. 548. Bened.

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Severus not long[b] ago, speaking of Dioclesian's persecution, 'Glorious martyrdoms were then as earnestly contend-'ed for, as bishoprics have been since sought by ambitious 'men.'

We may do well therefore to emulate the best times and the sincerest disciples of Jesus Christ, whom we have taken for our master and guide in the things of religion: and we may sometimes recollect what our Lord said "before Pontius Pilate therein witnessing a good confession. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth beareth my voice," 1 Tim. vi. 13; John xviii. 37.

Let us then carefully attend to that word of the gospel which was first "preached every where," by men chosen and appointed, and fully qualified for that purpose, Mark xvi. 20, "the Lord" himself "working with them, and confirming it with signs following:" and has been since recorded by his faithful apostles and evangelists. Amen.

CHAP. XLII.

CHALCIDIUS.

I. *His time, work, and character.* II. *His testimony to the appearance of an extraordinary star at the time of our Saviour's nativity, with remarks.*

I. CHALCIDIUS translated into Latin the former part of the Timæus of Plato, and added a prolix commentary of his own upon it; in which he shows a great deal of learning, and good skill in the sentiments of the ancient philosophers. This work is inscribed to Osius, or Hosius, supposed to be the bishop of Corduba in Spain, and a principal member of the council of Nice in the year 325, but without any intimation of his character, as bishop, or ecclesiastic, or christian.

And the time and character of this author are uncertain. By some he has been supposed to be deacon or arch-deacon in the church of Carthage; others think he was an heathen.

[b] P. 519.

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According to Humphry Hody [a] he was a gentile, well acquainted with christian writings. Beausobre [b] calls him a christian philosopher, an intimate friend of Hosius: and, as he, [c] joined christianity with Platonism. Cave [d] is at an absolute uncertainty about his real character; he knows not whether he was a gentile or a christian. Fabricius, the last editor of Chalcidius, published him as a [e] christian, who wrote near the beginning of the fourth century; and has [f] endeavoured to answer objections. Nevertheless Mosheim [g] still hesitates.

I shall, after others, take notice of some difficulties; for [h] Chalcidius seems to approve of the divinations of gentilism, and to allow them to be of use for discovering futurities. He [i] quotes Moses as a wise man, and 'as said' to have divine inspiration, as well as human knowledge. However, that expression 'as said, ut ferunt,' Fabricius [k] thinks need not to be understood to denote any uncertainty in the author's mind.

It ought to be observed by us likewise, that [l] he has quoted

[a] Chalcidius, commentator in Timæum Platonis, ipse quidem Gentilis, sed in libris christianorum versatus——Hod. De Bibl. Textib. Origin. l. iii. p. 1. cap. 4. p. 299. Vid. et cap. vii. p. 310.

[b] Chalcidius donc, philosophe chretien, et intime ami d'Osius, n' admettoit pas seulement l' éternitè de la matière, mais—Hist. de Manich. Tom. 2. p. 238.

[c] Chalcidius, qui ajoûtoit le christianisme au Platonisme, &c. Ib. p. 469. Conf. Tom. i. p. 478, 479.

[d] De hac re pridem me monuit Sellerus noster. Et cum in hanc quidem sententiam viros quosdam non indoctos propendere video, locum ei inter scriptores ecclesiasticos non denegavimus. Me certe εποχην fateor; neque enim satis constat, philosophus solum Platonicus fueritne, an etiam christianus, &c. Cav. H. L. p. 199.

[e] Chalcidii, christiani scriptoris, qui sub quarti seculi initio vixit. Fabric. p. 225. ad calcem Operum S. Hippolyti. Hamburg, 1716.

[f] Vid. Fabric. Annot. in Chalcidii Prolog. p. 226. et Bib. lib. iii. cap. 7. Tom. i. p. 554.

[g] Vid. De turbatâ per recentiores Platonicos ecclesiâ, sect. 31. p. 165, &c. et Institution. Hist. Eccl. Sec. 4. P. 1. cap. 1. p. 149, 150.

[h] Quæ cuncta observatione, scientiâ, artificiosâ quoque solertiâ colliguntur. Aut enim alitum volatu, aut extis, aut oraculis, homines præmonentur; prædicente aliquo propitio dæmone, qui sit eorum omnium, quæ deinceps sequuntur, scius. Chalcid. in Tim. cap. 7. sect. 183. p. 346. al. p. 275.

[i] Hebræi sylvam generatam esse confitentur. Quorum sapientissimus Möyses non humanâ facundiâ, sed divinâ, ut ferunt, inspiratione vegetatus, in eo libro, qui De Geniturâ Mundi censetur, ab exordio sic est præfatus, juxta interpretationem septuagintâ prudentum. Ib. cap. 13. sect. 274. p. 380. al. p. 372. [k] Verba, ut ferunt, non dubitantis sunt, sed Hebræorum sententiam exponentis. Fabric. not. (*d*) p. 380.

[l] Tum initii multas esse significationes, ut 'Initium sapientiæ timorem Domini esse,' Salomon dixit. [Prov. i. 7.]—Atque etiam in præconio sapientiæ cœlestis auctor: 'Initium vitæ panis et aqua, et tunica,' inquit, 'et domus idonea velandis pudendis.' [Sirach. xxix. 21.]—Est tamen unum

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Solomon's Book of Proverbs once or twice, and also the words of Ecclesiasticus. ch. xxix. 21.

I think it must be allowed that there is some difficulty in determining this writer's true character; Fabricius [m] himself has acknowledged as much, and that he may be compared to another author mentioned by Photius, whose character was doubtful: his manner of writing not clearly showing what was his religion, whether christianity or gentilism.

I dare not be positive; but to me it seems that he was a polite Platonic philosopher, who was willing to be on good terms with christians, whose religion prevailed at that time; and I place him, with [n] Cave, as flourishing about the year 330.

II. I now proceed to quote the passage of this commentary of Chalcidius, for the sake of which I produce him among other authors in this work. 'There [o] is likewise,' says he, 'another more sacred and more venerable history, which relates, that the appearance of a certain star declared not diseases and deaths, but the descent of a venerable God, for the salvation of mankind, and the good of the world. When this star had been seen upon a journey in the night-time, by some truly wise men of the Chaldæans, who were well versed in the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, they are said to have made inquiry concerning the late birth of a God; and when they had found the young majesty, they paid him the worship and homage

rerum omnium initium, de quo Salomo in Proverbiis. 'Creavit me,' inquit, 'Deus progressionis suæ semitam'—[Prov. viii. 22—25.] Chalcid. cap. 13. sect. 274. p. 380. al. p. 373.

[m] Chalcidius, V. C. et gnavissimus veteris philosophiæ, dubium reliquit lectoribus suis, utrum Christo nomen dederit, fueritne Hebræus, an ethnicam probaverit superstitionem. Possis de eo uti verbis, quæ Photius [Cod. 180. p. 211. al. p. 405.] de Joanne Laurentio Philadelphensi Lydo scripta reliquit—*Την δε θρησκειαν ὁ ανηρ εοικε δεισιδαιμων ειναι· σεβεται μεν τα Ἑλληνων και θειαζει· θειαζει δε και ἡμετερα, μη διδυς τοις αναγινωσκουσιν εκ του ῥητου συμβαλειν, ποτερον οὑτω νομιζων θειαζει, η ὡς επι σκηνης.* Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. iii. cap. 7. Tom. i. p. 554.

[n] Claruit forsan circa annum 330, certe Hosio ætate par, si modo Hosius Cordubensis erat, quo suadente, Chalcidius Platonis Timæum Latine interpretatus est, et erudito commentario explicavit. Cav. H. L. p. 199.

[o] Est quoque alia sanctior et venerabilior historia, quæ perhibet, ortu stellæ cujusdam, non morbos mortesque denuntiatas, sed descensum Dei venerabilis ad humanæ conservationis, rerumque mortalium gratiam. Quam stellam, cum nocturno itinere suspexissent Chaldæorum profecto sapientes viri, et consideratione rerum cœlestium satis exercitati quæsîsse dicuntur recentem ortum Dei: repertâque illâ majestate puerili, veneratos esse, et vota, Deo tantum convenientia, nuncupâsse, quæ tibi multo melius sunt comperta, quam cæteris. Cap. 7. sect. 125. p. 325. al. 219.

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which was worthy of so great a God. But to none are these things so well known as to yourself.'

It is manifest that the author here refers to the history in St. Matthew, ch. ii. 1. "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, ver. 2. Saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. Ver. 9. When they had heard the king [Herod] they departed, and lo the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. 10. And when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child, with Mary his mother, and they fell down and worshipped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh." Comp. Matt. i. 21—23.

Fabricius[p] thinks this paragraph to be a good proof of the writer's christianity. And from the compliment at the end made by him to the person to whom the work is inscribed, we may be induced to allow his episcopal character.

Whether this writer was a christian or a heathen, this passage is a valuable testimony to St. Matthew's gospel, and to this remarkable history. And if this commentary upon Plato's Timæus be reckoned the work of a gentile philosopher, the several quotations of the Old Testament, which we before saw, and now this of the New, afford proof, that the sacred scriptures were then well known in the world. To me it seems, that the style of the paragraph just cited, is the style of a gentile, not of a christian writer. Cave[q] seems to have made the same judgment upon it.

[p] Hoc loco satis perspicue christianum se prodit Chalcidius. Fabric. p. 325. not. (*c*).

[q] Semel meminit stellæ, Christum recens natum* præmonstrantis, cujus in historiâ evangelicâ fit mentio: de quibus nihilominus, haud satis pro christiani scriptoris more loquitur. Cav. H. L. p. 199.

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CHAP. XLIII.

ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS IN EGYPT.

I. *His work, time, and character.* II. *Extracts out of his work, containing many references to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the christian doctrine.*

I. ALEXANDER of Lycopolis, in Egypt, was mentioned by me long ago, in the History of the Manichees, among those authors[a] who had written against them: but learned men are not agreed about his character, as was also observed formerly. Some think he was a christian: others suppose him to have been a heathen. If this last be his character, he comes in properly to be mentioned here among such writers; we must therefore now more distinctly consider that point.

Fabricius[b] thinks, he was at first a heathen, then a Manichee, and afterwards a good catholic christian, when he wrote this work; and he placeth him in the fourth century.

All which is agreeable to the sentiments of our[c] Cave; who also supposeth him to have been acquainted with some of the first followers and disciples of Mani himself. If so, he must have lived not far from the beginning of the fourth century.

Photius,[d] in his work against the Manichees, calls Alexander archbishop of Nicopolis.

Tillemont[e] says, 'that by his book he appears to have 'been a pagan philosopher; who, observing that some of 'his fellow-disciples embraced the opinion of the Manichees,

[a] Vol. iii. p. 269.

[b] Alexandri Lycopolitæ, ex Ethnico Manichæi, atque inde ad ecclesiam reducti, liber——Videtur scripsisse seculo quarto. Bib. Gr. lib. v. c. 1. Tom. 5. p. 290.

[c] Alexander Lycopolita, natione Ægyptius, Lyco urbe Thebaïdos oriundus——Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichæos, in Ægyptum recens delatos, se contulit. Tandem ejuratâ hæresi ad catholicorum castra transiit. Et cum ex eorum grege fuerat, opiniones probe novit, scripsitque librum *προς τας Μανιχαιω δοξας*——Ætas auctoris etsi certo definiri nequit, antiquissimum tamen esse, et quarti seculi scriptorem, nec forsan ab ipsius Manetis temporibus longe remotum, suspicere fas est. Ait se relationem hujusce opinionis *απο γνωριμων τω ανδρος*, ab iis qui cum homine familiariter conversati fuerint, accepisse. Cav. Diss. de Scriptor. incertæ ætatis, p. 2.

[d] *Ὁτε της πολεως Λυκων Αλεξανδρος τοῦ αρχιερατικοῦ εγκεχειρισμενος νομου.*——Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. 11.

[e] Mem. Ec. T. 4. Les Manichéens, art. 16.

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'and thinking it to be very absurd, composed that book to 'confute it by natural and philosophical reasons. He speaks 'with respect of Jesus Christ, and prefers the doctrine of 'the[f] churches (those are his terms) to that of Mani. But 'we can perceive from those very places that he was not 'at all a christian. Combefis, his editor, thinks him to be 'very ancient, because he had learned the doctrine of the 'Manichees from the disciples of the author of the sect; 'but the place upon which he relies, may denote no more 'than that Egypt knew Mani by his disciples, without ne-'cessarily implying that Alexander himself knew any of 'them.'

Beausobre[g] is of the same opinion. He calls Alexander a pagan philosopher. He argues after this manner: 'First, 'he never alleges the scriptures in his dispute with the Ma-'nichees, which a christian would not have failed to do, 'since the Manichees admitted the authority of the books of 'the New Testament. 2. He speaks of the souls of Nymphs, 'which is not the style of a christian. 3. He[h] speaks of 'the deluge of Deucalion, and Phoronæus, without men-'tioning that of Noah. 4. He expresseth himself altogether 'like a pagan, saying, that[i] of all the gods, the Manichees 'honoured only the sun and the moon. He manifestly placeth 'himself in the number of pagans; for, after having observed, 'that the Manichees endeavoured to confirm their error by 'the history, or fable of Bacchus, and the attempt of the 'giants, he adds:[k] the more learned among them, says he, 'who have some knowledge of the Greek literature, remind 'us of our own ceremonies, and our own mysteries.' These arguments Beausobre thinks decisive; and Mosheim[l] has declared his approbation of them.

I shall presently make large extracts out of this writer; whereby all my readers will be qualified to judge for themselves concerning his character.

The time when he lived is uncertain; there is nothing in

[f] See p. 18, to be cited in note r, p. 578.

[g] Hist. des Manichéens, Vol. i. p. 236, 237.

[h] P. 17. B. C.

[i] ——εν ᾗ Ἥλιος και ἡ Σελληνη, οὐς μονες θεων αιδεισθαι φασιν. Alex. Lycop. contr. Manich. p. 7. C.

But it should be observed, that Alexander elsewhere owns, that the Manichees did not worship the sun and moon, as gods: but only as the way by which they attain to God. Τιμωσι δε μαλιστα Ἥλιον και Σελληνην, ουχ ὡς θεῳ, αλλ ὡς ὁδον δι' ἧς εστιν προς Θεον αφικεσθαι. Ibid. p. 5. D.

[k] Οἱ δε εν τυτοις χαριεστεροι, και Ἑλληνικων ουκ απειροι λογων, αναμιμνησκεσιν ἡμας εκ των οικειων· εκ μεν των τελετων, κ. λ. Alex. p. 6. A.

[l] Hujus philosophandi libellus exstat Græce contra Manicheeos——De religione ejus accurate egit Isaac de Beausobre. Moshem. Institut. H. E. p. 235.

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his work to show clearly, that he wrote near the beginning of the fourth century. But it seems to me not improbable, that he wrote soon after the principles of Manichæism had gained some footing in Egypt: he might, therefore, compose this work about the middle of the fourth century, or even before it; I therefore place him at the year of Christ 350.

II. The work of Alexander begins in this manner: 'The[m] philosophy of the christians is called simple; for its principal concern is to regulate the manners of men, having first intimated the right doctrine concerning the Deity, as the one efficient cause of all things. It forbears obscure questions and nice arguments about the reason of things; nor does it labour to describe particularly the grounds and nature of every virtue; but holdeth forth in a general way the precepts of all virtue. By attending to which, as experience shows, the common people are much influenced, and gradually allured to the love and practice of piety.'

'But[n] this simplicity being disliked, some have moved difficult and abstruse questions; and delighting in contention, have formed sects. Such an one was Manichee, who was of the country of Persia. One Papus, and after him Thomas, teachers of that doctrine, brought it in among us. He lived, as it is said, in the time of Valerian; and accompanying Sapor in his wars, he offended him, and so lost his life. Such[o] is said to have been the origin of this doctrine, which has been brought in among us by his disciples. They hold two principles, God and matter:' and what follows, giving an account of the Manichæan notions.

I have transcribed below a large part of the introduction, of which I have made only a loose translation. But Alexander here gives a very honourable character of the genuine christian philosophy, as 'simple, and intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all sorts of men, and even among

[m] Χριστιανων φιλοσοφια ἁπλη καλειται. Αυτη δε επι την τυ ηθυς κατασκευην την πλειστην επιμελειαν ποιειται, αινιττομενη περι των ακριβεστερων λογων περι Θευ· ὧν το κεφαλαιον της περι ταυτα σπυδης εικοτως αν ἁπαντες αποδεξαιντο, ενθα το ποιητικον αιτιον τιμιωτατων τιθενται και πρεσβυτατων, και παντων αιτιον των οντων· παραγγελματα δε παχυτερα, ὡς ετυγχανεν, επισωρευοντες· ὧν ὁ πολυς δημος ακυων, ὡς εκ της πειρας εστι μαθειν, σφοδρα επιδιδωσιν εις επιεικειαν· και της ευσεβειας χαρακτηρ ενιζανει αυτων τοις ηθεσιν, αναζωπυρων το εκ της τοιαυτης συνηθειας συνεκλημμενον ηθος, και κατ' ολιγον εις την τυ καλυ αυτυ ορεξιν ὁδηγων. Alex. Lycop. adv. Manich. p. 3. ap. Combefis. Auctarium Patr. Græc. novissimum. Paris. 1672.

[n] Ibid. p. 3, 4.

[o] Τοια δε ων τις φημη της εκεινυ δοξης απο των γνωριμων τυ ανδρος αφικετο προς ἡμας. Αρχας επιθετο Θεον και Ὑλην. P. 4. B.

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the lower ranks, and common people,' which, indeed, are the bulk of mankind. We shall see this character of the christian religion repeated again by and by; but let me proceed to take other passages as they lie in the book itself.

2. For, soon afterward, in his representation of the Manichæan doctrine, he says: 'They[p] suppose man to be an image of the divine power, and that Christ is Mind; and that having descended from above, he sent back to God a large part of this power: at length he was crucified, and by that means afforded knowledge.' And what follows.

I do not stay to explain these Manichæan absurdities; I only produce this passage to show that Alexander was not silent about Christ. We go on.

3. 'But[q] it would be much better for them to say, that wisdom had been given to men by God, that by the exercise of reason they might be gradually delivered from the love of pleasure, and other vicious affections; and they who profess to be teachers of virtue, might be examples of it to others. In this way, it might be hoped, that evil might cease, when all were become wise. This seems to me to have been the design of Jesus: and that husbandmen, and carpenters, and masons, and other artificers, might not want this help to goodness, he appointed a common council of all together; and by plain and easy discourses he aimed to bring them, both to the knowledge of God, and the love of virtue.'

This appears very honourable to our Saviour. Alexander, I think, must have read the books of the New Testament, the gospels at least. What he means by the 'common council of all together,' may be doubtful; but it seems to me not unlikely, that he intends the college of Christ's

[p] Ὑπαρχειν γαρ αυτον θειας δυναμεως εικονα· τον δε Χριστον ειναι Νουν· ὀν δη και αφικομενον ποτε απο τυ ανω τοπυ, πλειστον τε της δυναμεως ταυτης προς τον Θεον λελυκεναι· και δη και τελευταιον ανεσταυρωθεντα παρασχεσθαι γνωσιν τοιῳδε τροπῳ· και την δυναμιν την θειαν ενηρμυσθαι, ενεσταυρωσθαι τῃ Ὑλῃ. p. 5. C.

[q] Πολυ δε καλλιον ην την σοφιαν ὁπλον φαναι τοις ανθρωποις ὑπο τυ Θευ δεδοσθαι, ἱν' ὁ εστιν αυτοις δια το αισθητικοις ειναι εξ επιθυμιας και ἡδονης, τυτο κατα μικρον εις το αγαθον περιαγυσα, το ἑπομενον ατοπον εξ αυτων ανελῃ. Οὑτως γαρ ὁυτοι τε αρετην επαγγελλομενοι διδασκειν, ζηλωται αν ησαν της προθεσεως και τυ βιυ· πολλη τε αν ην ελπις τε, ὁτι ποτε παυσεται τα κακα, παντων γενομενων σοφων. Ὁ δοκει μοι κατανενοηκεναι ὁ Ιησυς. Και ἱνα μη απεληλαμενοι ὡσι τυ αγαθυ γεωργοι τε και τεκτονες και οικοδομοι, και οἱ αλλοι απο των τεχνων, κοινον συνεδριον καθισαι παντων ὁμυ· και δι' ἁπλων και ευκολων διαλεξεων, και εις Θευ εννοιαν αυτυς απενηνοχεναι, και τυ καλυ εις επιθυμιαν ελθειν ποιησαι. p. 13. C. D.

apostles, among whom were a publican and several fishermen, and, if we take in Paul, a tentmaker.

4. 'They[r] speak of Christ, though they do not know him; and they call him Mind; and they would appear to speak agreeably to the doctrines of the churches; but if so, why do they reject that which is called the ancient history?'

It is hence evident, that Alexander had some knowledge of the received doctrine of the churches, or the reputed orthodox christians. Accordingly, he here seems to blame the Manichees, for not receiving the scriptures of the Old Testament.

5. Presently afterwards,[s] in an obscure manner, he argues against their opinion, that Christ was Mind.

6. Again, a little lower, he argues against their notion, that Christ was crucified, but without suffering. 'But,'[t] says he, 'it would be more reasonable to say, agreeably to the ecclesiastical doctrine, that he gave himself for the remission of sins. And it is agreeable to the sentiments of others, and even of the Greek histories, which speak of some who gave themselves for the welfare of their countries. Of which also the Jewish history has an example; for it tells us, that Abraham prepared his son for a sacrifice to God.'

7. He seems to refer to the history of Cain's killing his brother Abel,[u] Gen. ch. iv.

8. He plainly refers to Gen. vi. 1, 2; and says, that[v] the Jewish History speaks allegorically, when it says, that angels fell in love with the daughters of men.

9. This I think to be all which is needful to be taken from this writer. I am not able to determine, with certainty, whether he was a christian or a gentile; but I am rather inclined to think he was a gentile. He must have had good knowledge of the Manichees and other christians; and he

[r] *Τον δε Χριστον ουδε γινωσκοντες, αλλα Χριστον αυτον προσαγορευοντες.——Νουν ειναι φασιν.——Ει μεν το γνωστον, και το γιγνωσκον, και την σοφιαν αυτου λεγοντες ὁμοφωνα, οὑτως τοις απο των εκκλησιων περι αυτου λεγουσι διατατομενοι, οὑτω γε ἁλωσονται· πως την λεγομενην παλαιαν ἁπασαν ἱστοριαν εκβαλλουσιν*; p. 18. D.

[s] P. 19. A.

[t] *Το μεν κατα τον εκκλησιαστικον λογον ειπειν, εις λυσιν ἁμαρτιων ἑαυτον επιδεδωκεναι, εχειν πιστιν τινα προς τους πολλους, κἀκ των ἱστοριων των καθ' Ἑλληνας, ὁτ' αν φησιν, τινας ὑπερ σωτηριας πολεων ἑαυτους επιδεδωκεναι. Και παραδειγμα του λογου εχει και ἡ Ιουδαιων ἱστορια, τον του Ἀβρααμ παιδα εις θυσιαν τῳ Θεῳ παρασκευαζουσα.* p. 19. C. D.

[u] P. 11. B. C.

[v] *Οἱ μεν γαρ περι τουτων διατατοντες, εν αλληγοριαις τα τοιαυτα προφερονται, το σεμνον του λογου αποκρυπτοντες τῃ του μυθου ιδεᾳ. Οἱον ὁτι αν ἡ των Ιουδαιων ἱστορια φῃ, τους αγγελους ταις θυγατρασι των ανθρωπων εις αφροδισιαν συνελθειν μιξιν.* p. 20. A.

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appears to be not unacquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He evidently was a learned and rational man.

His observations concerning the christian philosophy, 'as plain and simple, and designed to reform the manners of men of all ranks,' deserve particular notice. To me this work of Alexander appears very curious.

CHAP. XLIV.

PRAXAGORAS.

'PRAXAGORAS[a] of Athens,' says Photius, 'wrote the 'History of Constantine the Great, in two books.'

Having made an abridgment of the work,[b] 'containing an 'account of Constantine's early life, his succeeding to his 'father, his wars in Gaul and Germany, and then his wars 'with Maxentius and Licinius, of both which he gives a bad 'character, as vicious and tyrannical,' he adds: 'Praxagoras,[c] 'though he was of the gentile religion, says, that the em-'peror Constantine had surpassed all the preceding emperors 'in every virtue, and in every kind of felicity: and so con-'cludes his history.' That must be reckoned honourable to Constantine.

Photius adds: 'Praxagoras, as he says, was of the age 'of two and twenty years when he wrote that history. He 'also wrote two other books of the History of the Kings of 'Athens, when he was nineteen years of age. He likewise 'composed six other books, containing the History of Alex-'ander, king of the Macedonians, when he was one and thirty 'years of age. His style,' says Photius, 'is clear and 'agreeable, but somewhat unequal. He wrote in the Ionic 'dialect.'

Praxagoras[d] is supposed to have flourished in the time

[a] Ανεγνωσθη Πραξαγορου του Αθηναιου της κατα τον μεγαν Κωνσταντινον ἱστοριας βιβλια δυο. Phot. Cod. 6. p. 64.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Φησιν ουν ὁ Πραξαγορας, καιτοι την θρησκειαν Ἑλλην ων, ὁτι πασῃ αρετῃ και καλοκαγαθιᾳ, και παντι ευτυχηματι, παντας τους προ αυτου βεβασιλευκοτας ὁ βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος απεκρυψατο, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 65. in.

[d] Vid. Voss. Hist. Gr. lib. ii. cap. 17. Tillemont, L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.

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of Constantius; I place him, therefore, at the year 350; though the exact time of his writing cannot be known.

CHAP. XLV.

BEMARCHIUS.

IN the next place I take Bemarchius, who also follows next after Praxagoras in Vossius's work of the Greek historians.

'Bemarchius,[a] of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, sophist,' says Suidas, 'wrote the history of the emperor Constantine, in ten 'books: he also wrote several declamations and orations.'

He also is supposed to have written in the time of Constantius: and Tillemont[b] therefore, beside what is in Vossius, observes, 'that[c] Libanius speaks of one Bemarchius, 'a pagan sophist, who was much in favour with Constantius.' There is nothing of him remaining: nevertheless I cannot forbear to wish, that his history of Constantine was in being. His work was in ten books, and therefore must have been large and copious: and, as may be supposed, it was favourable to Constantine. This may be argued from Libanius, whose words imply that Bemarchius had a great respect for Constantius, and was his admirer.

Tillemont observes in the same place, 'that Eunapius[d] also 'wrote the history of Constantine: but undoubtedly,' as he says, 'it was in the body of his Universal History, which he 'had made of the emperors from the death of Severus.' This also, if extant, I believe would be very curious: and I heartily wish that Universal History of Eunapius may be found in some library.

[a] Βημαρχιος, Καισαρευς, εκ Καππαδοκιας, σοφιστης. Οὑτος εγραψε τας Κωνσταντινυ τυ βασιλεως πραξεις εν βιβλιοις δεκα, μελετας τε και λογες διαφορες. Suid.

[b] L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.

[c] Ομωτυσι δη τοις ὡδε πεπραγμενοις ερχεται Βημαρχιος συμμαχος μηνι ἑβδομῳ, μαλα δη τον Κωνσταντιον ῥητεως ανηρ, κ. λ. Liban. Vit. p. 15, 16

[d] Eunap. de Vit. Sophist. cap. 4. p. 40.

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CHAP. XLVI.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

I. *His time, history, and character, and his behaviour toward the christians.* II. *His works, particularly his work against the christians.* III. *His regard to the Jewish people, and his design to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.* IV. *Extracts out of his work against the christians.* V. *Extracts out of his Orations and Epistles.*

I. JULIUS CONSTANTIUS, brother of Constantine the Great, had two wives: Galla, by whom he had Gallus and several other children; and Basilina, a lady of an illustrious family, by whom he had Flavius Claudius Julianus, or Julian, who was her only child, she dying soon after his birth.[a]

Julian[b] was born at Constantinople on the sixth day of November, in the year of Christ 331, and died the 26th day of June, in the year of our Lord 363, in the 32d year of his age, which was not complete.

As I have not room to write the history of Julian at length, I refer to several learned moderns,[c] where more particulars may be found, and my mistakes, if I should make any, may be corrected.

Julian was about six years of age when Constantine died, in 337: soon after which, in the year 339, when Julian[d] was in the eighth year of his age, several of Constantine's[e] family were put to death, and among them the father of Julian, and his eldest brother. The infirmities and weak constitution of Gallus, another brother of Julian, saved his life, it being thence concluded, that he could not live long; and Julian's tender age was a security to him.

[a] ——— epotâ gelidâ aquâ quam petiit medio noctis horrore vitâ facilius est absolutus, anno ætatis altero et tricesimo: natus apud Constantinopolim; a pueritiâ usque parentis obitu destitutus Constantii, quem post fratris Constantini excessum inter complures alios turba consumpsit Imperii successorum, et Basilinâ matre, jam inde a majoribus nobili. Am. M. l. xxv. cap. 3. fin.

[b] Vid. Pagi in Baron. ann. 337. num. ix. et 363. iv. v.

[c] Pagi, ubi supra, et passim. Basnag. ann. 363. et alibi. Cav. H. L. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 8. Tom. vii. p. 76. &c. Tillemont, Hist. Emp. Tom. iv. Vie de l'Emp. Julien par Bletterie. See likewise Tillemont's long article of Julian's Persecution, in the seventh Tome of his Memoirs.

[d] Pagi ann. 337. num. ix. [e] Vide Julian. ad Athenienses, p. 270. C. D Ammian. ut supra. Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. Liban. Or. x. p. 262. C. D.

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Constantius took care that they should be educated by christian masters. When Julian was about fourteen or fifteen years of age, he and his brother Gallus were sent to a palace in Cappadocia, where they lived at ease, but were well guarded; so that, as Julian[f] says, they were shut up as in a prison. Here they spent about six years, till the year 351, when Gallus was made Cæsar. At that time Julian was permitted to come to Constantinople: but his fine parts making him to be much taken notice of, he was sent away to Nicomedia, where Libanius then taught rhetoric. But Julian had been particularly charged not to converse with him, nor learn any thing of him. However, he had here a good deal of liberty, and was acquainted with divers heathen philosophers; some of whom came hither on purpose to pay their respects to him. Here Julian, at about the age of twenty, took a liking to Hellenism: and it is said, that some of these philosophers did then give him hopes of being emperor. Constantius had informations concerning him: and Julian, for preventing disagreeable suspicions, as Socrates[g] says, was shaved, and made profession of being a monk. He privately studied philosophy, and publicly read the scriptures: and he was ordained reader in the church of Nicomedia.

In 354, Gallus was killed, and Julian was suspected of disaffection: he was sent for therefore to come to Milan, where the emperor then was, and a guard was set upon him. In this danger Julian's life was saved by the intercession of the empress Eusebia, who also obtained leave for him to travel into Greece: which was very agreeable to Julian, who wanted nothing more than to complete his studies at Athens; and the emperor likewise was willing he should employ his time in matters of literature rather than politics. In the year 355 Julian arrived at Athens; where also Basil and Gregory Nazianzen were studying eloquence, and other parts of polite literature. But Julian made no long stay there; for in the same year he was sent for by Constantius to Milan,[h] and on the sixth day of November, 355, he was declared Cæsar, that he might go into Gaul, and take the command of the army there: and Britain and Spain were also put under his government. A few days after that, Constantius gave him in marriage his sister Helena.

Julian left Milan on the first day of December, and before the end of the year came to Vienne in Gaul. In the

[f] Ad Athenienses, p. 271. B. C.

[g] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 166. A. Conf. Theod. H. E. l. iii. cap. 2. Gregor. Naz. Invectiv. i. seu Or. 3. p. 58. D.

[h] Pagi ann. 355. num. iv.

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wars with the Franks and Germans who had made incursions into the country, he was very successful, and gained a great deal of honour and reputation there, and all over the empire.

In the year 360, about[i] the month of March or April, in the 29th year of his age, he was against his will declared Augustus by the soldiers at Paris; who in a manner compelled him to accept the title, and to take upon him the government, no longer in the quality of Cæsar, but of emperor.

Julian thereupon sent some of his officers with a letter to Constantius, who was then in the East preparing for the war with the Persians, giving him an account of what had been done, desiring him to yield to him the title of Augustus, and promising all the submission that could be expected from a second and a partner in the empire. Julian's officers found Constantius at Cæsarea in Cappadocia; who resented the conduct of Julian, and sent him a letter, requiring him to be content with the title of Cæsar. That letter was received by Julian at Paris, and was read in the presence of the people and the soldiers. Julian offered to submit to the proposal of Constantius if the soldiers approved of it; but with loud acclamations they confirmed to him the title of Augustus. Of this likewise Julian sent an account to Constantius; and afterwards several letters passed between them.

Julian came to Vienne near the end of the year 360, about which time[k] he lost his wife Helena. He was still at Vienne on the 6th day of January[l] in 361: soon after which he went forward into Illyricum, and took possession of Sirmium the chief city. Constantius died in Cilicia the third day of November[m] 361: on the 11th day of December[n] following Julian[o] made his entrance into Constantinople, with the general acclamations of the people, attended by the senate, by whom he was proclaimed emperor.

Here he stayed about eight months:[p] and having settled matters, and conferred many favours upon that city, the place of his nativity, he set out for Antioch in Syria, where

[i] See Tillemont, L'Emp. Constance, art. 55. Bletterie Vie de Julien, liv. 2. p. 170.

[k] Ammian. l. xxi. cap. 2.

[l] Id. ib. cap. 2.

[m] Vid. Pagi ann. 361. num. iv. Basnag. ann. 361. num. iv.

[n] Pagi 361. num. vi.

[o] Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 2.

[p] Omnibus igitur, quæ res diversæ poscebant et tempora, perpensâ deliberatione dispositis,———cunctorum favore sublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis multis fultam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam; et colebat. Amm. l. xxii. cap. ix. p. 346.

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he arrived in July 362. And having completed his preparations for the war with the Persians, he set out with his army from Antioch in the beginning of March 363. In an action with the Persians he received a wound with a dart on the 26th day of June; and being carried to his tent, he expired there in the night of the 26th day of June 363, in a calm and composed manner, entertaining his friends with philosophical [q] discourses.

Thus died Julian, in the 32d year of his age, having been Cæsar about seven years and a half, Augustus, after his proclamation by the soldiers in Gaul, about three years, and sole emperor, after the death of Constantius, a year and almost eight months.

From whom that dart came was always uncertain; [r] whether from the Persians, or from some of Julian's own men. His death was charged upon the christians by Libanius, because, as he argued, they were the only men who had an interest in it: and no Persian was rewarded for it; nor did any of them claim any honour upon that account. But there never was any proof brought of that charge; nor have other heathen writers joined with Libanius in it, but rather suppose, that the dart [s] came from the enemies.

There are reported some blasphemous expressions to have been spoken by him at that time, of which Theodoret writes in this manner: 'It [t] is said, that when he was 'wounded he took a handful of his blood, and threw it up 'into the air, saying at the same time: O thou Galilean, 'thou hast got the better of me.' Sozomen [u] tells the same story a little differently, and then adds: 'But some say, he 'was displeased with the sun, who had sided with the Per-'sians and deserted him: and that holding up his hand, 'and showing his blood to the sun, he threw it up into the 'air.' The same is also related by [v] Philostorgius.

Theodoret says, 'that [w] a man of good understanding, 'who taught children at Antioch, was in company with Liba-'nius the celebrated sophist, who asked that person what the 'carpenter's son was doing. He replied: The maker of the

[q] Ammian. l. xxv. cap. 3. Liban. Or. Parent. T. ii. p. 323. B. C. D. et apud Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. sect. 14. p. 362. Vid. et Sozom. l. vi. cap. 1, et 2. Zos. l. iii. p. 728.

[r] Vid. Socrat. l. iii. cap. 21. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 2. Theod. l. iii. cap. 25.

[s] ———dum se inconsultius prœliis inserit, hostili manu interfectus est. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 16. Et conf. Ammian. l. xxv. c. 3.

[t] Εκεινον δε γε φασι, δεξαμενον την πληγην, ευθυς πλησαι την χειρα αιματος, και τυτο ρψαι εις τον αιρα, και φαναι, Νενικηκας, Γαλιλαιε. Theod. l. iii. c. 25. p. 147.

[u] Soz. l. vi. cap. 2. p. 638. C. D.

[v] L. vii. cap. 15.

[w] Theod. l. iii. cap. 23.

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'world whom you jeeringly call the carpenter's son is 'making a coffin. And in a few days after tidings came of 'Julian's death.'

If Libanius was pleased to talk in that rude manner, I think such an answer might be made without a spirit of prophecy. Some other like things may be found in our ecclesiastical historians, which I forbear to take notice of.

Nevertheless, I think it not improper to observe a short story told by Jerom, in his comment upon the third chapter of the prophet Habakkuk: who says, 'When[x] he was yet 'very young, and at a grammar-school, when all the cities 'were polluted with the blood of victims, on a sudden, in 'the heat of the persecution, came news of the death of 'Julian. Whereupon one of the heathen people said, not 'much amiss: How comes it, says he, that the christians 'style their God patient and long-suffering? For none can 'be more hasty and passionate; he was not able to defer 'his indignation for the shortest space. So said that person 'in a jesting way: but the church of Christ sang with exul-'tation: "Thou didst strike through the heads of the 'powerful with astonishment."' Habakkuk iii. 14, according to the reading of the Seventy.

It is not needful that I should draw the character of Julian at full length, but I shall observe some things. Ammianus Marcellinus was well acquainted with him, and was his great admirer, and was present with him in the Persian expedition: he has twice touched upon the lines of his character: First, entering upon the history of his conduct in Gaul, after Julian had been declared Cæsar, where he says in the way of panegyric, 'that[y] he might be compared to Titus son 'of Vespasian for prudence, to Trajan for valour, to Titus 'Antoninus for clemency, and for strong reasoning to Marcus 'Antoninus, whom he took for his great model of imitation 'in all his actions.'

Again, after Julian's death he draws his character more

[x] Dum adhuc essem puer, et in grammaticæ ludo exercerer, omnesque urbes victimarum sanguine polluerentur, ac subito in ipso persecutionis ardore, Juliani nuntiatus est interitus, eleganter unus de ethnicis, Quomodo, inquit, christiani dicunt Deum suum esse patientem, et ανεξικακον? Nihil iracundius, nihil hoc furore præsentius; nec modico quidem spatio indignationem suam differre potuit. Hoc ille ludens dixerit. Cæterum ecclesia Christi cum exultatione cantavit: Divisisti cum stupore capita potentium. Hieron. in Hab. T. iii. p. 1636.

[y] Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentiâ Vespasiani filius Titus alter æstimaretur, bellorum gloriosis cursibus Trajani simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectæ perfectæque rationis indagine congruens Marco, ad cujus æmulationem actus suos effingebat et mores, &c. &c. Ammian. l. xvi. cap. 1. Vid. et cap. v

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at length, describing [z] his person, his temper, and manners: 'He [a] was extremely temperate in eating and drinking, and 'slept little: his chastity is represented [b] as exemplary and 'inviolate: his skill in every branch of science was very 'great for his age.' His genius for learning is highly applauded by heathen authors; nor is it disowned by [c] christians; and his remaining works are proofs of it. His great ability, and his facility in writing, appear in the several works composed by him in the space of those twenty months in which he was sole emperor; and that amidst the hurries of a joyful accession, and the diligent administration of justice, beside all the ordinary affairs of so vast an empire, and the preparations of a hazardous war with the Persians. As Libanius says, 'he [d] has left behind him works in all 'kinds of writing, in all of them excelling all other men, 'and in his epistles himself.' His valour likewise is undisputed; though his prudence, especially in the Persian expedition, has been often called in question: which,[e] as has been said, was rashly undertaken, resolutely pursued against many discouragements, and carried on, attended with several instances of mismanagement and bad conduct.

After all, he [f] had his faults, as is acknowledged by his best friends. He had a certain levity of mind, was a great talker,

[z] Mediocris erat staturæ, capillis, tanquam pexisset, mollibus, hirsutâ barbâ in acutum desinente vestitus—&c. Id. l. xxv. cap. 4. p. 463, 464.

[a] Vir profecto heroïcis connumerandus ingeniis——Cum enim sint, ut sapientes definiunt, virtutes quatuor præcipuæ, temperantia, prudentia, justitia, fortitudo,——intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas. Et primum ita inviolatâ castitate enituit, &c. Ammian. l. xxv. cap. 4. sub in.

[b] Νυν δε την μεν γυναικα επενθησεν, ἑτερας δε ουδε προτερον ουθ' ὑστερον ἡψατο. Liban. Or. Parental. sect. 88. p. 313. ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii.

[c] Επει δε περι Ιυλιανυ τυ βασιλεως ελλογιμυ ανδρος ολιγα διεξελθειν προκειται. Socr. l. iii. cap. 1. in.

Εχων τοινυν ευφυα την γλωτταν ὁ κρατιστος Ιυλιανος. Cyril. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 3. D.

[d] Ὁ δε πολεμων τε ὁμυ και πλαττων λογυς, πασας μορφας καταλελοιπεν, ἁπασαις μεν ἁπαντας νικων, τα δ' αυτυ τη των επιστολων. Or. Parent. sect. 154. p. 375. ap. Fabric. aliter. Or. x. 330. C.

[e] Sed in hoc bello, parum prudenter cœpto, et gesto, A. 363, telo in prœliis percussus interibat. Moshem. Instit. H. E. p. 147.

[f] Digestis bonis, quæ scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda ejus vitia veniemus, licet dicta sint carptim. Levioris ingenii. Verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat, emendari se, cum deviaret a fruge bonâ, permittens. Linguæ fusioris, et admodum raro silentis; præsagiorum sciscitationi nimiæ deditus: ut æquiparare videretur in hac re principem Hadrianum. Superstitiosus, magis quam sacrorum legitimorum observator, innumeras, sine parcimoniâ, pecudes mactans: ut estimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos; Marci illius similis, in quem id accepimus dictum: Οἱ λευκοι βοες Μαρκῳ τῳ Καισαρι: Αν συ νικησης, απολωμεθα. Vulgi plausibus lætus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor; popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui sæpe adfectans. Ammian. l. xxv. cap. 4. p. 462, 463.

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and very fond of fame: superstitious rather than properly religious; so addicted to sacrificing, that it was said the race of bulls would be destroyed if he returned victorious from Persia. And such [g] was the multitude of his victims, that his soldiers, who partook of them, were often much disordered by excess in eating and drinking. So Ammianus. It would be tedious to rehearse all the instances of excessive and even ridiculous superstition, which may be found in heathen writers. Says Libanius: 'He [h] received 'the rising sun with blood, and attended him again with blood 'at his setting.' 'And [i] because he could not go abroad so 'often as he would, he made a temple of his palace, and placed 'altars in his garden, which was purer than most chapels.' 'By [k] frequent devotions he engaged the gods to be his 'auxiliaries in war, worshipping Mercury, Ceres, Mars, 'Calliope, Apollo, and Jove; whom he worshipped in his 'temple upon the hill, and in the city,' meaning Antioch—'And complaining of the gods who had deserted him: 'Whom [l] shall we blame, says Libanius? not one, but all: 'for none were neglected by him, neither gods nor god-'desses. And is this the return,' says he, 'for all his victims, 'for all his vows, for all the incense, and all the blood 'offered up to them, by day and by night.' Again, says the same writer: 'Wherever [m] there was a temple, whether 'in the city, or on the hill, or the tops of the mountains; no 'place so rough, or so difficult of access, but he ran to it, 'as if the way had been smooth and pleasant, if it had a 'temple, or ever had one.'

But though Julian was so devout and religious in his way, when disappointed he could be displeased, and even angry, with his gods, like [n] other heathen people, especially the

[g] Inter hæc expeditionem parans in Persas——Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimiâ perfundebat, tauros aliquoties immolando centenos, et innumeras varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terrâ quæsitas et mari: adeo ut in dies pene singulos milites carnis distentiore saginâ victitantes incultius, potûsque aviditate corrupti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas ex publicis ædibus—ad sua diversoria portarentur, &c. &c. Id. l. xxii. cap. 12.

[h] Αἱματι μεν δεχομενος ανισχοντα τον Θεον· αἱματι δε παραπεμπων εις δυσιν. Liban. Or. 8. p. 245. D.

[i] Επει μη τρεχειν εις ἱερον παρ' ἡμερων ενεστιν, ἱερον ποιειται τα βασιλεια, και τον κηπον καθαρωτερον των παρ' ενιοις αδυτων, &c. Ibid.

[k] Liban. Legat. ad Julian. p. 170.

[l] Liban. Or. 9. in Julian. Necem, p. 252. A. B.

[m] Δρομοι τε εις τεμενη· τα μεν εν τῃ πολει, τα δε εν ακροις ορεσι. Και ὑδεν ὑτω χαλεπον, ὑδε δυσβατον, ὁ μη λειον εδοκει, νεων εχων, ἡ προτερον γε εσχηκος. Or. 9. p. 255. A.

[n] Tamen longe majora et firmiora de eo [Germanico] judicia in morte ac post mortem existitere. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversæ Deûm aræ, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expositi. Sueton. Calig. cap. 5.

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vulgar among them. In [o] the Persian war, having had some advantages, and expecting more, he prepared a grand sacrifice for Mars: but the omens not being favourable, he was exceedingly moved, and called Jupiter to witness, that he would never more offer a sacrifice to Mars.

This excess of superstition, it seems to me, is an argument of want of judgment: which defect appeared upon divers occasions, and in many actions, not altogether becoming the dignity of an [p] emperor.

Ammianus Marcellinus, though very favourable to Julian, makes no scruple to blame him upon some occasions.

After he had been declared Augustus, and when he was in the way to the East to meet Constantius, he sent a letter, or oration, to the senate of Rome, in which were many reflections upon Constantius. 'When [q] Tertullus, who was 'then præfect of the city, read the letter in the senate, they 'manifested their generosity and gratitude: for with one 'voice, and directing themselves as to Julian himself, they 'cried out aloud: We beseech you, Sir, show more respect 'to him, to whom you are indebted for what you are.'

Constantine, in the necessity of his affairs, had advanced some men of low rank to high posts in the republic: with that Julian reproached Constantine in the just-mentioned letter, or oration, to the senate: and yet he himself made Nevita, a man of mean original, consul in the year 362. But, says Ammianus, a [r] man should not do what he had blamed in others.

[o] Abunde ratus post hæc prosperitates similes adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat Ultori. Et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti voluntate suâ novem procubuere tristissimi. Decimus vero, qui, distractis vinculis lapsus, ægre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis exclamavit indignatus acriter Julianus, Jovemque testatus est, nulla Marti jam sacra facturum. Nec reseravit, celeri morte præreptus. Ammian. l. xxiv. cap. 6. fin.

[p] Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asiâ philosophus Maximus, exsiluit indecore: et qui esset oblitus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum susceptumque reverenter secum induxit, per ostentationem intempestivam nimius captator inanis gloriæ visus——— Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 7. p. 330.

[q] Jamque altius se extollens, et nunquam credens ad concordiam provocare posse Constantium, orationem acrem et invectivam, probra quædam in eum explanantem et vitia, scripserat ad senatum. Quæ cum, Tertullo administrante adhuc Præfecturam, recitarentur in Curiâ, eminuit nobilitatis cum speciosâ fiduciâ benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim, in unum cunctorum sententiâ congruente, Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus. Ammian. l. xxi. cap. 10.

[r] Tunc et memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus adusque fasces auxerat, et trabeas consulares; insulse nimirum et leviter: qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestius objurgavit, brevi

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He moreover censures some of the executions made at the beginning of his reign soon after the death of Constantius: he says, 'It[s] seems to him, that justice itself wept for the 'death of Ursulus, superintendant of the treasury, to whom 'Julian was under many obligations: and when many were 'offended with the emperor upon that account, he pretended 'that it was done without his knowledge, and was entirely 'owing to the resentments of the soldiery.' So Ammianus.

I need not enlarge any farther here: these several particulars now mentioned may be sufficient to satisfy us, that in the conduct of Julian there might be many things liable to exception; and that, like other great men, he was upon some occasions guilty of indiscretion, and even of injustice: and if the friends of Constantine were so disposed, they might make reprisals upon the panegyrists of Julian.

Before we pass on to other things, it may be requisite to take notice of some exceptions that have been made to Julian's virtue.

The first relates to his chastity. Mamertinus, in his panegyric, says, 'That[t] Julian's bed was as pure as that of any 'vestal.' Libanius[u] likewise ascribes to Julian complete purity. But no one has so enlarged upon this point as the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimony must be allowed to be as satisfactory as that of any man: he[v] not

postea Mamertino in consulatu junxit Nevitam, nec splendore nec gloriâ horum similem, quibus magistratum amplissimum detulerat Constantinus; contra inconsummatum, et subagrestem, et, quod minus ferendum, celsâ in potestate crudelem. Ammian. ibid.

[s] Ursuli vero necem Largitionum Comitis ipsa mihi videtur flêsse Justitia, imperatorem arguens ut ingratum——Quo extincto, cum maledictis execrationibusque multorum se Julianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientiâ suâ hominem affirmabat occisum, prætendens, quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quæ dixerat, ut ante retulimus, cum Amidam vidisset excisam. Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 3.

[t] ———lectus———Vestalium toris purior. Mamert. cap. 13. p. 292.

[u] *Ουδεν γαρ επραττετο της νυκτος των τοιωτων γειτονων αναξιον.* Liban. Or. x. p. 292. B.

Ου σωφρονεστερος μεν Ἱππολυτου; Ibid. p. 225. C.

[v] Et primum ita inviolatâ castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem nihil unquam Venereum agitaret; illud advertens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragœdiarum scriptorem ætate grandævum interrogatum, ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem id adjecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem, ut rabiosum effugisse dominum et crudelem. Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, recolebat sæpe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat jucunde, id asserentem, quod, ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore juventutis ita caute vitavit, ut ne suspicione quidem tenus libidinis ullius vel citerioris vitæ ministris incusaretur, ut sæpe contingit. Hoc autem temperantiæ genus crescebat in majus, juvante parcimoniâ ciborum et somni, quibus domi forisque tenacius utebatur. Ammian. l. xxv. c. 4. p. 458.

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only ascribes to Julian inviolate chastity after the death of his wife, but also says, that this virtue was always in high esteem with him. He likewise mentions some considerations by which Julian supports his resolution, and says, that none of those who were most intimate with him, ever suspected him of liberties contrary to that branch of temperance in any time of his life.

Nevertheless, exceptions have been made to this part of Julian's character by some of late times, who say: 'As [w] 'to his chastity, we are not fully convinced that it deserved 'those mighty encomiums which Mamertinus, Libanius, and 'Ammianus Marcellinus have been pleased to bestow upon 'it: for on one side it is certain, that by Helena, his only 'wife, he had but one son, whom the midwife, bribed by the 'empress Eusebia, destroyed as soon as born: on the other 'side, Julian himself, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that 'is, three years after the death of Helena, mentions his 'children, and the person who was charged with the care 'of their [x] education.'

1. To which I answer, That the testimony of the forementioned writers ought to be relied upon: the truth of what they say ought not to be contested. If Julian's chastity had not been real and well known, heathen historians and panegyrists might and would have been silent, and have said nothing about it.

2. There is a remarkable instance of his self-government in this respect recorded in the Persian expedition, and which ought to be mentioned to his honour. The city Maogamalcha was taken after a difficult siege: when [y] they came to divide the spoil, the Persian women being then renowned for beauty, it was proposed, that some of those beautiful captives should be allotted to the emperor and general: but Julian would not so much as see any of them. Which shows, that he was upon his guard against every thing that should endanger the steadiness of his resolution.

[w] Tillemont, L'Emp. Julien, art. xxx. p. 1031. and the writers of Universal Ancient History. Vol. xvi. p. 269, 270.

[x] *Παλιν επανιοντος οικαδε τȣ τροφεως των εμαυτȣ παιδων, ἑτερων ηρχον προς σε γραμματων.* Ep. 40. p. 417. Spanh.

[y] Divisâ itaque perpensis meritis et laboribus prœdâ, ipse, ut erat parvo contentus, mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscepit gesticularium, multa quæ callebat nutibus venustissimis explicantem, et tribus aureis nummis partæ victoriæ præmium jucundum ut existimabat et gratum. Ex virginibus autem quæ speciosæ sunt captæ ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit, nec videre; Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui hæc declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique præstiterant. Ammian. l. xxiv. cap. 4. p. 436.

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3. When Julian speaks of 'the tutor of his children,' who is not named, the expression must be understood figuratively; for Julian had no children, legitimate or illegitimate. Historians are quite silent about them, excepting that one which he had by his wife Helena above mentioned, who was not suffered to live. If Julian had any children out of lawful marriage, and therefore illegitimate, can it be supposed, that christian writers would have been silent about it? By no means. Eumenius, in his Panegyric, recommends [z] to Constantine not only his five children, of whom he was the parent, but his other children likewise, as he calls them, whom he had educated for the bar, or the court. In some such figurative sense Julian must be understood: he intends some young persons under his special care.

4. Upon the whole, therefore, the accounts of Julian's inviolate chastity ought not to be reckoned unlikely. Ammianus has mentioned divers considerations by which Julian supported his resolution—And he adds, that he was assisted therein by his great and constant temperance in food and sleep. Moreover, Julian's ardent thirst of fame may have been another preservative of this virtue. When Mamertinus says, that Julian was free from every vice incident to human nature, it is not improbable, that he has a regard to incontinence. His expressions are to this purpose: 'To [a] 'some,' says he, 'your justice, your humanity, your free-'dom from every vice incident to human nature, may appear 'wonderful and even incredible: but not to me, who know 'that you aim at immortality; and that in all your designs 'and actions you have an eye to the impartial judgment of 'posterity. He can do nothing mean and abject, who 'expects to be in the mouths of all men in all time.'

Secondly, it is objected from [b] Chrysostom, 'that on 'festivals to the honour of Venus, or on some other like 'occasions, Julian walked in procession with lewd women, 'and others of the worst characters, followed by his horse

[z] Tibique, quod superest, commendo liberos meos—Cæterum quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata est, imperator, ambitio. Præter illos enim quinque quos genui etiam illos quasi meos numero, quos provexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia Palatii. Eumen. Paneg. cap. 23. p. 217.

[a] Sed sint, sanctissime imperator, ea quæ tu juste, moderate, civiliter facis, aliis fortasse miraculo: mihi esse non possunt; qui te, omnibus humanis vitiis absolutum et liberum, sciam solo immortalitatis amore flagrare, dirigere omnes opes et cogitationes tuas ad memoriam posteritatis æternam, atque his maxime servire judicibus, qui de rebus gestis tuis sine odio et gratiâ venturis seculis judicabunt. Non potest quidquam abjectum et humile cogitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum. Mamert. cap. 31. p. 303.

[b] Vide de S. Babylâ. contr. Jud. et Gentil. T. 2. p. 559. 560. Bened.

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'and guards.' Which is too true, though very strange; Ammianus[c] acknowledgeth it, and intimates that he was ridiculed by some upon that account.

Still, it should be observed, that Chrysostom, and[d] other ecclesiastical writers, who mention these and the like things, do not charge him with being guilty of debauch. In the style and language of[e] Bletterie: 'All this was done in 'public, and from a principle of religion. Thus making a 'monstrous mixture of folly and wisdom, he honoured the 'debauch as a pagan, and abstained himself as a philosopher.' Indeed, I am of opinion, that though Julian, in the excess of his zeal for Hellenism, was willing to bear a part in all its rites and solemnities, yet he scorned all debauch, and was entirely above it.

Once more, thirdly, it is said, that[f] he practised necromancy, and ripped up the bellies of women and children, and searched their entrails for discovering future events.

But I must confess, that I do not think these stories sufficiently attested; they are to be found in christian writers only, who were his enemies, and therefore their testimony may be suspected. I might add, that[g] Gregory Nazianzen's accounts are extravagant, and improbable, and incredible; for he affirms, 'that the course of the river Orontes was 'choaked by the heaps of dead bodies thrown into it in the 'night-time, some of them children, and virgins, sacrificed 'in the way of divination, beside all the rest, that were hid 'in pits and caverns, and other private places, in and near 'the palace.' A man who talks in that manner, minds not what he says, and cannot be supposed to regard truth in his words. Or, as Bletterie says, more respectfully, 'St.[h] 'Gregory is not to be understood literally.'

[c] ——et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratiâ vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra stipatusque mulierculis lætabatur. Amm. l. xxii. cap. 14. p. 359.

[d] *Τας δε προποσεις τε και φιλοτησιας, ἁς δημοσιᾳ ταις πορναις προυπινε τε και αντιπρυπινετο, ὑποκλεπτων το ασελγες μυστηριυ προσχηματι, πως υ θαυμαξειν αξιον*; Gr. Naz. Or. 4. p. 121. C.

[e] Vie de L'Emp. Julien, p. 348.

[f] *Τι αν τις λεγοι τας νεκρομαντειας, τας των παιδων σφαγας*; Chrys. Adv. Gent. T. 2. p. 560. B. Vid. et Theodoret. H. E. l. iii. cap. 26.

[g] *Σιωπησομαι τον Οροντην, και τυς νυκτερινυς νεκρυς, οὑς τῳ βασιλει συνεκρυπτεν ὁυτος ςεινομενος νεκυεσσι, και κτεινων αδηλως· ενταυθα γαρ τα τυ επυς ειπειν οικειοτερον· παραδραμυμαι και των βασιλειων τα κοιλα και απωτατω, ὁσα τε ἐν λακκοις, και φρεαρσι, και διωρυξι, κακων γεμοντα θησαυρων τε και μυςηριων· ου μονον των ανατεμνομενων παιδων τε και παρθενων επι ψυχαγωγιᾳ και μαντειᾳ, και θυσιαις ου νενομισμεναις, αλλα και των ὑπερ ευσεβειας κινδυνευοντων.* Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 91.

[h] Ce qu' on ne doit pas sans doute prendre à la lettre. Vie de Julien, p. 349.

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Theodoret says, 'that[i] when Julian, in his march into 'Persia, came to Carrhæ, where was a celebrated temple of 'the moon, he performed sacrifices privately, unknown to 'almost every body; and having done so, he had the tem-'ple closely shut up and sealed, forbidding it to be opened 'till he returned, and leaving also a guard of soldiers to 'secure it: but upon the news of his death, the temple 'being opened, they found there a woman hanging by the 'hair of her head, her arms stretched out, with her belly 'dissected.'

But the circumstances of this relation are so improbable, as to lessen the credibility of it; for it is altogether unlikely, that so horrible a sacrifice, if it had been performed, should be left in that shameful posture, and hanging by the hair of the head; or that Julian should leave soldiers to guard it, when he had none to spare. It is much more reasonable to suppose, that some person invented this story, and others received it, at a time when Julian's memory was infamous, and his enemies were at liberty to say of him what they pleased.

We have briefly gone over the history of Julian from his birth to his death; and thereby have been led to take in also his character: but it will be fit that we should enlarge upon some transactions and events.

The two consuls in the year 362, were Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta; and on the first day of January, Mamertinus pronounced in the senate at Constantinople a panegyric upon the emperor, by way of thanks for the honour of the consulship bestowed upon him. Early[k] in the morning of that day, when they entered on their office, the two consuls went out to wait on the emperor at his palace, fearing he should be before-hand with them. As soon as Julian knew they were coming, he rose up suddenly, and went out to meet them, with tokens of concern in his countenance, as if he had been wanting in respect, and came forward and saluted them with the greatest possible regard: and[l] when the consuls were carried to the senate in their

[i] Theod. Hist. l. iii. cap. 26.

[k] ———Ego et collega meus, ne quid maximus imperator propensius humanitatis studio faceret, verebamur. Itaque matutino crepusculo Palatium petimus. Adventare nos principi, forte tum danti operam salutatoribus, nuntiatur. Statim a solio tanquam præceptus exsiluit, vultu trepido atque satagente, qualis mens mea esse potuisset, si principi serus occurrerem. Ægre remotis populi qui nos prægrediebatur agminibus, ut quam longissime nobis obviam procederet, laboravit. Mamertin. Paneg. cap. 28. p. 301.

[l] Pene intra ipsas Palatinæ domûs valvas, lecticas consulares jussit inferi: et cum, honori ejus venerationique cedentes, sedile illud dignitatis amplissimæ

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chairs, he attended them on foot with their friends in the crowd. These things are in the panegyric itself, where they may have been inserted, after it was pronounced. The same is in Ammianus, who says, that[m] some applauded this humble behaviour of Julian, whilst others disliked it, as mean, affected, and below his dignity. It was customary for the emperor to accompany the new consuls, when they entered on their office; but, as it seems, not on foot, or in the crowd.

A few days after, as we also learn from Ammianus,[n] when Mamertinus exhibited the sports of the circus, a number of slaves were brought forth, according to custom, to be manumitted by him; and Julian being present, and not minding what he did, or unacquainted with the prerogative of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; and being put in mind that he therein intrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he condemned himself in a fine of ten pounds weight of gold.

Julian appears to have renounced christianity, and to have embraced Hellenism, about the twentieth year of his age; but it was kept very secret, and was known to a very few only, who were his intimate friends, until after he was declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul; and even after that he was upon the reserve: for, as Ammianus has observed, 'when[o] he was at Vienne, in his way to Constantinople, he still pretended to follow the christian rite, from which he had departed a good while before; and privately with his friends he practised augury and divination, and all other things customary with the Greeks: and in the month of January, [in the year 361,] on the festival called Epiphany, he went to the church of the christians.'

recusaramus, suis prope manibus impositos mixtus agmini togatorum præire cœpit pedes, gradum moderans pene ad lictoris nutum, et viatoris imperium. Ib. n. xxx. p. 302.

[m] Allapso itaque Calendarum Januariarum die cum Mamertini et Nevittæ nomina suscepissent paginæ consulares, humilior princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis; quod laudabant alii; quidam, ut affectatum et vile, carpebant. Amm. l. xxii. cap. 8. p. 329.

[n] Dein Mamertino ludos edente Circenses, manumittendis ex more inductis per admissionum proximum, ipse lege agi dixerat, ut solebat: statimque admonitus, jurisdictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium decem libris auri semet ipse multavit. Ibid.

[o] Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinæ auguriisque intentus, et cæteris quæ Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario christiani Epiphaniam dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solenniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. l. xxi. cap. 2.

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But upon his being declared sole emperor, all reserve was laid aside. As the same historian says: 'Though[p] he had 'long dissembled his respect for the gods, to which he had 'been inclined from his youth, now finding himself at 'liberty to act as he saw good, he made express edicts for 'opening the temples, erecting altars, and performing sacri-'fices.'

And I think it appears from[q] Libanius, that the temples had been opened at Athens before the death of Constantius. Socrates[r] evidently supposeth, that the temples were opened, and sacrifices performed by Julian's authority in several cities, whilst Constantius was still living.

And in a letter to the philosopher Maximus, written after he had been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, but, as I apprehend, before[s] the end of the year 361, and whilst he was in Illyricum, he tells him: 'You[t] will be glad to hear what I am going to say: we worship the gods publicly; the soldiers with me are become pious; we sacrifice bulls openly, and have given thanks to the gods in many hecatombs.' However, as just seen, there were no edicts to this purpose, till after Julian was sole emperor.

And now he gave orders for the return of the bishops, who had been banished by Constantius, and for restoring their estates, which had been[u] confiscated. Jerom[v] has taken notice of this indulgence, and mentions the names of several catholic bishops, who now returned to their sees. This order, and the edict for opening the temples, according[w] to Socrates, were of the same date, soon after Julian's coming to Constantinople. Ammianus[x] likewise joins these

[p] Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiæ primis inclinatior erat erga numinum cultum, paullatimque adolescens desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quædam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat, occultissime. Ubi vero, abolitis quæ verebatur, adesse liberum tempus faciendi quæ vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana; et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cultum. Amm. l. xxii. cap. 5.

[q] Liban. Or. x. p. 288. C.

[r] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 167. C. D.

[s] Bletterie allows, that this letter was written in the year 361, whilst Julian was yet in Illyricum, as indeed I think the letter itself shows. See his Lettres Choisies de L'Emp. Julien, p. 200, et 205. So likewise Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien, art. x. et note 4. et la Persécution par Julien, art. 1.

[t] Julian. Ep. 38. p. 415.

[u] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 168. C. D.

[v] Omnes episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Ægyptus excepit: tunc Hilarium de prœlio revertentem, Galliarum ecclesia complexa est, &c. Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. 4. P. 2. p. 301. in.

[w] Loc. cit.

[x] Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes christianorum antistites cum plebe discissâ in Palatium intromissos monebat, ut, civilibus discordiis

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things together; but he supposeth, that the liberty given to the bishops to return home, was not done with any good intention; but with a view of increasing divisions and contentions among them: as[y] Sozomen also expressly says. The Donatists had their share in this indulgence; but it seems not to have been pleasing to[z] Augustine, and some other catholics. At this time, undoubtedly, Julian openly declared, that they might all worship God in their own way, without molestation from him. As Ammianus says in the place just cited: 'Ut quisque nullo vetante religioni suæ 'serviret intrepidus.'

Having given orders for restoring all the bishops in general, he wrote a letter to[a] Aetius, a learned Arian writer, inviting him to come to court. The[b] letter is still extant. 'Julian to the bishop Aetius. I have restored all others, who were banished by the emperor Constantius, upon account of the madness of the Galileans. I not only forgive you, but in regard to our friendship and acquaintance, I desire you to come to me. I allow you the use of a public chariot and a horseman for your journey.'

And it is reasonable to believe, that at this time Hellenism was established by some edict, or edicts. Among Julian's letters there is one to Artabius: who he was is not certainly known; nor is the letter entire; but it may be considered as an edict, published at the commencement of Julian's sole empire. 'By[c] the gods,' says he, 'I will not have the Galileans put to death, nor beaten unjustly, nor suffer any evil; but I am by all means for preferring the worshippers of the gods before them; for, by the madness of the Galileans, all things were brought to the brink of ruin, and now we are all safe by the goodness of the gods; therefore we ought to honour the gods, and those pious men and cities that worship them.'

That edict sufficiently indicates what treatment the christians were to expect under his reign. Socrates says, 'that[d] 'he ordered that none should have any military offices at

consopitis, quisque nullo vetante religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentiâ non timeret unanimantem postea plebem; nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique christianorum, expertus. Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 5.

[y] *Λεγεται δε μη φειδοι τη περι αυτης ταυτα προταξαι· αλλως τε ὑπο της προς αλληλους εριδος εμφυλιῳ μαχῃ πολεμεισθαι την εκκλησιαν, και των οικειων διαμαρτειν θεσμων.* Soz. l. v. c. 5. p. 601. A. Conf. Theod. l. iii. cap. 4.

[z] Denique tunc reddidit basilicas hæreticis, quando templa dæmoniis. Aug. ep. 105. num. 9. [al. ep. 166.] Tom. 2. Conf. Opt. l. ii. cap. 16.

[a] See Vol. iii. p. 586.

[b] Ep. 31. p. 404.

[c] Ep. 7. p. 376.

[d] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 13.

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'court who would not renounce christianity, and offer sacri-
'fices to images. Nor would he give the government of
'provinces to christians, because, as he said, their law for-
'bids the use of the sword for the punishment of such as
'deserved death. Many he gained by flatteries and pre-
'sents: others resigned their offices, being willing to part
'with the honours of this world, rather than deny Christ:
'among whom were Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, who
'afterwards were emperors.' Sozomen[e] not only confirms this account, but likewise says, 'Julian not only deprived
'the christians of magistracy, and all honours and dignities,
'but likewise of equal rights of citizenship.' Which may have been true in some instances. But I do not suppose that there were any edicts, depriving all christians who would not sacrifice to the gods, of the privileges of citizens in the places where they lived.

However, Libanius says: 'He[f] beheld with pleasure, and
'favoured those cities which had preserved the temples of
'the gods; but other cities, in which they had been all or
'most of them destroyed, he looked upon as abominable;
'and though he allowed them the privileges of subjects, it
'was not without some indignation and ill-will.' And Ammianus acknowledgeth, 'that[g] sometimes when he was hear-
'ing causes, he would very unseasonably inquire into the
'religion of the parties; but he affirms, that Julian never
'passed an unjust or partial sentence upon account of reli-
'gion, or any other account whatever.'

I need not enlarge upon this subject. Some[h] of those who suffered in this reign, and have been called martyrs, may not deserve that title. Socrates says, 'that[i] Julian
'avoided the excessive cruelties of Dioclesian's persecution;
'nevertheless he did not forbear to persecute, for I call that
'persecution,' says he, 'when men who live peaceably are
'molested. He molested the christians in this manner; he

[e] ——παραιτυμενος θυειν, ισοπολιτειας εφθονει, και συλλογων και αγορων μετεχειν· και τυ δικαζειν, η αρχειν, η αξιωματων κοινωνειν ε μετεδιδυ. Soz. l. v. cap. 18. p. 623. B.

[f] Ὃς γε και των πολεων, αἷς μεν ην ἱερα μενοντα, και προσορων ἡδετο, και τυ τα μεγιστα ευ παθειν αξιας ενομιζε. Τας δε ανεσπακυιας, η τα πλειω, μιαρας τε ενομιζε, και των ωφελειων μετεδιδυ μεν ὡς ὑπηκοοις, ε μην ανευ τυ δυσχεραινειν. Orat. Parent. in Julian. ap. Fabr. T. 7. sect. 61. p. 288. Vid. et sect. 59, et 60.

[g] Et quanquam in disceptando aliquoties erat intempestivus, quid quisque jurgantium coleret, tempore aliendo interrogans; tamen nulla ejus definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur: nec argui unquam potuit, ob religionem, vel quodcunque aliud, ab æquitatis recto tramite deviâsse. Amm. l. xxii. cap. x. in.

[h] Vide Basnag. ann. 362. num. xi.

[i] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 12.

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'forbade that they should partake of human literature; lest, 'as he said, when they have whet their tongue, they should 'be more ready in answering the Greek disputants.' Sozomen says, 'he[k] would not allow the children of the chris-'tians to be instructed in the Greek poets, or orators, nor to 'frequent the schools of such as explained those writers.' To the like purpose[l] Theodoret. Augustine says, that[m] Julian forbade the christians both to teach and learn polite literature. Gregory Nazianzen[n] has not failed to take notice of this restraint, and to ridicule Julian for it.

Ammianus[o] has twice mentioned it, and always with dislike, as a great hardship. Julian's edict is still extant;[p] if it had not been long I should have alleged it here, but I shall remember it hereafter. Orosius says, that[q] when Julian published his edict, forbidding the christian professors of rhetoric to teach the liberal arts, they all in general chose rather to resign their chairs than deny the faith: and Jerom, in his Chronicle, assures us, that[r] when Julian published his law, that no christian should teach the liberal arts, Proæresius, the Athenian sophist, shut up his school, though the emperor had granted him a special licence to teach. Augustine[s] records the like steadiness of Victorinus, who had long taught rhetoric with great applause at Rome. But Ecebolius, a christian sophist at Constantinople, who[t] had been Julian's master in rhetoric, was overcome by the

[k] Soz. l. v. cap. 18.

[l] Theod. l. iii. cap. 8. [m] An ipse non est ecclesiam persecutus, qui christianos liberales literas docere ac discere vetuit? De Civit. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52. [n] Greg. Or. 3. p. 51.

[o] Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus christiani cultores. Ammian. l. xxii. cap. x.

Namque et jura condidit non molesta——præter pauca. Inter quæ erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. Id. l. xxv. cap. 4. p. 463.

[p] Ep. 42. p. 422.

[q] Aperto tamen præcepit edicto, ne quis christianus docendorum liberalium studiorum professor esset. Sed tamen, sicut a majoribus compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum præcepti conditiones amplexati, officium quam fidem deserere maluerunt. Oros. l. vii. cap. 30.

[r] Proæresius, sophista Atheniensis, lege latâ, ne christiani liberalium artium doctores essent, et sibi specialiter Julianus concederet, ut christianos doceret, scholam sponte deseruit. Chr. p. 185.

[s] ———et illud addidit, [Simplicianus,] quod imperatoris Juliani temporibus lege datâ prohibiti sunt christiani docere literaturam et oratoriam: quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deserere maluit, quam verbum tuum, quo linguas infantum facis disertas. Aug. Confess. l. viii. cap. 5. num. 10. And see in this work, Vol. iv. p. 255, 256.

[t] Socr. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 165. A. B.

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temptations of the times, and [u] openly professed Hellenism: however, when Julian was dead he recovered himself, and with great humiliations entreated to be reconciled to the church.

It was his fancy to call the christians Galileans: it is taken notice of by divers ecclesiastical writers, [v] who have made good remarks upon it: and some of them say, that he ordered by edicts that they should be so called. In this appellation there was no reason nor argument; but it might answer Julian's purpose, to make the christians appear contemptible in the esteem of weak people.

That was no late thought of Julian: we find him using this style at the beginning of his sole empire, before he left Constantinople. He there offered sacrifices to the genius of that city: after which, as Socrates says, Maris, the Arian bishop of Chalcedon, was brought to him, who was an old man, and had lost his sight. He [w] reproached Julian, calling him impious, apostate, and atheist: who returning reproach for reproach, called Maris blind: nor, says he, is your Galilean God able to cure you. For he was wont to call Christ the Galilean, and the christians Galileans. Maris replied: I thank God who has made me blind, that I might not see the face of a man who has so fallen into impiety as you have done. To which Julian made no farther answer. Sozomen, who tells the same story, adds: 'For [x] he thought 'he should better advance the cause of Hellenism, by show-'ing himself beyond expectation mild and patient toward 'the christians.' And I also think, that the christians would have acted more agreeably to the doctrine of the gospel, and more for its honour, if they had avoided abusive and indecent reproaches of an emperor. [y]

It cannot be denied that Julian was a persecutor. Am-

[u] ——επι δε Ιυλιανυ γοργος Ἑλλην εφαινετο. κ. λ. Socr. l. iii. cap. 13. p. 184. D.

[v] Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 81. A. B. Theod. l. iii. cap. 21. Chrys. Or. 2. de S. Bab. T. i. p. 783. A. et alibi. Socrat. l. iii. cap. 12. p. 183. D.

[w] Πολλα τον βασιλεα προσελθων περιυβρισε, τον ασεβη καλων, τον αποστατην, και αθεον. Ὁ δε λογους τας ὑβρεις ημειβετο, τυφλον καλεσας. Και ᾳκ αν, φησιν, ὁ Γαλιλαιος συ Θεος θεραπευσει σε· Γαλιλαιον γαρ ειωθει ὁ Ιυλιανος καλειν τον Χριστον, και τυς χριστιανυς [Γαλιλαιυς]. Socrat. l. iii. c. 12. p. 183. D.

[x] Και ὁ βασιλευς μηδεν αποκρινομενος παρεδραμεν· φετο γαρ ταυτῃ μαλλον Ἑλληνισμον κρατυναι ανεξικακον και πρᾳον αδοκητως τῳ πληθει των χριστιανων ἑαυτον επιδεικνυς. Soz. l. v. cap. 4. p. 599. D.

[y] I am not singular in that judgment. Sueur, Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, at the year 362. T. iii. p. 235. thus delivers the last part of that discourse. Maris répondit vigoureusement, ou plutôt insolemment: "Je rends grâces à mon Dieu, de ce qu'il m' a ôté la vue, afin qu'elle ne fût souillée de voir un si méchant homme que toi."

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mianus thought his prohibiting the christians to have a liberal education a rigorous proceeding. Eutropius also, another heathen, and contemporary, says, that [z] Julian bore hard upon the christians, though without putting them to death. Socrates, as we have already seen, says he avoided the excessive cruelty of Dioclesian's persecution: and other christian writers say, that he [a] envied christians the honour of martyrdom. Jerom, in [b] his Chronicle, gives this character of Julian's persecution, that it was mild, and enticing rather than compelling men to sacrifice: but he acknowledgeth, that many were drawn aside. Orosius [c] speaks to the like purpose. Gregory Nazianzen, near the end of his second invective against Julian, remarking upon his Misopogon, or Satyr against the people of Antioch, expresseth himself after this manner: 'You [d] boast mightily of your 'never eating to excess, as a wonderful thing; but say not, 'how you have oppressed the christians, an innocent and a 'numerous body of men. Not considering, that whether 'some particular person is troubled with crudities, or not, 'is a thing of little consequence to the public: whereas by 'the persecution which you have raised, the whole Roman 'empire has been disturbed.'

No ancient christian writer, perhaps, has drawn Julian's character to greater advantage than Prudentius, who [e] ascribes to him great fortitude: and not only says, that he was a fine speaker and writer, but also that he made good laws, and was a good emperor; but he was an enemy to the true religion: he was faithful to the interests of the state, but was unfaithful to God, and worshipped innumerable deities, which he shows largely.

And I would take this opportunity to refer curious and

[z] Nimius religionis christianæ insectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstinuerit. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 16.

[a] Vide Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 72. &c.

[b] Juliano ad idolorum cultum converso, blanda persecutio fuit, illiciens magis, quam impellens ad sacrificandum: in quâ multi ex nostris voluntate propriâ corruerunt. Chr. p. 185.

[c] ———Christianam religionem arte potius quam potestate insectatus est, ut negaretur fides Christi, et idolorum cultus susciperetur, honoribus potius provocans, quam tormentis cogere studuit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 30.

[d] Gregor. Or. 4. p. 133, 134.

[e] Principibus tamen e cunctis non defuit unus,
Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortissimus armis,
Conditor et legum, celeberrimus ore manuque,
Consultor patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis, amans ter centum millia divûm.
Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi.
Prudent. Apoth. ver. 450, &c.

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inquisitive readers to[f] several learned moderns, who have made remarks upon Julian's writings, and upon his conduct as an emperor, and are not unfavourable in their judgments concerning him.

And it has been observed, 'that[g] there was such a mixture of good and bad qualities in this prince, that it is 'easy to praise and blame him at the same time, without 'deviating from the truth.'[h]

II. It cannot be necessary, that I should take notice of all Julian's works; but there is one which cannot be omitted. For at length, in his great zeal, in the midst of his preparations for the Persian war, and when he was almost ready to set out upon that expedition, he was at the pains to compose an argument against the christian religion. Jerom[i] says, it consisted of seven books; and[k] in another place he has quoted the seventh book of that work: but Cyril of Alexandria, in the preface to his confutation of it, mentions [l] only three books, written by Julian against the holy gospels, and the venerable religion of the christians. Cyril, who dedicates this defence of our religion, in ten books, to Theodosius the younger, did not write, as is supposed, before the year 432: whether any part of Julian's work was lost between the time of Jerom and Cyril, or whether it was differently divided, I cannot say. But that Cyril mentions three books only, because he intended to answer a part only of the work, I cannot believe. When he says, that Julian had written three books against the christian religion, I suppose he intends the whole of the work which he had before him.

Philip Sidetes, who flourished about the year 418, published a confutation of Julian's work, as we learn from

[f] Vide Petri Cunæi Præf. in Juliani Cæsares. Leunclavii Apologia pro Zosimo, p. 629. &c. Gundling. Pref. in Balduin. de Legib. Constantini M. sub in. See likewise Ez. Spanheim's French version of Julian's Cæsars, and Montaigne's Essays, B. 2. ch. 19.

[g] Fluery's Ecc. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 361. English edition.

[h] It may not be improper to insert here a part of Julian's character, as given by Cave in his Introduction, p. xlvii. 'A prince truly of great virtues, pru-'dent, considerative, impartial, strictly just, chaste, and temperate, patient of 'hardships, unwearied in his labours, valorous in his attempts, even to rash-'ness and precipitancy——In short, to give him his due, had not his memory 'been stained with an apostasy from the best religion that ever was, and so 'bitter and incurable a spleen against the christians, he might have passed for 'one of the best princes that ever managed the Roman empire.'

[i] Julianus Augustus septem libros, in expeditione Parthicâ, adversus Christum vomuit; et, juxta fabulas poëtarum, suo se ense laceravit. Hieron. ep. 83. T. iv. p. 655.

[k] In Osee, cap. 11. T. iii. p. 1311. fin.

[l] Κα, δη τρια συγγεγραφε βιβλια κατα των ἁγιων ευαγγελιων, και κατα της ευαγης των χριστιανων θρησκειας. Cyril. contr. Julian. l. i. p. 3. D.

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[m] Socrates; but it was never much valued, and has been long since lost: we therefore can have no information from him.

Jerom seems to say, that Julian's work was composed in the Persian expedition, 'in expeditione Parthicâ.' But I do not think it needful to suppose, as some have done, that he intended to say, it was written after Julian was set out from Antioch, in his march toward Persia. I think, we may rely upon Libanius for the time of this work; who, as cited by Socrates, says: 'In[n] the winter season, during the long 'nights, the emperor set himself to confute those books 'which make the man of Palestine a God, and the Son of 'God: and in a long and unanswerable argument he show-'ed, how trifling and absurd those things are which are 'admired by them. In which work he excelled the Tyrian 'old man: let the Tyrian forgive me, that I say, he was 'exceeded by his son.' But, says Socrates, I am of opinion, that if Porphyry had been an emperor, he would have preferred his work above Julian's. Cave[o] likewise speaks very slightly of this performance. Indeed, I apprehend, there could not be much in it that was new, and had not been said before: but Julian's work might be more sprightly for the manner, and might have some satirical strokes against the followers of Jesus peculiar to himself. And I am apt to think, that he oftener quoted the writers of the New Testament by name, and more distinctly, than any of his predecessors in this argument: and therefore he will afford us good evidence of their genuineness and antiquity. Some have imagined, that[p] in this design Julian was assisted by Libanius, and other philosophers who accompanied him: but I believe, that he needed not their assistance, and that he was better qualified to write upon this argument than any of those sophists or philosophers. According to our account then, this work was composed by Julian near the end of the year 362, or in the beginning of the year 363.

Libanius calls it a long work: indeed I believe it was prolix. Cyril transcribes many passages from it at length: afterwards he abridges, and plainly omits some tedious quotations from the scriptures, especially from the Old Tes-

[m] L. vii. cap. 27.

[n] Τῳ χειμωνος, φησι, τας νυκτας εκτεινοντος, επιθεμενος ὁ βασιλευς ταις βιβλοις, αἱ τον εκ Παλαιστινης ανθρωπον Θεον και Θεου παιδα ποιουσι, κ. λ. Socrat. l. iii, cap. 23. p. 196. D.

[o] H. L. T. i. p. 345. in Libanio.

[p] On peut juger, que ce rhéteur, et les philosophes qui accompagnoient Julien, eurent part aux livres contre la réligion chrétienne, que ce prince composoit pendant les longues nuits de l'hiver. Bletterie, Vie de Julien, p. 383.

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tament. And at[q] the beginning he complains, that Julian's work was very immethodical, and had many repetitions, saying the same thing again and again.

In Cyril's Confutation are many large fragments of Julian's work, in which he argues against the Old and the New Testament, against Moses and the Jews, as well as against Jesus and his apostles, and followers. Cyril promiseth to[r] cite Julian in his own words; but he declares, that[s] he omits some of his blasphemous reflections upon our Saviour. However, he has taken a good many things that are free and offensive: and in Julian and Libanius we may see what was the language of those times.

Cyril's answer to Julian, as before said, was not written before[t] the year 432. Theodoret[u] had read it, and says he admired it. Du Pin[v] considers it as one of the principal of Cyril's works: he says it is clear and learned, and more solid than the work of Julian; though it is far from being so elegant and agreeable.

III. I intend to give a particular account of that work: after which I shall make extracts out of some of Julian's epistles and edicts. But before I proceed to those things, it is needful that I consider what is said of Julian's regard for the Jews, of which as yet I have taken no notice.

We are informed by some,[w] or all our ecclesiastical historians, who write of Julian, that he sent for some of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and inquired of them why they did not now sacrifice as the law of Moses directed. They told him, that they were not to sacrifice at any place except Jerusalem; and the temple being destroyed, they were obliged to forbear that part of worship. He thereupon promised to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. And we still have a[x] letter of Julian inscribed to 'the Community of the Jews:' in which he boasts of his having abolished some taxes which had been laid upon them, and calls[y] their venerable patriarch Iülus his brother. He also entreats their prayers for him, 'that[z] when he shall be returned

[q] Contr. Julian. l. ii. p. 38. C. D.

[r] ——εκτιθεμενοι δε τους τιχους επι λεξεως αυτης. Ib. l. ii. p. 38. C.

[s] Ibid. D. [t] Tillem. Cyril. d'Alex. art. 157. Tom. xiv. p. 671.

[u] Και αναγνοντες εθαυμασαμεν. Theod. ep. 83. p. 960. B.

[v] S. Cyril d'Alex. Tom. iii. Part. ii. p. 48. Amst.

[w] Socr. H. E. l. iii. cap. 20. Sozom. l. v. cap. 22. Theod. l. iii. cap. 20.

[x] Ιουλιανος Ιουδαιων τω Κοινῳ. Ep. 25. p. 396.

[y] ——τον αδελφον Ιουλον τον αιδεσιμωτατον πατριαρχην παρηνεσα. p. 397.

[z] ——ἱνα κἀγω τον των Περσων πολεμον διορθωσαμενος, την εκ πολλων ετων επιθυμουμενην παρ' ὑμιν ιδειν οικουμενην πολιν ἁγιαν Ἱερουσαλημ εμοις καματοις ανοικοδομησας οικησω, και εν αυτῃ δοξαν δωσω μεθ' ὑμων τῳ κρειττονι. p. 398.

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victorious from the Persian war, he may rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, which for a long time they had earnestly desired to see inhabited, and that he might come and dwell there himself, and together with them offer up prayers to the supreme Deity.'

This letter, however extraordinary, must be reckoned genuine: for Sozomen expressly says, 'that[a] Julian wrote 'to the patriarchs and rulers of the Jews, and to their whole 'nation, desiring them to pray for him and the prosperity 'of his reign.' That is an exact description of the letter we have, which is inscribed 'to the Community of the 'Jews.'

It was written in the year 362, as[b] Bletterie supposeth: in the beginning of that year, say[c] Tillemont and[d] the bishop of Gloucester.

And we are informed by many ancient writers, that Julian did actually give orders for rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and that the attempt was defeated by divine interposition. It is mentioned by three contemporary writers, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Ambrose bishop of Milan, all christians, and also Ammianus Marcellinus, a learned heathen, and afterwards by[e] Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Philostorgius, as well as by later writers. Let us begin with the contemporaries.

'Julian,' says[f] Gregory Nazianzen, 'having sent for the 'Jews, assured them, that he had discovered from their own 'books, that now the time was come when they were to 'return to their own country, when their temple was to be 'rebuilt, and they were to live again according to the laws 'of their ancestors. They were easily persuaded to believe 'what was so desirable to them; and immediately great 'numbers of them, with the utmost alacrity, set about the 'work. And[g] it is said by those who are their good friends, 'that their women not only resigned all their valuable orna-'ments with great readiness, but also joined in the work, 'carrying earth in their bosoms, and in their richest gar-'ments, not thinking any thing too much to promote so 'pious a design. But being interrupted by a hurricane, 'and an earthquake, they ran to a church not far off, either 'to pray or for shelter: and[h] there are who say, that the

[a] *Και πατριαρχαις, και αρχηγοις αυτων, και αυτῳ δε πληθει εγραψεν, ευχεσθαι ὑπερ αυτυ και της αυτυ βασιλειας.* Soz. l. v. cap. 22. in. [b] Lettres choisies du Julien, p. 236. [c] Persécution par Julien, art. 35. M. E. Tom. vii. [d] See his Julian, p. 65. [e] Ruf. H. E. l. i. cap. 37, et 38.

[f] Gr. Naz. Or. iv. p. 111—113. [g] *Φασι γε τοι τας γυναικας αυτων, οἱ τα εκεινων θαυμαζονται——κ. λ.* p. 111. B.

[h] *Εισι μεν, οἱ λεγυσιν, ὡς υδε το ἱερον αυτυς προσεδεξατο.* Ib. D.

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'church would not admit them; and that though they found 'the doors open, they were presently shut again, and bolted 'by an invisible power——However it is said by all, and 'universally believed, that as they were using their utmost 'efforts to get into the church, a flame issued out from it 'which entirely destroyed and consumed some of them, and 'scorched and maimed others in their members; so that 'they were living monuments of the justice and vengeance 'of God upon sinners——And moreover,' as he goes on, 'there was a[i] light in the heaven, exhibiting a cross with 'a circle round it——And[k] when there were such signs in 'earth and in heaven, were there not also some in the air? 'Was not that also sanctified with the signs of our Lord's 'passion? Let them who were spectators of this wonderful 'event, and partakers in it, now show their garments which 'were then marked with the prints of the cross. For at 'that time, as any one spoke of it, or heard it related, whether 'he was one of our own people, or a stranger, each one pre-'sently observed the wonder either upon himself, or upon 'his neighbour; discerning manifestly a radiant mark upon 'his body, or in his garments, surpassing the finest em-'broidery or painting. Which so affected the minds of 'those who saw them, that almost all, as with one consent, 'were induced to acknowledge the God of the christians, 'and endeavoured to appease him by prayers and praises: 'and they came to our priests, humbly entreating the favour 'of baptism.'

So writes Nazianzen in his invective against Julian, written soon after that emperor's death. It is not yet time for me to make remarks; but surely, no attentive reader can forbear to make some observations upon so strange a relation; in which a contemporary, representing a matter of so great importance, more than once refers to hearsays and common reports, instead of appealing to his own sight and knowledge.

Chrysostom has several times spoken of this thing, and deserves to be taken notice of as well as any.

'And[l] in our time the emperor, who exceeded all men in

[i] ——εστη φως εν τῳ ουρανῳ τον σταυρον περιγραφον—p. 112. B.

[k] P. 113.

[l] Και γαρ επι της γενεας της ἡμετερας, ὁ παντας εις ασεβειαν νικησας βασιλευς, και εδωκεν εξουσιαν τοτε, και συνεπραξε, και τυ εργυ ἡψαντο, και ουδε μικρον προσελθειν ἐδυνηθησαν· αλλα και πυρ απο των θεμελιων εκπηδησαν παντας αυτυς απηλασεν. Ὅτι δε ηβουληθησαν, και τυτυ δειγμα εστιν ἑως τυ νυν θεμελια γυμνωθεντα, ἱνα ειδῃς, ὁτι επεχειρησαν διασκαπτειν, οικοδομησαι δε ουκ ισχυσαν, της αποφασεως ταυτης αντιπραττυσης αυτοις. Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 580. E.

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'impiety, gave them leave to build their temple, and assisted 'them in it. And they began the work, but could not pro-'ceed at all: for a fire rising up from the foundation drave 'them all away. And that they had a mind to it, appears 'from the foundations which still lie open: whereby it may 'be discerned, that they began to dig, but were not able to 'build, they having met with an obstruction.'

In another place, the same great orator, and fine writer, having largely related the conversation of Julian with the Jews, and his proposal to them that they should sacrifice, he goes on: 'Nevertheless,[11] still blinded against all means of 'conviction, they entreated him to join with them in rebuild-'ing the temple: and he furnished them with money, and 'appointed officers of great distinction to superintend the 'work, and sent for artificers from all parts. He attempted 'every thing; he omitted nothing that could be done; 'hoping, that if he could bring them to sacrifice, he should 'also persuade them to the worship of images; hoping like-'wise, in his great perverseness, to confute the declaration 'of Christ, that the temple should not be rebuilt. But he 'who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness," soon showed 'by the effects, that the decrees of God are more powerful 'than all things, and that his word is firmly established. 'For as soon as they began their impious attempt, and were 'removing the foundations, and had dug away a good deal 'of earth, and were ready to set about the building, fire 'bursting from the foundations burnt many of them, and 'cast away many stones from the place, and interrupted the 'vain attempt. And not only they who were employed in 'the work, but many Jews likewise, when they saw what 'had happened, were confounded and ashamed. And the 'emperor Julian having been informed of these things, 'though he was to distraction intent upon the design, fear-'ing lest he should bring down the fire upon his own head, 'desisted, being overcome, together with the whole nation. 'And now, if you should go to Jerusalem, you may see the 'foundations open: and if you inquire the reason, you will 'hear no other than that just mentioned. And we are wit-'nesses of it; for it happened in our time, not long ago. 'And observe the splendour of this victory; for it happened 'not in the time of pious emperors, lest some should say, 'they were the christians who obstructed the work: it hap-'pened when we were in affliction, when all were in fear 'for their lives, when our liberty was gone, when Hellenism 'flourished; and the faithful were some of them shut up

[11] Adv. Judæos. Or. v. T. i. p. 646, 647.

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'in their houses, fearing to stir abroad, others were retired 'into deserts, and fled from cities. Then these things hap- 'pened, that the most impudent might have no pretence 'to deny them.'

Again, having observed the declaration made to Julian by the Jews, that they could not now offer sacrifices, the temple being in ruins: 'He[m] ordered money to be allowed them 'out of the public treasury, and every thing necessary to 'carry on the building, and then bid them go and repair the 'temple, and offer sacrifices according to the ancient custom. 'And they who were blind from the womb, and even to old 'age, went away and set about the work under the emperor's 'favour: but[n] as soon as they began to remove the earth, 'fire issuing from the foundations consumed them all. When 'these things were related to the emperor, he dared not to 'proceed any farther, being restrained by fear: nevertheless 'he did not forsake the worship of dæmons, to whom he was 'subject.'

Once more, where he says, that after the christian religion had been established, there were not so frequent miracles as at the beginning; 'Yet[o] in our time,' says he, 'in the 'reign of Julian, who surpassed all men in impiety, there 'were many miracles. And when the Jews attempted to 'rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, fire issuing out from the 'foundations of the temple restrained them.'

This may suffice for showing the testimony of Chrysostom in this point.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, in a letter to the emperor Theodosius, supposed to have been written in the year 388, says: 'Have[p] you not heard, Sir, that when Julian gave 'command to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, the workmen 'were destroyed by fire sent from God?'

There still remains one contemporary writer to be quoted, who is Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen, and a good historian, and well acquainted with the emperor.

'Julian,'[q] says he, 'who had been already thrice consul,

[m] De S. Babylà. contr. Julian. et Gentil. Tom. ii. p. 547. C. D.

[n] *Και ὡς αυτον τε ὀμω τον χων ηρξαντο κενων, και πυρ των θεμελιων εκπηδησαν αθροον απαντας αυτους καταναλωσειν.* Ib. p. 574. C.

[o] In Matt. hom. 4. Tom. 7. p. 47. A.

[p] Non audîsti, imperator, quia cum jussisset Julianus reparari templum Hierosolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrârunt? Ambr. Ep. 40. Cl. i. T. ii. p. 494.

[q] Julianus vero, jam ter Consul, adscito in collegium trabeæ Sallustio præfecto per Gallias, quartum ipse amplissimum iniverat magistratum; et videbatur novum adjunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum nullus meminerat gestum. Et licet accidentium varietatem

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'taking for his colleague Sallust, præfect of the Gauls, 'entered for the fourth time on that high office: and 'although he was not without a solicitous concern for futu-'rity, considering the various events which this year was 'likely to produce, he carried on his preparations for the 'war with the utmost diligence. And still enlarging his 'views, and being desirous to perpetuate the memory of his 'reign by some great works, he resolved to rebuild at a vast 'expense the magnificent temple at Jerusalem; which 'after a long and obstinate siege, begun by Vespasian, 'and carried on by Titus, had been with great difficulty 'taken and destroyed. The conduct of this affair was com-'mitted by him to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had 'been lieutenant in Britain, with orders to forward it as 'much as possible. When therefore Alypius had set him-'self to the work with the greatest resolution, and was 'also assisted by the governor of the province, frightful balls 'of fire broke out near the foundations: and those eruptions 'being repeated, they rendered the place inaccessible to the 'workmen, who were scorched and burnt several times 'before they left off. But the element continuing to repel 'them, the enterprise was laid aside.'

So writes Ammianus: according to whom, therefore, this attempt was made in the beginning of the year 363, when Julian was setting out from Antioch on his Persian expedition.

So likewise says[r] Socrates, whom I shall allege next. Having mentioned Julian's conference with the Jews, who told him, that they could sacrifice no where but at Jerusalem, he says, 'Julian[s] immediately gave orders for rebuilding 'Solomon's temple: and then he went away against the 'Persians. But the Jews, who had long been desirous to 'see the temple rebuilt, set about the work with great di-'ligence—And as the emperor had directed that the ex-'pense should be borne out of the public treasury, materials

solicitâ mente præcipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret; diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymas templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, ægre est expugnatum, instaurare sumtibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dedit Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebis assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum. Hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. Ammian. Marcel. l. 23. cap. 1.

[r] L. iii. cap. 20.

[s] ——*κελευει ταχος κτιζεσθαι τον Σολομωνος ναον. Και αυτος επι Περσας ηλαυνε.* Ib. p. 192. D.

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'were soon provided; timber, stones, burnt-brick, clay, 'lime, and all other things needful for a building. At that 'time Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, mindful of the prophecy 'of Daniel, and of what Christ had said in the gospels, pre-'dicted[t] before many people, that the time was now come, 'that one stone would not be left upon another in that tem-'ple, and our Saviour's word would[u] be fulfilled. So said 'that bishop. And in the night there was an earthquake, 'which tore up the stones of the old foundations, and dis-'persed them, with the adjacent edifices: and by that acci-'dent the Jews were much terrified; and the fame of it 'brought many to the place from distant parts. When 'therefore many were gathered together, another prodigy 'happened; for there came down from heaven a fire which 'consumed all the workmen's tools: and you might see 'mallets, irons for polishing stones, saws, axes, spades, and 'all such instruments which are made use of in building, 'consumed by the flames: the fire preyed upon these 'things for a whole day together. The Jews thereupon 'being terrified, acknowledged, though unwillingly, Christ 'to be God. However, they obeyed not his will, but still 'remained prepossessed in favour of judaism. Nor did the 'third miracle, which afterwards happened, induce them to 'the belief of the truth: for in the night following, radiant 'marks of the cross were impressed on their garments. 'When they saw them the next day they endeavoured to

[t] Πολλοις τε προελεγον, ὡς αρα νυν ἡκει ὁ καιρος, ὁτε λιθος επι λιθον υκ αν μενοι εις τον ναον, αλλα το τυ Σωτηρος λογιον πληρωθησεται. p. 193. B.

[u] It is very absurd for any christians to talk in that manner. Christ's words had been fulfilled almost 300 years before that time. Matt. xxiv. 34. "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." And so it came to pass, as we know from Josephus and others. There is, in my opinion, a much better sense in Rufinus. 'Cyril was then bishop of Je-'rusalem; and when the Jews were about to lay the foundations of a new 'temple, he, considering the prophecies of Daniel, and the words of our 'Lord recorded in the gospels, confidently asserted, that it could not be, that 'the Jews should be able to lay there one stone upon another.' His words are these: Cyrillus post maximum confessorem Hierosolymis episcopus habebatur. Apertis igitur fundamentis, calce cæmentoque adhibitis, nihil omnino deerat, quin die posterâ veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta; cum tamen episcopus, diligenti consideratione habitâ, vel ex illis quæ in Danielis prophetiâ de temporibus legerat, vel quæ in evangeliis Dominus prædixerat, persisteret, nullo genere fieri posse, ut ibi a Judæis lapis super lapidem poneretur. Rufin. l. i. cap. 37. So writes Rufinus. And, perhaps, the sense which we have in Socrates's History is owing to his misinterpretation of Rufinus, and not rightly understanding him; for I suppose that Socrates here borrowed from Rufinus. However, undoubtedly the learned reader will consult the Annotations of Valesius upon Socrates.

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'rub and wash them out, but in vain: to so great a degree 'were they blinded.'

The same story is told at length by Sozomen,[v] Theodoret,[w] Philostorgius,[x] and other christian writers, though with somewhat different circumstances. Theodoret in particular tells us, it[y] was said, that upon this occasion the Jews had shovels, mallets, and baskets, made of silver.

Some Jewish writers also have been alleged as bearing testimony to this event: I shall also allege[z] them here as cited by Wagenseil, to whom divers learned men have referred.

That is the history of this affair, which is generally credited; and indeed it seems hard to deny or dispute the truth of a relation, attested by several contemporaries, beside many others who lived not very long after them. Accordingly the truth of this history is maintained by Fabricius,[a] Witsius,[b] the learned and laborious Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester,[c] and others, men of the highest reputation in the republic of letters.

[v] Soz. l. v. cap. 22. [w] Theod. l. iii. cap. 20.

[x] Philost. l. vii. sect. 9. p. 566. [y] *Φασι δε αυτως και σκαπανας εξ ὁλυ αργυρυ και αμας και κοφινυς, κατασκευασαι.* Ut supra, p. 142. C.

[z] Equidem aut valde fallor, aut, non sine peculiari curâ numinis factum est, ut ipsi adeo Judæi suis monumentis historiam inseruerint, quanquam non bonâ omnes fide. R. David Gansius enim animadvertisse videtur, quantopere isthæc suæ genti incommodent: ideo veritatem malitiosissimæ adulteravit. Nam, etsi negare non audet, Deo sic disponente, Judæos in restaurando templo fuisse impeditos, tamen genuinam rationem modumque, quibus id factum est, nequitur dissimulat, et solam Juliani mortem Judæos ædificantes sufflamine strinxisse, ex suo ingenio confinxit. Ejus verba sunt——'Julianus Cæsar 'præcepit, ut restitueretur templum sanctissimum magno cum decore et pul-'chritudine; huicque rei ipse sumtus suppeditavit. Verum cœlitus impedi-'mentum injectum est, ne perficeretur fabrica. Nam Cæsar in bello Persico 'periit.'——Atenim non opus est, ut operose probem verum certumque esse, Judæos ante cessâsse ab opere, quam Julianus postremam expeditionem adversus Persas, quæ ei exitium attulit, suscepisset. Sufficit coram huc adducere R. Geddalium, qui——candide narrationem instituit, et sine fuco——'In diebus 'R. Channan, et sociorum ejus, anno circiter orbis conditi 4349, memorant 'libri annalium, magnum in orbe universo fuisse terræ motum, collapsumque 'esse templum, quod struxerunt Judæi Hierosolymis, præcepto Juliani Apos-'tatæ, impensis maximis. Postridie ejus die (quo mota fuit terra) de cœlo 'ignis multus cecidit, ita ut omnia ferramenta illius ædificii liquescerent, et 'amburerentur Judæi multi, atque adeo innumerabiles.' Wagenselii Carmin. Lipmanni. Confutatio, p. 231, 232. [a] Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 76. &c. Lux Evangelii, cap. vi. p. 120. &c. [b] Miscellanea Sacra, Tom. ii. p. 374, &c.

[c] Julian, &c. It is a handsome octavo of 320 pages, beside an Introduction. The late Mr. Mosheim, who had seen the first edition of that work, seems to have thought his lordship had overdone it. His words are: Nuper ex instituto, sed interdum ingeniosius, quam necesse erat, pro veritate miraculi disputavit Guil. Warburton. Julian, or a Discourse, &c. Lond. 1750. in 8vo. Moshem. Instit. H. E. p. 148.

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Basnage [d] made some objections to the truth of this history, which have been considered by [e] divers learned men, and particularly and largely by [f] the bishop of Gloucester in the work before referred to: I also have had many thoughts upon this subject, which I desire now to propose with due deference to the judgment of others: I shall not transcribe Basnage; but I have been led to argue in this manner.

1. Julian's own writings may dispose us to think that he never attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. He designed it, but it is not so clear that he attempted it, or actually set about it, or gave orders for it. In his Letter to the Community of the Jews, before taken notice of, he desires their prayers for the prosperity of his reign, 'and the rather, forasmuch as if [g] he succeeded in his war with the Persians, he would rebuild their holy city of Jerusalem.' But he did not succeed in the war, and he never returned from Persia, therefore he never set about rebuilding Jerusalem, or the temple there: nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to set about it, unless he first succeeded in the war with the Persians. He seems to have supposed it to be a work which he should not be able to undertake till after the Persian war was over, and had a good issue.

In the fragment of some oration or epistle, having taken notice how often the Jewish temple had been destroyed, and was not yet restored, he adds: 'I [h] say not this by way of reproach; for I also have designed, [or have had a design,] to raise that temple, which has been so long in ruins, to the honour of the God who is there worshipped.' Therefore, when that letter was written, this design was laid aside; or, he did not think that to be a proper time and season to set about it. The present circumstances of his affairs did not admit of such an undertaking, nor allow him to give orders about it.

When that letter or oration was written is not clear. Dr. Warburton thinks it was written in the spring of the year 363; his words are these [at p. 73]: 'Where Julian, 'speaking of the customary honours paid to the gods, says: '"Which not three years, nor three thousand have esta-

[d] Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. ch. 4. Tom. iv. p. 257, &c.

[e] Vid Fabric. Lux Evangelii, p. 130. in notis.

[f] See his Lordship's Julian, B. ii. ch. 4. p. 174, &c. the second edition, in 1751.

[g] Julian. Ep. 397. D. See the words cited above at p. 604. note [d].

[h] Εγω δε ειπον, ȣκ ονειδιζων εκεινοις· ὁς γε τοσȣτοις ὑςερον χρονοις αναςησασθαι διενοηθην αυτον εις τιμην τȣ κληθεντος επ' αυτῳ Θεȣ. T. ii. p. 295. D.

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'blished, but all past ages among all nations upon earth." 'By the three years he evidently alludes to his restoration 'of idolatry; which at any time sooner than the Persian 'expedition, was not entitled to so high a date. For he 'was first saluted Augustus in the spring of the year 360, 'and the Persian expedition was in the spring 363; at this 'time, therefore, he had well digested his defeat at Jeru-'salem.'

That is an ingenious conjecture, but not decisive. It is not clear, that Julian here refers to his own restoration of the heathen rites: the phrase, 'three years,' need not to refer to any determinate period; it may denote no more than this: 'which not a few years, nor several thousand years 'have established, but all past ages.' Secondly, it cannot refer or allude to Julian's restoration of idolatry; for that had not been done 'three years,' nor two years, by a great deal. In the spring of the year 363, it was not more than three years since he had been declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul: not yet quite a year and half since his being sole Augustus; and not more than two years since he had at all made an open profession of Hellenism, allowing him to have begun to make it when he was in Illyricum, before the death of Constantius. Julian in this place, as I think, useth a definite for an indefinite number, by 'three' meaning a few only. So in his work against the christians, he says, the law of Moses was designed to be everlasting. 'And this he says, he[1] will demonstrate not from ten only, but from ten thousand passages of Moses himself.' Which answers to the place under consideration, and may show, that by 'three years,' no certain space of time was intended: consequently this argument of his lordship for the date of this epistle must fall to the ground. And there can be no reason to believe, that this letter was written in the beginning of the year 363, or that Julian here refers to any extraordinary defeat which had been given to his design of rebuilding the temple: and whenever that letter was written, it affords reason to believe, that Julian had not yet given any orders for rebuilding the temple.

Once more, I argue from some things said by Julian in his work against the christians, where he observes, that the Jews might offer sacrifices at other places beside Jerusalem. We know, that work was not composed long before he set out upon the Persian expedition. If that was his mind

[1] Τυτο ὁτι ψευδως λεγυσιν, αποδειξω σαφως εκ μεν τυ Μωσεως υ δεκα μονας, αλλα μυριας παρεχομενος μαρτυριας. Cyril. Contr. Jul. lib. ix. p. 319. D.

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then, it seems, that he was grown more indifferent about rebuilding the Jewish temple than he had formerly been.

The words to which I refer stand thus: 'But[k] this person,' says Cyril, 'I know not how, sometimes approves of 'the Jewish customs; at other times he blames them, as 'separate from all other men; and as having most unreasonably given over sacrificing, though Elias, as he says, 'sacrificed in Carmel, and not in the holy city Jerusalem.' It appears to me very unlikely, that Julian should be disposed to gratify the Jews at a vast, and then unseasonable, and inconvenient expense, in what he reckoned an unreasonable fancy.

If Julian's work against the christians, as Libanius says, was composed 'in the winter-season, during the long nights,' that is, near the end of the year 362, and the beginning of 363, it is not at all likely, that he should in the beginning of the same year 363, issue out orders for rebuilding the Jewish temple at Jerusalem.

In that oration, or epistle, to which we have referred several times, at p. 295, are these expressions:—'What will the Jews say to their own temple, which has been thrice demolished, and is not raised again to this day? *Τι περι τε νεω φησουσι, τε παρ' αυτοις, τριτον ανατραπεντος, εγειρομενε δε ωδε νυν.* Some learned men have supposed, that[1] here is a reference to the defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Julian himself here acknowledgeth it. But the bishop of Gloucester, p. 74, in the notes, has candidly and judiciously shown that to be a mistake. For, 1. 'Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot, in any known figure 'of speech, be called the overthrow of a building. 2. And 'is not raised again to this day, cannot be said of a building 'that had been destroyed but two months before.' And by the three subversions here spoken of, his lordship supposes may be meant that by the Assyrians, and that by the Romans: and by the third may be meant the profanation of the temple by Antiochus.

If I should allow myself to represent this a little differently, it would be after this manner: The case was this; the temple was then in ruins, and had been so for a long time; it had been demolished more than once; Julian did

[k] *Ο δε ουχ οιδ' ότι παθων, αποδεχεται τα Ιουδαιων, καταψεγει δε παλιν αυτους, ώς των μεν αλλων απαντων ἀπηρτημενους, αλογωτατα δε το θυειν οκνουντας, καιτοι, φησιν,* Ηλιου τεθυκοτος *εν τῳ* Καρμηλῳ, *και ουκ εν τῃ αγιᾳ πολει, φημι δη τῃ* Ἱερουσαλημ. Cyril. Contr. Jul. l. ix. p. 324. C.

[1] So Bletterie, Vie de Julien, l. v. p. 398, and Dr. Chapman in his Eusebius, against the Moral Philosopher, Tom. i. p. 408, 409.

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not think himself obliged to say how often; and it was to his purpose to augment, rather than diminish the number of its subversions. Indeed, it had been demolished but twice; that is, by the Assyrians, and then by the Romans; the emperor says thrice, not being careful to be exact.

Or, if it be needful to understand Julian literally, we may suppose, that he refers to the subversion of Jerusalem, and the Jewish people, in the time of Adrian, spoken of by Eusebius in his History,[m] and in his Chronicle,[n] and by other writers elsewhere.[o] This Julian might compute for the third.

2. That Julian should give orders for building the temple, and allotted money for it out of the public treasury, when he was setting out for Persia, is very unlikely. It is not easily credible, that he could at that time do any thing that might at all impede the expedition against the Persians, upon which he had been so long intent. We may reasonably suppose, that when he wrote his letter to the Community of the Jews, and told them 'he would rebuild their temple, if he returned victorious;' he was then sensible he could not attempt it sooner; and that he should want all the resources of money and treasure for that one design: which seems actually to have been the case. And when Marcellinus speaks of Julian's attempt, he appears to have been very sensible that the emperor's hands were full, and that there was at that time no room for any other expensive undertaking, beside the Persian war.

3. Great weight is laid upon the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a heathen, and an impartial historian.

But then, it has been said by some, that he had his account from the christians, and took it up without examination. To which I would add, that he was credulous, as appears from many things in his history;[p] he might, therefore, without scruple, record a miraculous interposition, which had been reported to him. Indeed, he appears very ready to receive the reports of extraordinary things. Some

[m] Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 6.

[n] Bellum judaïcum, quod in Palæstinâ gerebatur, finem accipit, rebus Judæorum penitus oppressis; ex quo tempore etiam introeundi eis Jerosolymam licentia ablata, &c. Chron. p. 167. [o] Vid. Vales. in Euseb. H. E. and see here in this work, Vol. vi. p. 510—513.

[p] Nocte tamen, quæ declarationis Augustæ præcesserat diem, junctioribus proximis retulerat imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, hæc objurgando dixisse.—Ammian. l. xx. cap. 5. fin.

— vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam, cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliâ. Id. l. xxv. cap. 2. p. 451.

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things are mentioned by him[q] which we cannot but wonder to see related by a man of gravity, and with plain marks of assent.

4. The history of this event, as related by christian writers, is loaded with miracles, or pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible. For it is not easy to believe that by divine interposition crosses were formed in the air, and impressed with a 'fine embroidery or painting' upon men's bodies or garments. Not now to mention any other of the strange things, most of them silly and trifling, inserted in the accounts of this affair, and which the reader doubtless well remembers. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himself.

Mr. Mosheim having largely considered the story of the cross appearing to Constantine in the air, or in a dream, with a direction from Christ, that he should make use of that sign in his wars, and assuring him of victory thereby, concludes that it is not a thing worthy of Christ: and says, that[r] 'it 'could be nothing more than the natural dream of a general 'and an emperor, who fell asleep, as he was thinking of the 'impending war, and the best method of overcoming his 'enemies. Let us take heed, says he, lest by too stiffly de-'fending the narratives of the ancient christians, concerning 'the miracles of their time, we should offend against the 'majesty of God himself, and against our most holy religion, 'which teacheth us, not to overcome our enemies, but our-'selves.' A sage observation! which may be justly applied

[q] Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas cœlestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent; ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum. Linquentes Orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduam, cum montem penetrare cœperint Taurum aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis occludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem: iisdemque collibus agiliore volatu transcursis projiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt. Amm. l. xviii. cap. 3. p. 209.

[r] Quid, quæso, dicit? Num Constantinum exhortatur, ut credat, atque sanctitati studeat? Num superstitionem et impietatem fugere et oppugnare, rempublicam juste ac sapienter administrare, num pœnitentiam admissorum facinorum agere, atque civium salutem rebus omnibus anteponere jubet? Nihil vero horum. Quid igitur? Monstrat rationem victoriæ obtinendæ, docetque Constantinum, quali signo militari uti debeat in prœliis. Hæccine oratio Servatore generis humani, qui peccata hominum morte suâ expiavit, hæccine oratio illo digna est, qui pacis auctor mortalibus est, et suos hostibus ignoscere vult? Quid multa? Naturale hoc somnium est militis et imperatoris, quem de impendente bello, et optimâ hostes superandi ratione cogitantem somnus invaserat. Caveamus, ne veterum christianorum narrationibus de ætatis suæ miraculis acrius defendendis in ipsam majestatem Dei, et sanctissimam religionem, quæ non hostes, sed nos ipsos debellare docet, injurii simus. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 984, 985.

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upon divers occasions, and upon this in particular, as I apprehend.

5. There was at that time no occasion for such miraculous interpositions. Undoubtedly, the Jewish temple was not to be rebuilt; it is not to be thought, that Divine Providence would permit it to be done at that time; that there was no need of such miracles to hinder it; Julian did not live long; supposing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple at Jerusalem, the christian emperors, who succeeded him, would take care, that they should not proceed. The rebuilding the temple was not a work of a few weeks, or months, no, nor years. Supposing they had set about the work at the beginning of the year 363, they could not have done a great deal before Julian died, and then their work would be effectually obstructed.

6. Once more. There are several christian writers, who have said nothing about this affair, who were very likely to mention it, if any thing of this kind had been done. I shall instance in three: Jerom, Prudentius, and Orosius.

Jerom was a contemporary; he was a young man when Julian died; a great part of his time he lived at Bethlehem, and he had travelled over the land of Israel or Palestine; but never takes notice of this uncommon event. Dan. xi. 34, "Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help." In his comment upon that verse, 'he[s] mentions several, to whom that prophecy had been applied. 'Some,' he says, 'understood thereby the emperor Julian, 'who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to offer 'sacrifices in their temple.' It is allowed by all that Julian favoured the Jews, and pretended to love them, though he bore them no good-will, and that he likewise talked of rebuilding their temple, and sacrificing there. But Jerom says nothing here (though there was so fit an occasion) nor elsewhere, of his attempting it, and then, being defeated by such miraculous interpositions, as those related by some above-quoted. He has often spoken of the overthrow of the temple by Vespasian and Titus, which he calls the last.[t] He[u] has often mentioned Julian as an adversary to the christians, and has quoted his work against them. He has

[s] Alii vero de Juliano imperatore: quod quando oppressi fuerint a Caio Cæsare, et a captivitatis angustiis multa perpessi, ille consurget, Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum se promittens; in quo parvam spem auxilii habebunt, et applicabuntur illis Gentilium plurimi non in veritate, sed in mendacio. In Dan. cap. xi. Tom. 3. p. 1130.

[t] Quæ Hebræi in ultimâ eversione templi, quæ sub Vespasiano et Tito accidit, interpretantur.—In Dan. cap. xi. ver. 33. Tom. 3. p. 1130.

[u] Vid. Prol. in libr. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Tom. 4. p. 98. et alibi.

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likewise often appealed to Josephus's history of the Jewish [v] War; but says nothing of any attempt to rebuild Jerusalem, and the temple there, in his own time. It is inconceivable that he should omit it, though he insists, as he does more than once, on the ruinous condition in which the temple had been to that time, ever since the days of Titus and Adrian.

Prudentius was another contemporary of Julian; for he was born in the year 348; and did not write till a good while after the death of that emperor. He [w] has gone over the history of Julian's reign; he [x] has also insisted upon the ruin of Solomon's temple; the [y] long captivity of the Jewish people ever since the time of Titus; and with him he mentions Pompey, who first brought the Jewish people into subjection to the Romans. But he says nothing of any attempt made in his time by Julian to rebuild Jerusalem, or the temple there. If he had known of it, and had been acquainted with credible accounts of miraculous interpositions to defeat it, I do not see how he could omit to mention it.

Orosius was an historian, who lived not far below the be-

[v] —ad tempus Romanæ victoriæ universa referimus, quæ Josephus, judaïcæ scriptor historiæ, septem explicat voluminibus, quibus imposuit titulum captivitatis judaïcæ.—Et superfluum est ea sermone disserere, quæ oculis pateant, quum omnia desiderabilia eorum versa sint in ruinas: et templum in toto orbe celebratum, in sterquilinium urbis novæ, quæ a conditore appellatur Ælia, et in habitaculum transivit noctuarum. Hieron. in. Is. cap. lxiv. 10—12. T. 3. p. 476.

Ad extremum, sub Vespasiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque subversum est. Deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiæ. Post eversionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos urbis et templi ruinæ permanent. Ad Dardan. Tom. 2. p. 610.

Scribit plenius Josephus, septem voluminibus Vespasiani et Titi narrans triumphos. Ælii quoque Adriani contra Judæos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis et favillis sui nominis Æliam conderet civitatem. Id. in Joel, cap. i. Tom. 3. p. 1340.

[w] Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortissimus armis.
— — — — — —
Perfidus ille Deo——— Apoth. ver. 450, &c.

[x] Destructione jacent Salomonia saxa metallo,
Ædificata manu? Jacet illud nobile templum.
Cur jacet——? Ib. ver. 512, &c.

[y] Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis
Pompeianæ acies: quibus extirpata per omnes
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
Ex illis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat
Judæus.——Ibid. ver. 538, &c.

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ginning of the fifth century. He[z] has an article for Julian; but does not say that he attempted to build the temple at Jerusalem, and was wonderfully defeated. He was greatly offended with Julian, and seems to aim to hint at all his incivilities to the christians,[a] of which the attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem has been generally reckoned one; but yet says nothing of it.[b] If Julian had attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, and had been defeated by a miraculous interposition, it was an event much to his purpose, and altogether suited to the great design of his history, and could not have been omitted by him.

To me the silence of these three writers appears very remarkable. I do not know how others may be affected by it; but I acknowledge that I was much struck with it when I first observed it in my inquiries into this transaction.

And I must now add farther, that I do not recollect, that Cyril of Alexandria, in his books against Julian, or in any other of his works elsewhere, has at all spoken of an attempt of that emperor to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, and that he was miraculously defeated.

What Zonaras says, in the 12th century, may likewise deserve notice. 'He[c] gave leave to the Jews to rebuild the 'temple at Jerusalem; and they having begun to build with 'great labour, and at much expense, when they endea-'voured to dig up the earth in order to lay the founda-'tion, it is said, that flames of fire burst out, and consumed 'the workmen, so that they were obliged to desist from the 'building.'

Let not any be offended, that I hesitate about this point; I think we ought not too easily to receive accounts of miraculous interpositions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There are many things said of Julian, which all wise and good men do not believe.

Julian, and his elder brother Gallus, as is said, while they were young, undertook to build a church over the sepulchre of a martyr, named Mamas, who had suffered at Cœsarea,

[z] Oros. l. vii. cap. 30.

[a] *Και κατ' αλλον δε τροπον ὁ βασιλευς τυς χριστιανυς βλαπτειν σπυδαζων — κ. λ.* Socrat. l. iii. cap. 20. in p. 192. C. D.

[b] Dr. Warburton, in his Julian, p. 118, mentions Orosius among other ancient writers who have borne testimony to this attempt. If that be right, I have overlooked the place.

[c] *Ουτος και τον εν Ἱεροσολυμοις ανεγειραι ναον τοις Ιυδαιοις επιτρεψε. Κἀκειναν σπυδῃ πολλῃ και μεγαλαις δαπαναις της οικοδομης αρξαμενων, και ορυττειν την γην, εις καταβολην των θεμελιων επιχειρυντων, πυρ λεγεται των ορυγματων αθροον αναδιδομενον, καταφλεγειν τυς σκαπτοντας, ὡς αναγκασθηναι αυτυς της οικοδομης αποσχεσθαι.* Zonar. Tom. 3. 21, 22.

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in Cappadocia. They divided the work between them, and both carried on their parts severally with great diligence. That part of the building which was the care of Gallus advanced prosperously; but some invisible power obstructed Julian's attempt; there was no fixing the foundations, the earth throwing up the stones again; or if any part of the building was raised up to some height, it was presently shattered and tumbled down to the ground. This is related by Gregory Nazianzen [d] as a miracle, and with great parade; and for the truth of it, he appeals to eye-witnesses. The same story is told by Sozomen; [e] who says, 'there were 'many still living, who received the account from those who 'saw it.' It is also briefly related by Theodoret. [f]

Again, it is said, that when Julian was sacrificing, a cross within a circle was found impressed upon the entrails of the victim. This also is related by Gregory Nazianzen, [g] and Sozomen. [h]

Both these accounts are scornfully rejected as monkish fables, by the truly learned and right reverend the lord bishop of Gloucester; [i] though, as he owns, 'church 'history informs us of them.' And very unfortunately, those observations are in the conclusion of a volume composed with great labour and zeal, in which divers other accounts are received, which are not more probable in their own nature, nor supported by better authority.

The truth of history is not all affected by rejecting improbable relations; nor is the cause of christianity at all hurt by our refusing to assent to some things which christian writers have said of Julian. That he pretended favour for the Jews, and sometimes talked of rebuilding their city and their temple, is allowed; but that he actually attempted it, and ordered money for the work out of the public treasury, when he was setting out upon the Persian expedition, and that his attempt was frustrated by many miraculous interpositions, is not so certain. Though these things should be contested or denied, it can be of no bad consequence. Other histories, which are void of the like improbabilities, are not affected by it; and the evangelical history remains firm and inviolate, having in it all possible marks of truth and credibility. At the beginning of his discourse on the attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, his lordship says, 'that [k] the evidence of the miracles recorded in

[d] Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 59—61.
[e] Soz. l. v. cap. 2. p. 594. A.
[f] Theod. l. iii. cap. 2.
[g] Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 70—77.
[h] Sozom. l. v. cap. 2. p. 592. B. C.
[i] See his Lordship's Julian, p. 319, 320.
[k] Julian, p. 1.

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'church history, doth not stand on the same foot of credit 'with the miracles recorded in gospel history.'

As for the testimony of the two Jewish writers, upon which some insist, I have above put it down from Wagenseil's Tela Ignea Satanæ; but I do not think the testimony of writers in the fifteenth or sixteenth century to be of much value. They appear to have borrowed from christian writers: therefore one of them calls the emperor Julian, the apostate. However, though they relied chiefly upon christian authors, they may have in part altered and perverted the christian accounts, to abate the reproach which this story, as told by them, casts upon the Jewish people.

Nevertheless, that it may not be said I affect to slight what others reckon material, I shall now be a little more particular in my remarks upon those two Jewish testimonies.

Rabbi David Gans, in the sixteenth century, says: 'The 'emperor Julian[l] ordered, that the most holy temple should 'be rebuilt with great beauty and magnificence, at his own 'expense; but by interposition from heaven an impediment 'was thrown in the way, so that the building could not be 'finished; for the emperor died in the Persian war.'

This is very agreeable to what I have said; and may be thought to confirm my argument; but, indeed, I am not disposed to set much value upon so late a testimony.

Rabbi Gadaliah, in the fifteenth century, says: 'In the 'days of R. Channan,[m] and his brethren, about the year 'of the world 4349, our annals tell us, that there was a 'great earthquake over all the world: by which the temple, 'which the Jews had raised at Jerusalem, with vast expense, 'at the command of the emperor Julian the apostate, was 'thrown down. The next day after the earthquake, a dread-'ful fire fell from heaven, by which all the iron-work of the 'building [or "perhaps all the iron tools employed about 'the work"] were melted, and many, yea, innumerable Jews 'were consumed.'

Upon this account it appears to me very obvious to observe: First, this testimony is too late to be of any considerable value. Secondly, the author had his account from christian writers; therefore he calls Julian the apostate. Thirdly, in some things, and as I suppose at will, and of his own invention, he differs from ancient christian writers. Fourthly, the account is confused, and in some respects

[l] Apud Wagenseil, p. 231. The words are cited above at note [s], p. 610.

[m] For the time of writing that work, and of Cyril's answer to it, see above, p. 601, 602.

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manifestly false. He seems to say, that the temple 'had 'been built' at a great expense, and that after it had been built, it fell down, occasioned by an earthquake. Here he differs from christians, who speak only of an 'attempt' to raise the temple. And it is a falsehood; for it certainly was not rebuilt, or raised up in Julian's time. He also speaks of an earthquake 'over all the world;' which is his own invention, without any ground. Upon the whole, this account appears to me confused and absurd, as well as very late, and therefore of no authority; but, as I said before, let others judge. However I am of opinion, that if the christian testimonies fail, we are not to expect any thing relating to this event of much importance from the Jews.

Finally, to put an end to these critical observations; Julian's favourable regards for the Jewish people, and his intention (or desire at least) to rebuild the city of Jerusalem and the temple there, are manifest, and fully attested by contemporary witnesses, and by his own writings: it is as manifest, that his design to rebuild Jerusalem and the Jewish temple was never accomplished, but was frustrated and defeated. Whether it was owing to miraculous interpositions, or to his expensive preparations for the Persian war, and other circumstances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat in that war; the overruling providence of God ought to be acknowledged in the event: and the argument for the truth of the christian religion, taken from the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people by Vespasian and Titus, and their continued dispersion, remains in all its force. It is an argument which I never intended to weaken; it is, I think, a demonstrative argument for the truth of the christian religion; and, as I have often hinted in this work, deserving the attentive regard and serious consideration of all mankind.

IV. I have now written the history of Julian, so far as I can suppose to be needful; I therefore proceed to a more particular account of his work against the christians, and to make extracts out of[m] it.

1. Cyril's answer to it consists of ten books; the first of which is an introduction of his own. In the second book he begins to make quotations from Julian's work; and from the many passages quoted from it by Cyril in his several books, it may be concluded, that Julian's performance was intended to be a laboured confutation both of judaism and christianity.

2. Julian's preface or introduction to his work, as we learn

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from Cyril, was in these words: 'I[n] think it right for me to show to all men the reasons, by which I have been convinced, that the religion of the Galileans is a human contrivance, badly put together, having in it nothing divine; but abusing the childish, irrational part of the soul, which delights in fable, they have introduced a heap of wonderful works, to give it the appearance of truth.'

3. Afterwards, and near the beginning of the work: 'It[o] will be worth the while,' he says, 'to compare together the things said of the Deity by the Greeks and the Hebrews; and then we shall inquire of those, who are neither Greeks nor Jews, but of the sect of the Galileans, why they have preferred their notions to ours; and then, why they have not stood to them neither, but forsaking them also, they have taken to a way peculiar to themselves; holding nothing good and valuable taught by us Greeks, or by the Hebrews, the disciples of Moses; but collecting what is bad in both, they have taken atheism from the Jewish absurdity, and a wicked dissolute life from our carelessness and indifference. And this they call a most excellent religion.'

4. 'That[p] Moses says, God was the God of Israel only, and of Judea, and that they were his chosen people, I shall demonstrate presently; and that not only he, but the prophets after him, and Jesus the Nazarene, say the same; yea, and Paul also, who exceeded all the jugglers and impostors that ever were.' For this, he presently after allegeth, Exod. iv. 22, 23; v. 3; vii. 1.

5. Soon afterwards, Julian proceeds in this manner: 'But[q] that God from the beginning took care of the Jews only, and that[r] they were his chosen lot, appears not only from Moses, and Jesus, but from Paul also; though this may be justly thought strange in Paul: but upon every occasion, like a polypus upon the rocks, he changeth his notions of God: at one time affirming, that the Jews only are God's heritage; at another time, to persuade the Greeks, and gain them over to his side, saying: "Is he the God of

[n] *Καλως εχειν μοι φαινεται τας αιτιας εκθεσθαι πασιν ανθρωποις, ὑφ' ὧν επεισθην, ὁτι των Γαλιλαιων ἡ σκευωρια πλασμα εςιν ανθρωπων, ὑπο κακουργιας συντεθεν· εχουσα μεν ουδεν θειον, αποχρησαμενη δε τῳ φιλομυθῳ, και παιδαριωδει, και ανοητῳ της ψυχης μοριῳ, την τερατολογιαν εις πιςιν ηγαγεν αληθειας.* Cyril. contr. Julian. l. ii. p. 39. edit. Spanhem.

[o] Ibid. l. ii. p. 42, 43.

[p] *Πλην ὁτι του Ισραηλ αυτου μονου Θεον, και της Ιουδαιας, και τουτους, εκλεκτους φησιν ειναι, αυτος τε, και οἱ μετ' εκεινον προφηται, και Ιησους ὁ Ναζαραιος, επιδειξω· αλλα και τον παντας πανταχου τους πωποτε γοητας και απατεωνας ὑπερβαλλομενον Παυλον.* Contr. Jul. l. iii. p. 100. A.

[q] Lib. iii. p. 106. B—D.

[r] ——*και κληρος αυτου γεγονεν ὁυτος εξαιρετος.* B.

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the Jews only?——Yes, of the Gentiles also." It is reasonable therefore, to ask Paul, If he was not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, why[s] did he, for the most part at least, send to the Jews the prophetic spirit, and Moses, and the anointing, and the prophets, and the law, and miracles, and prodigies of fables? And you hear them saying, "man did eat angels' food." At[t] length he sent Jesus also to them: not a prophet, not the anointing, not a master, not a preacher of the late mercy of God to us. However, he overlooked us for myriads, or, if you please, for thousands of years, and left us in such ignorance, as to worship idols, as you say, from east to west, and from north to south, excepting only a small nation about two thousand years ago, planted in a part of Palestine. But if he be the God of all, and the Creator of all, why did he neglect us?'

Here is a quotation of Rom. iii. 29, and Ps. lxxviii. 35, and a reference to Rom. ix. 4, 5.

And notwithstanding Julian's cavils, it is the doctrine of the Old and the New Testament, that God is the creator of the whole world, and directs and overrules all things in heaven and on earth, with unerring wisdom, and uncontrollable power. Nor did he at any time neglect any part of mankind. He taught all by the light of nature, and the visible works of his hand, and the various methods of his providence, tempering mercy and judgment. Acts xiv. 16, 17; Rom. i. 18——21. But for wise reasons, and great ends and purposes, he chose the Jewish people, the seed of Abraham, to be a peculiar people, and made some special manifestations of himself among them, thereby setting them up for a light amidst the nations. At length, in the fulness of time, at the most proper season, and according to his most gracious promise, he sent Jesus the Messiah.

The light of reason is common to all. A particular revelation is a special favour, which God may vouchsafe where, and when, and to whom he pleaseth. Whenever he has made a revelation, he has given evident proofs of its divine original. But unthinking and careless, proud and perverse men, have not diligently improved the one, nor thankfully accepted the other.

6. Julian objects against the Mosaic account of the crea-

[s] ——τȣ χαριν εις τȣς Ιȣδαιȣς μεν, πολυ το προφητικον επεμψε πνευμα, και τον Μωσεα, και το χρισμα, και τȣς προφητας, και τον νομον, και τα παραδοξα, και τα τερατια των μυθων. C.

[t] Επι τελει δε και τον Ιησȣν εκεινοις επεμψεν, ου προφητην, ου χρισμα, ου διδασκαλον, ου κηρυκα της μελλȣσης οψε ποτε γȣν εσεσθαι και εις ἡμας τȣ Θεȣ φιλανθρωπιας. Ib. C.

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tion of the world, the fall of man, and the confusion of languages. He finds fault also with the decalogue of Moses; which,[u] as he says, contained no precepts, that are not equally regarded by all nations, excepting these two: "Thou shalt worship no other gods," and, "Remember the sabbath-day." He prefers[v] Lycurgus and Solon to Moses. 'He[w] reflects upon David and Samson,' Cyril says, 'as not 'very remarkable for valour, and exceeded by many Greeks 'and Egyptians: and all their power was confined within 'the narrow limits of Judea.' He says, the[x] Jews never had any general equal to Alexander or Cæsar. The[y] wise Solomon is not to be compared with some eminent men among the Greeks: such as Phocylides, Theognis, Isocrates. Moreover, as he adds, Solomon is said to have been overcome by women, and therefore does not deserve to be reckoned a wise man.

7. These things I mention but slightly, and quite pass over some other objections to the books of Moses, and the Old Testament: supposing it to be rather incumbent upon me to enlarge upon those objections which more immediately relate to christianity, and the books of the New Testament.

8. Julian cavils at several prophecies of the Old Testament, which were applied to Jesus by his followers. To this purpose, I shall allege a passage here, though it be somewhat prolix. 'Since[z] therefore they differ from the Jews of the present time, and say that they are the true Israelites, and that they highly respect Moses and the other prophets after him; let us see wherein they agree with them; and we shall begin with Moses, who, as they say, foretold the future nativity of Jesus. Moses, then, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but often, taught the worship of one God only; others he calls angels, or lords: but he never teacheth any other second God, neither like, nor unlike, as you do. If you have one word in Moses, favouring such expressions, you should produce it. What he says is: "For the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me. Unto him shall ye hearken." Deut. xviii. 15. This cannot be spoken concerning the son of Mary.

[u] Ποιον εθνος εστι, προς των θεων, εξω τυ, Ου προσκυνησεις θεοις ἑτεροις, και τυ, Μνησθητι των σαββατων, ὁ μη τας αλλας οιεται χρηναι φυλαττειν εντολας; L. v. p. 152. C.

[v] L. v. p. 168. B.

[w] L. v. p. 176. C.

[x] L. vii. p. 218. B. C.

[y] Ὁ σοφωτατος Σαλομων παρομοιος εστι τῳ παρ' Ἑλλησι Φωκυλιδῃ, η Θεογνιδι, η Ισοκρατει; ποθεν; κ. λ. L. vii. p. 224. C. D.

[z] Lib. viii. p. 253. B—E.

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But, if we grant you that, he would be like unto Moses, not unto God: meaning a prophet like himself, and from men, not from God. That text also, Gen. xlix. 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet:" is not said of him, but of David's kingdom, which appears to have ended in king Zedekiah——But that none of these things belong to Jesus is manifest: for neither is he of Judah: and how should he be so, when, according to you he was not born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost? When you reckon up the genealogy of Joseph, you carry it up to Judah: but you have not been able to contrive this dexterously; for Matthew and Luke have been shown to differ with one another about the genealogy.' Matt. i. Luke iii.

Upon this passage some remarks may be proper.

(1.) Julian here and elsewhere insinuates, that the doctrine of christians concerning the Deity was different from that of Moses: but I apprehend, that the divine unity is as clearly taught in the New as in the Old Testament. "When one of the scribes came to Jesus, and asked him, Which is the first commandment of all: Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord," and what follows. Mark xii. 28, 29, 30. To another, who came to our Lord with a like question, and called him, "good Master, Jesus said: Why callest thou me good? None is good, save one, that is God." Luke xviii. 18, 19. Again: "And this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." John xvii. 3; see Matt. iv. 10. And says St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 5, "There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." The doctrine therefore of more gods than one, or of inferior deities, if it was held by any christians in Julian's time, is not the doctrine of the New Testament.

(2.) Julian insinuates, that christians did not consider Jesus as a prophet like unto Moses: but however some christians in Julian's time might express themselves, it is certain, that the apostles did esteem Jesus a prophet like unto Moses; as appears from Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, though he was greater than Moses, and was "counted worthy of more glory than Moses," Heb. iii. 3.

(3.) Julian insinuates, that Jesus, "son of Mary," could not be of the tribe of Judah, or descended from Judah, because he is said by the evangelists, not to have been born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost, Matt. ch. i. But those things are not inconsistent. Jesus was the son of Joseph, as he

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was born of Mary, who was espoused to him. But he was not conceived in the ordinary way, but by the immediate agency and interposition of God: therefore he is said to have been "conceived of the Holy Ghost," Matt. i. 18, 20; and on that account was also called the "Son of God," Luke i. 35.

(4.) Julian acknowledgeth the genuineness of the two genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke: and though he says they differ, they have been reconciled by learned christians, both ancient and modern.

Jerom, in particular, has taken notice[a] of Julian's objections to the two genealogies; and has made answers to them too long to be transcribed in this place.

9. It will not be improper for me to allege here a passage of Jerom in his commentary upon Hos. xi. 1, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt." He[b] there informs us, that Julian, in his work against the christians, found fault with St. Matthew for applying that to Christ, ch. ii. 15, which belonged to Israel. And he says, that the evangelists did it with a design to impose upon ignorant gentiles; which charge Jerom there considers and confutes.

10. And upon Matt. ix. 9, where it is said, that our Lord called Matthew, and "he followed him:" Jerom observes, that[c] both Porphyry and Julian had reflected upon the apostles, as ready to follow any man without sufficient reason; which may induce us to think, that Julian sometimes borrowed from Porphyry. This has been already taken notice of by us in the chapter of[d] Porphyry. Jerom here says very well, as we also observed formerly, that before the disciples became stated followers of Jesus, they had seen many miracles done by him.

11. 'Jesus,' says[e] Julian, as quoted by Cyril, 'whom you

[a] "Jacob autem genuit Joseph, virum Mariæ, &c," Matt i. 16.] Hoc loco objecit nobis Julianus Augustus dissonantiam evangelistarum; cur evangelista Matthæus Joseph dixerit filium Jacob, et Lucas eum filium appellavit Heli; non intelligens consuetudinem scripturarum, &c. Hieron. in Matt. T. iv. P. i. p. 7.

[b] Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus, quod adversum nos, id est, christianos, evomuit, calumniatur, et dicit, quod de Israël scriptum est Matthæus evangelista ad Christum transtulit, ut simplicitati eorum, qui de Gentibus crediderant, illuderet. In Osee. cap. 11. Tom. iii. p. 1311.

[c] Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus, vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim secuti sunt Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem sint secuti, quem tantæ virtutes, tantaque signa præcesserint, quæ apostolos, antequam crederent, vidisse non dubium est. Hieron. in Matt. iv. p. 30.

[d] See p. 424.

[e] Ὁ παρ' ὑμιν κηρυττομενος Ιησης εἰς ην των Καισαρος ὑπηκοων, κ. λ. Ap.

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celebrate, was one of Cæsar's subjects. If you dispute it, I will prove it by and by; but it may be as well done now. For yourselves allow, that he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of Cyrenius; but after he was born, what good did he do to his relations? For "they would not," as it is said, "believe on him." And yet, that stiff-necked and hard-hearted people believed Moses. But Jesus, who "rebuked the winds, and walked on the seas, and cast out dæmons," and, as you will have it, made the heaven and the earth, (though none of his disciples presumed to say this of him, except John only, nor he clearly and distinctly: however, let it be allowed that he said so:) could not order his designs so as to save his friends and relations.' Luke ii. John vii. 5; Matt. xiv. 25; Mark vi. 48; John i.

Upon this it may be observed: (1.) Julian does not contest the account of our Saviour's nativity, which is in St. Luke's gospel, but confirms it. (2.) I believe St. John's doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ, is not different from that of the other evangelists. (3.) Julian acknowledgeth, that many great and wonderful works are ascribed to Jesus by the historians of his life, the evangelists: nor does he deny the truth of them. (4.) He confirms the truth of what is said of some of our Lord's relations, or "brethren," that "they did not believe in him," at least not rightly, or for a while, though they might do so afterwards, and probably did[f] so. However if they never did believe in him, it need not be reckoned at all dishonourable to Jesus: for he made no offers of special advantages to his own kindred or family; they were to be saved in no other way than other men, by "hearing the word of God and doing it," or by "doing the will of his Father, who is in heaven." See Matt. xii. 50, Mark iii. 35, and Luke viii. 21. If among them were sensual and worldly men, they might as well reject his spiritual doctrine as any others.

12. 'But[g] Jesus having persuaded a few among you, and those the worst of men, has now been celebrated about three hundred years; having done nothing in his life-time worthy of remembrance; unless any one thinks it a mighty matter to heal lame and blind people, and exorcise dæmoniacs in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany.'

Cyril. contr. Julian, l. vi. p. 213.

[f] See Vol. iv. ch. xvi. sect. 8.

[g] Ὁ δε Ιησους, αναπεισας το χειριστον των παρ' ὑμιν, ολιγους προς τοις τριακοσιοις ενιαυτοις ονομαζεται, εργασαμενος παρ' ὁν εξη χρονον εργον ουδεν ακοης αξιον· ει μη τις οιεται τους κυλλους και τους τυφλους ιασασθαι, και δαιμονωντας εφορκιζειν εν Βηθσαϊδᾳ και εν Βηθανιᾳ ταις κωμαις των μεγιστων εργων ειναι. Cyr. contr. Jul. l. vi. p. 191.

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(1.) This is plainly acknowledging the truth of the evangelical history, though he does not refer to the whole of it, nor specify all the great works that Jesus did, nor all the places in which they were performed. (2.) He acknowledgeth, that for three hundred years, or more, Jesus had been celebrated: which regard for him was founded upon the works done by him in his life-time; which works had been recorded by his disciples, eye-witnesses of those works: and the tradition had been handed down from the beginning to the time in which Julian lived. (3.) Why should not 'healing lame and blind men, and such as were afflicted with other distempers generally ascribed to dæmons,' be reckoned great works? All judicious and impartial men must esteem them great works when performed on the sudden, and completely, as all our Lord's works of healing were: greater works than founding cities, erecting an extensive monarchy, or subduing whole nations by slaughter, and the common methods of conquest; though such things have been often thought more worthy to be remembered and recorded by historians. (4.) If there were but a few only persuaded by Jesus during his abode on this earth, it was not for want of sufficient evidence: there was enough, it seems, to persuade some *bad men*, called in the gospels "publicans and sinners," the 'worst men,' as you say. But there were also some serious and pious men, thoughtful and inquisitive, as Nathaniel, Nicodemus, and others, who were persuaded, and fully satisfied, though for awhile they had been averse and prejudiced. And there were worse men than those whom you call 'the worst,' even scribes and pharisees, proud, covetous, ambitious men, whom no rational evidence, however clear and strong, could persuade to receive religious principles, contrary to their present worldly interests.

13. 'But[h] you are so unhappy, as not to adhere to the things delivered to you by the apostles: but they have been altered by you for the worse, and carried on to yet greater impiety. For neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, have dared to call Jesus God. But honest John, understanding that a great multitude of men in the cities of Greece and Italy, were seized with this distemper; and hearing likewise, as I suppose, that the tombs of Peter and

[h] Ουτο δε εστε δυστυχεις, ωστε ουδε τοις υπο των αποστολων υμιν παραδιδομενοις εκμεμενηκατε, και ταυτα δε επι το χειρον και δυσσεβεστερων, υπο των επιγινομενων εξειργασθη. Τον γαν Ιησουν ουτε Παυλος ετολμησεν ειπειν Θεον, ουτε Ματθαιος, ουτε Λουκας, ουτε Μαρκος: αλλ' ο χρηστος Ιωαννης, αισθομενος ηδη πολυ πληθος ἰαλωκος εν πολλαις των Ἑλληνιδων και Ιταλιωτιδων πολεων υπο ταυτης της νοσου, κ. λ. Contr. Jul. l. x. p. 327. A. B.

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Paul were respected, and frequented, though as yet privately only, however, having heard of it, he then first presumed to advance that doctrine.'

In answer to this I must, (1.) say again, as I have already said several times, that the doctrine of St. John, concerning our Saviour's person, is not different from that of the other apostles and evangelists, but the same. (2.) Julian here acknowledgeth many things extremely prejudicial to his cause, and more so than he was aware of. For he here acknowledgeth the genuineness and authority of most of the books of the New Testament; the writings of Paul, the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and that these books contain the doctrine of Christ's apostles, the persons who accompanied him, and were the witnesses of his preaching, works, death, resurrection, and taught in his name afterwards. (3.) He acknowledgeth the early and wonderful progress of the gospel; for he supposeth, that there were in 'many cities of Greece and Italy,' multitudes of believers in Jesus before John wrote his gospel; which as he computes, was published soon after the death of Peter and Paul. (4.) Therefore the antiquity of the first three gospels is here evidently acknowledged: they were written and published before the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, that is, about the time now supposed by all christians in general. (5.) And in what he says of the time of John's writing his gospel, he speaks not disagreeably to the general opinion of christians at that time, and since. For it has been generally supposed, and indeed is manifest, that he did not write till after the other three evangelists, because he appears to have seen and read their gospels, and to have designed to make some additions to them in the way of a supplement. I think it highly probable, that though he did not write till after the other evangelists, his gospel was published before the destruction of Jerusalem, about the year of Christ 68, as was at large argued [i] formerly.

14. 'They [k] say they agree with Isaiah, who prophesieth: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son," ch. vii. 14. Let this be said of God, though it is not: for she was not a virgin, who was married, and cohabited with her husband before she brought forth. However, grant that this also is said of him: does he say, that God should be born of a virgin? But you are continually calling Mary mother of God.' 'Θεοτοκον δε ὑμεις ου παυεσθε Μαριαν καλουντες.' Matt. i. 18—25.

We are not to be surprised, that the adversaries to chris-

[i] See Vol. v. ch. ix. sect. 9.

[k] Contr. Julian. l. viii. p. 262. D.

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tianity did contest, or deny the virginity of Mary. They who withstood the evidences of our Saviour's divine mission recorded in the gospels, might also dispute his miraculous conception and birth. But for the truth of it I have already said enough in the remarks upon [l] Celsus.

In another place[m] also Julian argues again upon that title given to Mary, 'mother of God;' and upon that expression 'God of God.' But I have no reason to say any thing in defence of either, as they are not scripture phrases.

15. 'But[n] you miserable people,' says Julian, 'at the same time that ye refuse to worship the shield that fell down from Jupiter, and is preserved by us, which was sent down to us by the great Jupiter, or our father Mars, as a certain pledge of the perpetual government of our city: you worship the wood of the cross, and make signs of it upon your foreheads, and fix it upon your doors. Shall we for this most hate the understanding, or most pity the simple and ignorant among you, who[o] are so very unhappy, as to leave the immortal gods, and go over to a dead Jew?'

By a 'dead Jew,' it is likely that Julian means still dead; but though Jesus died, and was buried, he rose again, and ascended to heaven: and of this there are other evidences than the heathen people had of the shield's coming down from heaven. Nor was it certain, it seems, whether it came from Jupiter or from Mars. Here is an instance of Julian's credulity and superstition.

As for the extraordinary respect shown by some christians to the 'wood,' or the 'sign' of the cross, I have no reason to defend it: the New Testament gives no encouragement to it that I know of.

Julian blames christians for having destroyed temples and altars; and then goes on: 'You[p] have killed not only our people who persisted in the ancient religion, but likewise heretics, equally deceived with yourselves; but who did not mourn the dead man exactly in the same manner that you do. But these are your own inventions: for Jesus has no where directed you to do such things; nor yet Paul. The reason is, that they never expected you would arrive at such power. They were contented with deceiving maid-servants and slaves, and by them some men and women, such as Cornelius and Sergius. If there were then any other men

[l] See before, p. 225, 226.

[m] Contr. Julian. l. viii. p. 276. E.

[n] *Ειτα, ω δυστυχεις ανθρωποι, σωζομενε τε παρ' ἡμιν ὁπλε Διοπετες, ὁ κατεπεμψεν ὁ μεγας Ζευς, ητοι πατηρ Αρης—κ. λ.* Lib. vi. p. 194. C.

[o] *—ὡστε τες αιωνιως αφεντες Θεες, επι τον Ιεδαιον μεταβηναι νεκρον.* Ib. D.

[p] Contr. Julian. l. vi. p. 206. A. B.

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of eminence brought over to you, I mean in the times of Tiberius and Claudius when these things happened, let me pass for a liar in every thing I say.'

This is another very important passage. (1.) Julian acknowledgeth, that persecution and cruelty were the inventions of later christians: that neither Jesus, nor Paul, nor any other of the first preachers of the gospel, had taught men to kill others for being of a different religion, or for differing about lesser matters among themselves. (2.) But he is mistaken about the reason of this: for Jesus foresaw the vast success and speedy propagation of his doctrine, [Matt. viii. 11, xvi. 18, xxviii. 19, and many other places,] though it would be opposed, and his apostles would be ill treated by many. [Matt. x. 16—26; xxiii. 34; xxiv. 9; John xx. 18, 19.] But the reason is, that his doctrine is a doctrine of universal virtue and goodness, and he "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them," Luke ix. 56. And the apostles knew this very well, when they began to preach publicly in his name, after his ascension, and after the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. So that the followers of Jesus Christ, who killed men for dissenting from them in things of religion, acted not only without orders from Christ or his apostles, but contrary to the commandment delivered by them. (3.) Julian does strongly confirm the evangelical history: for he owns, that the beginnings of christianity were in the times of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius. He speaks of the conversions of 'maid-servants and slaves,' probably meaning the "maid possessed with a spirit of divination," Acts xvi. 16, and Onesimus, servant to Philemon. He likewise speaks of the conversion of other men and women, particularly the conversion of Cornelius and Sergius Paulus, mentioned Acts x. and xiii. (4.) Julian is very cautious here, when he limits his exceptions to the times of those two emperors, the latter of whom died in the year of Christ 54. Moreover, he is to be understood to speak of heathen people only. But it should be observed, that for some considerable time after the ascension of Jesus, the apostles confined their preaching to native Jews and proselytes. And among them were converted some priests and pharisees, as well as meaner people, and also the chamberlain and treasurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, a very eminent, and probably a very understanding and inquisitive man, Acts viii. 26—40. Whom I suppose to have been a Jewish proselyte; and, undoubtedly, Julian also considered him as a man of the Jewish religion, otherwise he would have named him. It is therefore to be reckoned

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very considerable success, if by the end of the reign of Claudius, or if you please, somewhat later, were converted from among the gentiles Cornelius and his family, and many of his friends; and Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus. If they are not now renowned in profane history for any great exploits, it may nevertheless be inferred from their station and character, that they were able to judge of things done before their eyes, and of the truth of principles proposed to them, and of facts related to them to have been done a few days or years before, in a country not far distant from the places of their own residence. (5.) This passage does wonderfully confirm the genuineness of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the truth of the history contained in it. Julian challengeth the christians, after he had excepted the two above mentioned, to produce the names of any more eminent men converted [from the gentiles] to christianity in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Which is a proof that Julian did not, and could not contest the truth of the history in the Acts of the Apostles; and likewise, that he was well satisfied the christians had no other authentic history of things done at that time. He knew they relied upon the accounts given in that book, and that they did not pretend to have any other authentic accounts of them. (6.) Once more, since the accounts given in the New Testament, and particularly in the Acts of the Apostles, of the conversions of 'slaves and maid-servants, and of Cornelius and Sergius Paulus,' are allowed to be true, it is reasonable to believe also, that the grounds and reasons of their conversion to the christian faith are truly and faithfully related; and consequently, that they were not deceived or imposed upon, but were convinced, and persuaded upon sufficient and undeniable evidence, such as ought to sway and satisfy wise and good men.

17. 'But[q] why do you not observe a pure diet as well as the Jews? but eat all things like herbs of the field, believing Peter, because he said: "What God has cleansed, that call not thou common," Acts. x. 15. What does that mean, unless that God formerly declared them to be impure, but now has made them clean? For Moses speaking of four-footed beasts, says: "Whatsoever divideth the hoof, and cheweth the cud, is clean: but whatsoever does not do so, that is unclean," [Lev. xi. 4, Deut. xiv. 6.] If then, since the vision of Peter, the swine has chewed the cud, let us believe him: for that would be truly wonderful, if since Peter's vision it has got that faculty: but if he feigned that

[q] Lib. ix. p. 314. B. C.

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vision, or to use your phrase, the revelation at the tanner's, why should you believe him in a thing of that nature?'

This is really trifling; but it serves to show, that the books of the Acts was generally received by christians. It also shows what was Julian's manner of reasoning: he wanted to form an objection here, but knew not how.

18. 'We are also expressly assured by Cyril, that[r] Julian quoted the epistle of the apostles, which they wrote to the converted from among the gentiles who had lately embraced christianity. "It has seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to impose upon you no other burden than these necessary things——"' Acts xv. 23—29.

19. Cyril, toward the end of his work, where he abridgeth, has these words: 'And[s] moreover this daring gentleman reviles the chief of the apostles, Peter, and says he was a hypocrite, and was reproved by Paul, for living sometimes after the manner of the Greeks, and at other times after the manner of the Jews:' referring to what is written in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians.

We might wish that Cyril had here transcribed Julian more distinctly. However, this is an old objection, which had been made before by Porphyry, and has been also carefully considered by[t] us: and therefore I do not now enlarge any farther upon this point.

20. 'But[u] omitting many other things,' says Julian, 'by which I might show the law of Moses to be perpetual, do you show me some place where that is said, which is affirmed by Paul with so much assurance: "that Christ is the end of the law,"' Rom. x. 4.

21. 'But[v] now I must again return to them. Why then are you not circumcised? To which they answer: Paul says, it is "the circumcision of the heart," which was required, not "that of the flesh,"' Rom. ii. 28, 29.

22. 'To[w] which he adds,' says Cyril, 'that Christ also has said, that the law ought to be kept, saying at one time, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." And again: "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven,"' Matt. v. 17, 19.

23. 'We[x] cannot, say they, keep the feast of unleavened

[r] *Διαμεμνηται δε και της των αγιων αποστολων επιστολης, ην γεγραφασιν—τοις εξ εθνων κεκλημενοις.* L. ix. p. 324. E.

[s] *Κατασκωπτει δε προς τουτοις των αποστολων εκκριτον Πετρον ὁ γενναδας, και ὑποκριτην ειναι φησι, και ελληλεγχεσθαι δια του Παυλου, κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 325. C. D.

[t] See p. 432, 433.

[u] L. ix. p. 320. A.

[v] L. x. p. 351. A.

[w] Ibid. C.

[x] L. x. p. 354. A.

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bread, or the passover, "because Christ has been once sacrificed for us,"' 1 Cor. v. 7.

24. 'Since[y] you have forsaken us, why do you not adhere to the Jews——? And why do you not sacrifice? The Jews indeed are hindered, because they have no temple or altar; but[z] you, who have a new sacrifice, have no need of Jerusalem. But it is superfluous for me now to enlarge upon this, having before[a] spoken of this matter: when I undertook to show, that the Jews agree with the Greeks, except that they think that there is but one God only. That is peculiar to them, and in that they differ from us: but as to other things, they are, in a manner, all common to us both; temples, shrines, altars, purifications, certain ritual observances. In all which things there is little or no difference between them and us.'

(1.) Here seems to be a reference to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, in that phrase, 'a new sacrifice.' (2.) In this passage is a general and just description of christianity: it is a plain, simple worship, without sacrifices of animals, without external purifications, and other ritual observations. It is a character of the christian religion which is very honourable to it. It is truly rational and philosophical, consisting in the practice of virtue, and the spiritual sacrifices of prayer and praise, and other good works. (3.) Here is a popular argument against the christians, taken from their singularity, and their difference from all other people: it was, indeed, a popular prejudice, and had been of great force in former times; but there were men who withstood it, and professed the just sentiments of religion, whilst the greatest numbers rejected them, and were much incensed against men upon that account. But in Julian's time the force of it was much abated, though he was willing to set it up again.

25. 'And[b] that not only they of this time, but that some of those who at the beginning received the word from Paul, were such, is apparent from what Paul himself says, writing to them. For I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be just. These are the things which he writes of his disciples, and to themselves: "Be not deceived: neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the

[y] L. ix. p. 305, 306.

[z] Ὑμεις δε οἱ την καινην θυσιαν εὑροντες, οὐδεν δεομενοι της Ἱερυσαλην, αντι τινος ω θυεσθε; p. 306. A.

[a] Vid. l. vii. p. 238.

[b] L. vii. p. 245.

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kingdom of God. And you are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, in the name of Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. vi. 9—11. You[c] see,' he says, 'they were such; but they had been sanctified, and washed, having been cleansed and scoured with water, which penetrates even to the soul. And baptism, which cannot heal the leprosy, nor the gout, nor the dysentery, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adulteries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul.'

So writes Julian, and with great assurance: nevertheless it is not very easy to say upon what this argument is founded: perhaps it is built upon some extravagant assertions of christians of that time concerning the value and efficacy of baptism: for I see no ground for it in the New Testament. Jesus, and his forerunner, preached, that men should "repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance." After his resurrection, when his apostles were to go abroad in the world, he told them, "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations," Luke xxiv. 47. And says St. Peter, Acts ii. 38, "Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." See also ch. iii. 26, and likewise ch. xx. 21, and xxvi. 20, and elsewhere: and St. Peter says, 1 ep. iii. 21, "that putting away the filth of the flesh does not save, but the answer of a good conscience toward God."

In the text quoted by Julian from the first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul speaks of a real change made in those converts. It is not certain that baptism is there at all referred to; if it is, it is not the only, nor the principal thing. They had been some of them such sinners as are there mentioned, but they were now changed and reformed: and if they were not, neither baptism, nor the profession of christianity, nor any external privileges, would be of advantage to them. For he there says to them, and with great seriousness and earnestness; "Know ye not, that unrighteous men shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived," and what there follows.

If men were turned from error and vice by the preaching of the gospel, it was the greatest honour to it that could be: the great design of Christ's coming was "to save men from their sins," Matt. i. 21, from the practice of them, and from the misery to which they had been exposed by them. When that end is obtained, his joy and the joy of the faithful preachers of the gospel are fulfilled.

[c] Ὁρας, ὁτι και τυτυς γενεσθαι φησι τοιυτυς——St. Paul's words are, "such were some of you;" και ταυτα τινες ητε.

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26. There is another like passage of Julian in his Cæsars, which may not be quite omitted; and it may be as well taken now as hereafter. In his satire upon Constantine, he brings in his son Constantius, in the presence of his father, proclaiming to all in this manner: 'Whosoever[d] is a ravisher, a murderer, guilty of sacrilege, or any other abomination, let him come boldly. For when I have washed him with this water, I will immediately make him clean and innocent: and if he commits the same crimes again, I will make him, after he has thumped his breast, and beat his head, as clean as before.'

Upon this I need not say any thing myself, after all that has been said just now. I may answer it in the words of Dr. Bentley, whose remarks upon it, in the borrowed name of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, are to this purpose. 'A[e] 'ridiculous and stale banter, used by Celsus and others be- 'fore Julian, upon the christian doctrines of baptism, and 'repentance, and remission of sins. Baptism is rallied, as '"mere washing," and repentance, as "thumping the breast," 'and other outward grimace: the inward grace, and the 'intrinsic change of mind, are left out of the character. And 'whom are we to believe? these pagans, or our ownselves? 'Are we to fetch our notions of the sacraments from scraps 'of Julian and Celsus? or from the scripture, the pure 'fountain, and from what we read, know, and profess? And 'yet the banter came more decently out of Celsus, an Epi- 'curean's mouth, than out of Julian's, the most bigoted 'creature in the world. He to laugh at expiation by bap- 'tism, whose whole life, after his apostasy, was a continued 'course of καθαρμοι, washings, purgations, expiations, with 'the most absurd ceremonies! addicted to the whole train 'of superstitions, omens, presages, prodigies, spectres, 'dreams, visions, auguries, oracles, magic, theurgic, psy- 'chomantic: whose whole court in a manner consisted of 'haruspices, and sacrificuli, and philosophers as silly as 'they: who was always poring in the entrails of cattle, to 'find futurities there: who, if he had returned victor out of 'Persia, (as his very pagan friends jested on him,) would 'have extinguished the whole species of bulls and cows by 'the number of his sacrifices? I have drawn this character 'of him from his own writings, and the heathens his con- 'temporaries, that I might not bring suspected testimonies 'from christian authors.' So that learned man.

27. 'That[f] evil had its rise from John. But who can

[d] Julian. Cæsares. p. 336. edit. Spanhem.

[e] See Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking, sect. 43.

[f] Lib. x. p. 335. B. C.

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sufficiently express his indignation against all your following inventions, in adding many more dead men to him who died so long ago? So that you have filled all places with sepulchres and monuments; though it has been no where commanded you to wallow in sepulchres, and worship there. But you are arrived at such perverseness, as to think, that in this matter you need not regard the words of Jesus of Nazareth. Hear, therefore, what he says of monuments: "Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites. For ye are like unto whited sepulchres. The sepulchre appears beautiful outward, but within it is full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness." If then Jesus has said, that sepulchres are "full of uncleanness," why do you pray to God over them?' Matt. xxiii. 27.

To this, says Cyril, he adds: 'That[g] "when a certain disciple said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father, he answered: Follow thou me, and let the dead bury their dead."' Matt. viii. 21, 22. Luke ix. 58, 60.

Julian might be justly offended at that superstitious custom of the christians which he here censures, and which we do not justify. However he here cites our Lord's words from our gospels, in a manner that puts their genuineness out of question: and he bears witness, that our Lord, Jesus of Nazareth, taught and said the things there recorded.

28. Having quoted from Moses those words of Deut. vi. 13, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," he goes on: 'How[h] then is Jesus said in the gospels to command; "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"' Matt. xxxviii. 19.

To which I think I may say, though christians have formed different interpretations of this text, it cannot be reasonably supposed, that our Lord would command his apostles to begin with teaching any mysterious doctrine to their converts. Nor does any thing of that kind appear in the book of the Acts, where we have the history of their preaching in many places, in obedience to their Lord and Master, to all sorts of men, Jews, Samaritans, and gentiles.

The design of the words is this: 'That they should teach men to receive and profess the doctrine which Jesus had taught with authority from God the Father, and confirmed by miracles done by the finger, the power, or the Spirit of

[g] P. 335. D.

[h] Πως ουν ὁ Ιησους εν τοις ευαγγελιοις παραδεδοται προσαττων· Πορευθεντες μαθητευσατε, κ. λ. L. ix. p. 291. A.

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God." Accordingly, we are assured in the book of the Acts, that men were baptized "in the name of Jesus Christ," or "into his name," Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; xix. 5. Which imports the same as being baptized into the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: or that he taught by divine authority, and that there had been full assurance given to men of this by his many miracles, and by his resurrection from the dead.

29. 'Why[1] do you meddle with the Greek learning, since the reading of your own scriptures is sufficient for you? And indeed, it might be of more importance to restrain men from reading the Greek authors, than from eating things "sacrificed to idols." For by that, as Paul also says, "he that eats is not hurt. But the conscience of the brother who sees it is offended," according to you,' 1 Cor. viii. 7—10.

More there follows which I forbear to transcribe: and there seems to be somewhat wanting, lost out of the text. However, he there insinuates, that whenever a man of good sense gains but a smattering of Greek learning, he forsakes what Julian is pleased to call 'impiety.' But if he had really thought so, I suppose, he would have filled the christians with Greek learning, instead of doing all he could to prevent their having a taste of it.

My readers cannot but observe, that this is taken from Julian's work against the christians, which shows, how intent he was upon doing all in his power to make the christians ignorant and unlearned. It was a strange design, and could proceed from nothing but malice and envy.

30. We will now take a summary view of what we have seen in Julian's work against the christians.

He argues against the Jews as well as against them: but we have supposed it expedient to take more especial notice of what he writes relating to Jesus Christ and his followers. And he has borne a valuable testimony to the history, and to the books of the New Testament, as all must acknowledge who have read the extracts just made from his work. He allows, that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, at the time of the taxing made in Judea by Cyrenius: that the christian religion had its rise, and began to be propagated, in the times of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius. He bears witness to the genuineness and authenticity of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles: and he so quotes them, as to intimate, that these were the only historical books received by christians

[1] L. vii. p. 229.

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as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allows their early date, and even argues for it. He also quotes, or plainly refers to the Acts of the Apostles, to St. Paul's epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. He does not deny the miracles of Jesus Christ, but allows him to have 'healed the blind, and the lame, and dæmoniacs,' and 'to have rebuked the winds, and walked upon the waves of the sea.' He endeavours indeed to diminish these works; but in vain. The consequence is undeniable: such works are good proofs of a divine mission. He endeavours also to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus, and yet he acknowledgeth, that there were 'multitudes of such men in Greece and Italy,' before St. John wrote his gospel. He likewise affects to diminish the quality of the early believers; and yet acknowledgeth, that beside 'men servants, and maid servants,' Cornelius, a Roman centurion at Cæsarea, and Sergius Paulus, pro-consul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jesus before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often speaks with great indignation of Peter and Paul, those two great apostles of Jesus, and successful preachers of his gospel. So that, upon the whole, he has undesignedly borne witness to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Testament: he aimed to overthrow the christian religion, but has confirmed it: his arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest christian. He justly excepts to some things introduced into the christian profession by the late professors of it, in his own time, or sooner; but has not made one objection of moment against the christian religion, as contained in the genuine and authentic books of the New Testament.

V. I now intend to make some extracts out of Julian's Orations and Epistles; this is fit to be done, because divers of them relate to christianity, and the affairs of christians in Julian's time.

1. I have already transcribed that which is the seventh epistle in the order of Spanheim's edition,[k] containing a kind of establishment of Hellenism. I now proceed.

2. And the first to be now taken, is, the law or edict prohibiting christians to teach rhetoric, and other parts of polite literature: I need not transcribe the whole, but I shall take a large part of it.

'He[l] says, Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lysias, were guided by the gods, and esteemed themselves consecrated, some to Mercury, others

[k] See before, p. 596. [l] Ep. 42. p. 422, 423, 424.

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to the Muses. It is absurd, therefore, for such as explain their works, to neglect the gods whom they worshipped: but though I think that to be absurd, I do not desire that they should change their sentiments for the sake of instructing youth. I give them their choice: either not to teach what they do not approve of; or, if they will teach, that they first inform and persuade their scholars, that neither Homer, nor Hesiod, nor any one of those whom they have explained, and had condemned for impiety, and ignorance, and error concerning the gods, is such: for otherwise, since they are maintained by teaching their works, they must not deny, that they are lovers of filthy lucre, and can do any thing for a small profit. There were many things to hinder their frequenting the temples; and they might be afraid to profess the right sentiments concerning the gods. But now, since by the favour of the gods we have obtained liberty, it appears to me absurd for any man to teach what they do not think to be right. But if they think there is any wisdom in the authors' works, of which they are interpreters, let them first learn to imitate their piety towards the gods. But if they judge that those authors are in an error about the gods, let them go to the churches of the Galileans, and there explain Matthew and Luke——I desire, to use your own terms, that your ears and your tongue might be regenerated, as to those things which I esteem, and which I wish that I and all that love me, may always partake of. Let[m] this be a common law to professors and masters: but if any youth should have a mind to go to school to learn the things, they are not prohibited; for it would not be at all reasonable to restrain children, who know not what course to take, from the right way; as it would not also be, to compel them to embrace the old religion. It might, indeed, be just to treat them as out of their senses, in order to cure them; but let all be forborne, who labour under this distemper; for I suppose, that ignorant people are rather to be taught than punished.'

By what was transcribed formerly[n] we saw, that christians understood themselves to be prohibited by Julian to learn, as well as to teach the Greek literature. Some have doubted, whether that be the intention of the law just now recited; and therefore they have supposed there was another. The question is of no great importance; but even this law deprives young persons of the privilege of learning, unless they went to the schools of Greek masters. So that there was no necessity of another law for that purpose.

[m] Τοις μεν καθηγεμοσι και διδασκαλοις ούτωσι κοινος κειται νομος. p. 423. D.
[n] See p. 597, 598.

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I must add, that I think it may be concluded, from expressions in this letter, that whatever forbearance, or liberty, Julian allowed christians, it was done very grudgingly and unwillingly.

3. The next letter is to Hecebolus; and I shall take it now. 'As[o] for myself,' says Julian, 'I have determined to act with so much clemency and moderation toward all the Galileans, that none of them should any where suffer any violence, nor be compelled to the temples, nor be violently forced to any thing against their inclinations. But they of the Arian church, waxing wanton with riches, have insulted the followers of Valentinus, and have presumed to do such things at Edessa, as are never to be suffered in a well constituted city: therefore, since they are so commanded by their most wonderful law, that they may the more easily go to the kingdom of heaven, and that we may give them some assistance in their design, we have ordered all the money of the church of Edessa to be taken away, and given to the soldiers, and that their estates be united to our demesnes: that being poor, they may become wise, and may not fail of the kingdom of heaven, which they aim at.'

Doubtless, Julian refers to divers texts of the gospels: perhaps to Matt. v. 3; Luke vi. 20; Matt. xix. 21, or some other parallel places; but few will allow him to be a good interpreter of scripture, or that he deduces right conclusions from it.

Hecebolus, to whom this letter was sent, is supposed to have been the chief magistrate at Edessa.

4. The heathen people of Alexandria murdered George, the Arian bishop of that city, in a tumultuous manner. The letter, which Julian sent to the Alexandrians upon that occasion, is still[p] extant; and it was inserted by[q] Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History; but, being long, I forbear to transcribe it.

Sozomen also has taken particular notice of that transaction, and of Julian's letter. His remarks are to this purpose. 'Julian[r] wrote a letter to the Alexandrians, in which he 'seems to be very angry with them; but he reproved them 'by a letter only, remitting the punishment due to them, 'out of regard to their god Serapis their protector, and 'the great Alexander their founder, and from other con-'siderations.' That is sufficient to represent the substance and design of this letter.

5. George had a good library; and Julian wrote to Ec-

[o] Ep. 43. p. 424. [p] Ep. x. p. 378. edit. Spanhem. [q] Socrat. l. iii. cap. 3. [r] Sozom. l. v. cap. 7. p. 604. [s] Ep. ix. p. 377.

ditius, governor of Egypt, to procure it entire for him. 'Some,'[s] says he, 'delight in horses, others in birds, others in wild beasts; from my childhood I have been always in love with books——Wherefore you must do for me this private piece of kindness, to get together all George's books. He had a large number of books, many philosophical and rhetorical, and also many concerning the doctrine of the impious Galileans; which[t] I could wish to have utterly destroyed; but lest books of value should be destroyed with them, let these also be carefully sought for. George had a secretary; let him help you. If he serves you faithfully, let him be rewarded with freedom. If he endeavours to conceal any of his master's books, he may be put to the torture. I am not unacquainted with George's books; for when I was in Cappadocia, I borrowed some of them, though not all, in order to have them transcribed, and then returned them to him.'

But it was a mean thing in Julian, to wish that all christian writings might be destroyed. It was below a philosopher, as one would think, to entertain such a thought.

6. We have another letter of Julian to the like purpose, sent to Porphyry, treasurer of Egypt. 'George[u] has left a library, consisting of books of various sorts, philosophy and history, as also of the Galileans, in great number. You are to procure the whole library for me, and send it to Antioch. You are to make the most diligent inquiries after the books; otherwise you may expect to be severely punished. If you suspect any persons to have concealed any of them, you are to examine them upon oath: if they are slaves, they may be put to the torture. If you cannot persuade them by fair means, you must use force to make them bring all to you.'

7. I now take a letter to the Alexandrians, concerning Athanasius. 'It[v] was certainly very fit, that a man, who had been banished by repeated edicts of several emperors, should wait at least for one imperial edict, before he returned home; and not audaciously insult the laws, as if they were all extinct: forasmuch as even now we have not granted to the Galileans banished by the blessed Constantius, a return to their churches, but to their countries; but I hear, that the audacious Athanasius, behaving with his usual insolence, has seized on the episcopal throne, as they call it; and that this is not a little grievous to the pious

[t] ——ἀ βυλοιμην μεν ηφανισθαι παντη· τῳ δε μη συν αυτοις αφαιρεθηναι τα χρησιμωτερα, ζητεισθω κἀκεινα μετ' ακριβειας ἁπαντα. p. 378. B.

[u] Ep. xxxvi. p. 411. [v] Ep. xxvi. p. 398.

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people of Alexandria: wherefore we command him to depart from the city on the day he receives our letter. If he stays in the city, we warn him of a severer punishment.'

Athanasius had been once banished by Constantine, twice by Constantius; to which Julian here refers. Nor did he make use of the liberty to return granted by Julian, till after the death of George; when, as it seems, he was disagreeable to the heathen people of Alexandria, whom Julian calls pious. Julian here says, that he had not given leave to the banished bishops to return to their sees, or churches, but only to their countries. I should have thought, that his edict had included a return to both. And this explication seems to be evasive, and, perhaps, now first thought of from particular enmity to Athanasius.

8. The catholic christians at Alexandria wrote to Julian as in the name of the city, requesting him to revoke his order against Athanasius, by a new edict; which he answered in the following letter to the Alexandrians. 'He[w] says, the distempered part of them had taken upon themselves the name of the city. By the gods, ye men of Alexandria, I am ashamed that any Alexandrian should acknowledge himself to be a Galilean. He tells them, that Alexander, the Ptolemies, and other princes, their founders and patrons, were worshippers of the gods: and had not raised their city and constitution to its grandeur by the words of Jesus, nor by the doctrine of the hateful Galileans.—None of those gods do you worship; but Jesus, whom neither you nor your fathers have seen, him you think to be God the Word,' John i. 'Him you prefer to the great sun, who has so long enlightened and blessed the world. You may do well to hearken to me, who, till I was twenty years of age, went in the same way; but now for twelve years I have been a worshipper of the gods. If you hearken to my admonitions, it will be for your benefit: however, if you will still follow the instruction and superstition of knavish men, agree among yourselves, and no longer desire Athanasius: there are disciples enough of his to please "your itching ears," who want such impious discourses,' 2 Tim. iv. 3. I wish this wickedness were confined to Athanasius and his impious school; but you have among you a multitude of such people.—And you may take notice, that whereas before I banished Athanasius out of Alexandria, I now banish him out of all Egypt.'

9. In a letter to Ecditius, præfect of Egypt, he says: 'Though[x] you write to me about no other matters, you

[w] Ep. li. p. 432. [x] Ep. vi. p. 376.

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should, however, have written to me about that enemy of the gods, Athanasius: especially, when you know what I have rightly determined. I swear by the great Serapis, if Athanasius does not depart from the city, or rather from all Egypt, before the first day of December next, the cohort under you shall be fined a hundred pounds of gold. You know how backward I am to condemn, and that I am still more backward to forgive those who have been once condemned. [And in his own hand *και τη αυτυ χειρι.*] It concerns me extremely, that all the gods are despised. I desire not to hear so much of any service of yours, as that you have expelled the wicked Athanasius out of Egypt, who, under my government, has been so audacious as to persuade Greek women, wives of illustrious men, to receive baptism.'

10. Surely this, and the other letters, relating to Athanasius, show that Julian did not practise that indulgence and moderation toward the christians which he sometimes boasted of; for no fault is alleged to Athanasius, except that he was an 'enemy of the gods,' and made converts to christianity from among the gentiles.

11. However, there is another letter of Julian, which seems to be written with better temper. It is inscribed to the people of Byzantium, or Constantinople. But Bletterie [y] suspects the inscription to be false, and that he was not sent to the people of Byzantium, but of some other place, whose name had some resemblance, and has been mistaken by the transcriber.

'We [z] have restored to you all your senators and patricians, whether they are Galileans, or otherwise exempted from that charge.' However, perhaps that was not a privilege, but rather a burdensome office; the terms of the letter seem to lead to that sense; and Bletterie may be again consulted.

12. We have a letter of Julian [a] to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia; which is also inserted by Sozomen [b] at length in his Ecclesiastical History. I take a good part of it.

'If [c] Hellenism does not prosper according to our wish, it is the fault of those who profess it——Why do we not look to that which has been the principal cause of the aug-

[y] Lettres choisies de l'Emp. Julien, p. 371, &c. [z] Ep. xi. p. 380.

[a] *Αρσακιῳ αρχιερει Γαλατιας*—Ep. xlix. p. 429, &c. [b] Sozom. l. v. c. 16.

[c] *Ἑλληνισμος υπω πραττει κατα λογον ἡμων, ἑνεκα των μετιοντων αυτον.* If Hellenism does not prosper, &c. That was the style at that time. Hellenism is Heathenism, or Gentilism. And Heathens are called Hellenes, and Hellenists, by our ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, especially in their history of Julian's reign.

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mentation of impiety, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and that sanctity of life, of which they make such a show; all which things I will have to be really practised by our people. It is not sufficient that you are unblamable yourself; all the priests in Galatia ought to be so likewise. I will therefore that you persuade, and even compel, all the priests in Galatia to live soberly; otherwise do you depose them from the priestly office, unless they and their wives, and children, and servants, do religiously worship the gods; and [d] also forbear to converse with the servants, children, and wives of the Galileans, who are impious toward the gods, and prefer impiety to religion. You are likewise to order them, not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exercise any mean and sordid employments. Such as hearken to your directions you are to encourage; others you are to reject. You are also to erect hospitals in every city, that strangers also may share in our humanity: and not only those of our religion, but others likewise, if they are necessitous.' 'He then tells him what allowances he had made for that purpose.——For, says he, it is a shame, when there are no beggars among the Jews, and the impious Galileans relieve not only their own people, but ours also, that our poor should be neglected by us, and be left helpless and destitute.'

13. There is a long fragment of some oration or epistle, [e] in which Julian gives many directions for regulating the behaviour and studies of heathen priests, and recommends humanity, and near the end, particularly, a regard to the poor, where he says: 'This [f] ought to be carefully attended to, as what may be a good remedy for the present disorder. For it having so happened, as I suppose, that the poor were neglected by our priests, the impious Galileans, observing

[d] And also forbear to converse with, &c. *αλλα ανεχοιντο των οικετων, η υιεων η των Γαλιλαιων γαμετων, ασεβεντων μεν εις τους θεους, αθεοτητα δε θεοσεβειας προτιμωντων.* I have attempted a new translation of this place, not being quite satisfied with any other, which I have met with. In Spanheim's edition the Latin version is: et ne patiantur servos, aut filios, aut conjuges Galilæorum impie in Deos se gerere, et impietatem pietati præponere. And much to the same purpose is the Latin translation of this epistle in Sozomen, made by Valesius. Which would be commanding every heathen priest and his family to become persecutors; which cannot be supposed to be probable. Cave, in the Introduction to his History of the Fathers of the fourth century, p. 34, 'not 'suffering their servants, children, or wives, to be Galileans, who are despisers 'of the gods, and prefer impiety before religion.' Which cannot be right; for it is a tautology, saying over again the same thing which had been said just before. And yet Bletterie's translation is much to the same purpose: S' ils souffrent dans leur famille de ces impies de Galileens.

[e] Tom. i. p. 288, &c.

[f] Ibid. p. 305.

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this, have addicted themselves to this kind of humanity; and by the show of such good offices have recommended the worst of things. For[g] beginning with their love-feasts, and the "ministry of tables," as they call it; Acts vi. 2: '(for not only the name, but the thing also is common among them,) they have drawn away the faithful to impiety.'

There ends the fragment; but it seems not to be the conclusion of the piece. As it is plainly defective at the beginning, it appears to be so likewise at the end; otherwise we might have had somewhat more, not unworthy of observation.

In that fragment, nearer the beginning,[h] he says, 'he does not believe any man is the poorer for what he gives to the necessitous. I who have often relieved the poor, have been rewarded by the gods manifold: though riches is a thing which I never was intent upon.'

It may be hence argued, that the scandalous stories about the christian worship and manners, which were spread abroad at the first rise of christianity, were without foundation. Nor were the christians now charged with them; at least Julian never mentions them; and here he celebrates their virtue; however, still their religion was, with him, very bad. But it is somewhat strange that should be the worst impiety which had produced such exemplary humanity, as to be recommended to heathen priests for a pattern of imitation.

14. I may now take a passage or two of Julian, where he exposeth monkery.

In his seventh oration, which is addressed to Heracleas, a cynic philosopher, Julian tells him, that[i] 'the cynics are like that sort of men, whom the impious Galileans call renouncers; many of whom quitting a small substance, scrape together a great deal, or rather every thing, from all quarters, and arrive at such dignity, as to secure a numerous attendance, and all kinds of respect.'

15. In the fragment of the oration, or epistle, before quoted, he speaks[k] of some people, who left cities, and re-

[g] *Τον αυτον και αυτοι τροπον αρξαμενοι δια της λεγομενης παρ' αυτοις αγαπης και ὑποδοχης και διακονιας τραπεζων, κ. λ.* p. 305. C. D.

[h] Ibid. p. 288. C.

[i] ——*αποτακτιτας τινας ονομαζωσι οἱ δυσσεβεις Γαλιλαιοι· τυτων οἱ πλειις μικρα προεμενοι, πολλα πανυ, μαλλον δε τα παντα πανταχοθεν συγκομιζωσι: και προσην, οιμαι, το τιμασθαι, και δορυφορεισθαι, και θεραπευεσθαι.* Ibid. Or. vii. p. 224. B.

[k] ——*ηδη δε και δεσμα, και κλοιες εξευρον οἱ πολλοι τυτων. Οὑτω πανταχοθεν αυτες ὁ κακος συνελαυνει δαιμων, ᾡ δεδωκασιν ἑκοντες ἑαυτες αποταντες των αἰδιων και σωτηρων θεων, κ. λ.* p. 288. B.

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tired into deserts. 'Whereas,' says he, 'man is a social animal. Moreover,' as he adds, 'many of these load themselves with chains and shackles.' The place is obscure; but I think he means christians, forasmuch as he supposeth them to be men, who had forsaken the immortal and good gods. And in his Misopogon[l] he speaks of old women lurking about sepulchres.

16. In his letter to the people of Athens, he mentions Epictetus,[m] a bishop of Gaul, whom Constantius had sent to him. In a fragment[n] of an epistle, he speaks of bishops and presbyters of the Galileans.

17. In his Misopogon,[o] a satire upon the people of Antioch, in which he says what he pleaseth, both of himself and them, are these following things which may be taken notice of.

'I suppose,[p]' says he, 'you are very happy, because you have renounced all kinds of servitude, first to the gods, then to the laws, and lastly to me, who am the guardian of the laws.'

And soon after: 'But[q] it is said, that Chi and Kappa never did the city any harm: it is hard to know the meaning of this wise riddle of yours: but by some interpreters of your city, we have been informed they are initial letters of names, the one denoting Christ, the other Constantius.'

'But[r] you love Christ, and esteem him the tutelar patron of your city, instead of Jupiter and Apollo of Daphne. ——— Many of you, it seems, I have offended, in a manner all of you, the senate, the rich, the people. The greatest part of the people, or rather the whole of them, are offended with me because they are in love with impiety, and they see that I embrace and adhere to the religion of my ancestors.'

'You[s] say, I wage war with Chi, and you admire Kappa.'

Omitting some other things, Julian[t] went on a feast day

[l] *Τοις περι τους ταφους καλινδουμενοις γραϊδιοις συνεχωρησαν.* Misop. p. 344. A.

[m] *Αλλ' Επικτητον τινα των Γαλλιων επισκοπον επεμψεν.* Ad. l. P. 2. Athen. p. 286. C.

[n] *Οι μεν των Γαλιλαιων ισως επισκοποι και πρεσβυτεροι συγκαθιζουσι σοι.* Ep. lxii. p. 450. C.

[o] P. 337, &c.

[p] Ibid. p. 356. D.

[q] *Το Χι, φησιν, ουδεν ηδικησε την πολιν, ουδε Καππα, κ. λ.* Ib. p. 357. A.

[r] *Χριςον δε αγαπωντες εχετε πολιουχον αντι του Διος, και του Δαφναιου.——— Ελυπησα δ' εγω ———ὑμων μεντοι πολλους, και ολιγου Θεῳ φαναι παντας, την βουλην, τους ευπορους, τον δημον. Ὁ μεν γαρ δημος αχθεται μοι τῳ πλειςῳ μερει, μαλλον δ' ἁπας αθεοτητα προελομενος, ὁτι τοις πατριοις ὁρα της ἁγιςειας θεσμοις προσκειμενον.* Ibid. p. 357. C. D.

[s] *Και ὁτι πολεμω τῳ Χι, ποθος δε ὑμας εισεισι του Καππα.* Ibid. p. 360. D.

[t] Ibid. p. 362.

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to pay his homage to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, but there were neither people nor sacrifices; the priest had only a small victim of his own preparing. Of this Julian complains grievously, that so large a city had not provided some bulls for a sacrifice on that solemnity: 'You[u] ought,' says he, 'to have sacrificed both privately and publicly. But you let your wives carry away every thing to the Galileans; and they maintain the poor with your goods, and so bring their impiety into esteem.'

It is hence apparent, that christianity was now the prevailing religion at Antioch.

18. I am disposed to conclude my accounts and extracts of Julian's Orations and Epistles, with a translation of his epistle to the people of Bostra, the chief city in Arabia, of whom some notice was taken long ago:[v] and before I do that, I am led to recite an article of Sozomen, representing the state of things in the time of that emperor. Sozomen, though sometimes rather too credulous of miracles, was a lawyer, and a man of good understanding and great moderation: and therefore his testimony must deserve a good deal of regard, he being less partial than some others. He was born in Palestine, and wrote his Ecclesiastical History at Constantinople about the year 440.

'This emperor,[w]' says Sozomen, 'hearing that Athanasius held assemblies in the church of the Alexandrians, and that he boldly taught the people, and brought over many Greeks [or gentiles] to christianity, ordered him to leave Alexandria: threatening him with a severe penalty if he did not go away: pretending this as a crime, that whereas he had been banished by former princes, he had without his authority again taken possession of the episcopal chair; forasmuch as he had not granted leave for the bishops, who had been banished by Constantius, to return to their churches, but only to their country. When in obedience to this order of the emperor he left Alexandria, and the people were in tears, he said: "It is only a small cloud, which will soon pass away."——And,' says Sozomen, 'though the emperor was determined by all means to restore Hellenism, he judged it imprudent to compel men by punishments to sacrifice against their will; for he knew that compulsion was of no avail in things which depended upon men's free choice. Nevertheless, he would not per-

[u] Πρεπειν δ' οιμαι, τῃ πολει θυειν ιδιᾳ και δημοσιᾳ, νυνι δε ὑμων ἑκατος επιτρεπει μεν τῃ γυναικι παντα εκφερειν ενδοθεν εις τους Γαλιλαιους, κ. λ. p. 363 A.

[v] Vol. iii. p. 272.

[w] Soz. l. v. cap. 15

'mit them to meet together, and offer the usual prayers. 'Therefore he took care to banish the clergy and presidents 'out of cities, intending by their absence to abolish the 'assemblies of the people, when there were none to teach 'them, nor perform the accustomed rites, that in length of 'time the memory of their worship should be lost. His 'pretence for doing so was, that the clergy excited the peo-'ple to sedition. Under this pretence he banished Eleusius 'and his friends from Cyzicum, though there was no sedi-'tion there, nor any reason to apprehend it: and he required, 'that the people of Bostra should, by a public decree, send 'away from their city Titus bishop of their church: for, 'when he had threatened, that if any disturbance happened 'there, he should impute it to the bishop and his clergy, 'Titus thereupon sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him, 'that the christians of Bostra were equal in number to the 'Greeks, [or gentiles,] and that they were quiet, and that 'paying a regard to his admonitions, they had no thought 'of making any disturbance. From those words Julian 'took occasion to write a letter to the people of Bostra, in 'order to incense them against Titus, as having accused 'them, saying: It was not owing to their own good temper, 'but to his exhortations, that they were kept from sedition. 'Thus exciting the people to expel him out of their city as 'a public enemy. And it is likely, that there were many 'such things, partly owing to the command of the emperor, 'and partly to the violence and petulance of the people. 'But the whole fault of all is to be ascribed to the emperor 'himself, who neglected to punish, according to the laws, 'those who out of hatred to our religion transgressed in these 'respects; seemingly reproving them in words, but by his 'actions really exciting them to such irregularities. There-'fore[x] though he did not openly persecute, yet the chris-'tians were banished from cities and villages: of this, as 'many others of my ancestors, so particularly my grand-'father was an instance. His father was a gentile; but he 'and the whole family were converted to christianity by 'Hilarion; and they were the first christians at Bethelia, a 'populous village near Gaza.' So writes Sozomen, with great discretion and judgment, as seems to me.

I now proceed to the letter or edict mentioned.

'Julian to the people of Bostra.'

'I[y] imagined, that the presidents of the Galileans would

[x] Ὀθεν και μη διωκοντος αυτȣ, κατα πολεις και κωμας εφευγον οἱ χριȣιανοι ταυτης δε της φυγης μετεσχον πολλοι των εμων προγονων, και ὁ εμος παππος, κ. λ. p. 617. A.

[y] Ep. 52. p. 435, &c.

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acknowledge themselves to be under greater obligations to me than to my predecessor: for in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted, imprisoned: and many of those who are called heretics were put to death, particularly at Samosata, and Cyzicum in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and other places, where many villages were plundered and utterly ruined. In my time it has been quite otherwise: for they who had been banished are permitted to return home; and all their goods that had been confiscated have been restored by a law of mine. Nevertheless, because they have now no longer power to tyrannize over any, nor to practise their usual violences upon one another, nor upon us the pious worshippers of the gods, they are become furious, and try every method to raise seditions and disturbances among the people. In which they show themselves void of fear toward the gods, and of respect to our edicts, though full of moderation and humanity: for we suffer not any of them to be dragged to the altars against their own choice. And we openly declare, that if any are desirous to partake in our worship, they must first of all offer sacrifices of expiation, and so reconcile themselves to the gods: so far are we from desiring, that any of the impious should communicate with us, till they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by the appointed expiations. It is plain therefore, that the clergy mislead the people for no other reason, but because they are not suffered to lord it over others. For they who have been hitherto accustomed to tyrannize over others, are not satisfied that they have obtained forgiveness of past crimes; they would still, as formerly, act as judges, make testaments, and appropriate estates to their own use, and bring every thing to themselves: for this reason they blow up the fire of sedition among the people. Wherefore we by this edict declare, and make known to all people, that they join not the clergy in seditions, nor be persuaded by them to throw stones, nor to disobey the magistrates, but to be contented with saying their prayers among themselves in their own assemblies. This edict is particularly addressed to the city of the Bostrenes; because their bishop Titus, and his clergy, in a petition sent to me, have accused their people as ready to raise disturbances if not restrained by their admonitions. I insert here their own words: "Though the christians are equal in number to the gentiles, they are so restrained by our admonitions, that they are not at all inclined to make any disturbances." These are your bishop's words concerning you: see, how he says, your good order proceeds not from

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your own mind; and that you have been unwillingly restrained by his admonitions. Therefore do you willingly, and of your own accord, expel him out of your city as your accuser. Do you live in concord with each other: let no one be an enemy, or injurious to another. Let not them who are in error disturb those who rightly and justly worship the gods, according to the tradition handed down to us from ancient time. Nor let the servants of the gods disturb or pillage the houses of those, who err more through ignorance than choice. Men ought to be persuaded and taught by reason, not by blows, reproaches, and corporal punishments: I therefore again and again, and often exhort those who embrace the true religion, not to abuse nor insult the Galileans. We ought to pity rather than to hate men, who suffer the greatest calamity: for indeed true religion is the greatest good, and, on the contrary, impiety is the greatest of evils: which calamity they bring upon themselves, who forsaking the immortal gods, betake themselves to dead men and their relics. With those who are sick we sympathize: and we rejoice with them who obtain deliverance from the gods. Given at Antioch the first day of August.' That is, in the year of Christ 362.

From this edict, as well as from other things, it appears, that Julian was very fond of Hellenism, or heathenism: and Sozomen's observations above mentioned appear to be very pertinent. Julian was very ready to lay hold of every pretence, and to improve every occasion, to rid himself of the presidents of christian churches, especially such as had an influence with the people. Here we see three instances of this, in Athanasius of Alexandria, Eleusius of Cyzicum, and Titus of Bostra; all of them men of great distinction.

Julian here makes repeated professions of moderation and equity toward the christians; but the letter bears witness against him. Titus was one of the most learned men of the age: his people were peaceable, and he had exhorted them to be so: and yet Julian commands his people to expel him out of their city; under a pretence, that his exhortations to a peaceable behaviour implied an accusation of an unpeaceable temper.

I add no more. The extracts now made are sufficient to cast some light upon the circumstances and state of things in the time of Julian; and to show the real temper of that emperor, and that he was intent upon extirpating christianity, and with the greatest despatch. He was a man of great ingenuity, sobriety of manners, and good natured in himself: but his zeal for the religion which he had embraced was

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excessive, and degenerated into bigotry and superstition: insomuch, that with all his pretensions to right reason, and all his professions of humanity, moderation, tenderness, and equity, he has not escaped the just imputation of being a persecutor.

I cannot but think, that a review of the history of this person, of shining abilities and high station, may lead us to some serious reflections; particularly it holds out to us this humbling and useful admonition: "Let him that thinks he stands take heed lest he fall," 1 Cor. x. 12.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

BUNGAY:

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